



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

MUSICAL TRACES OF HINDUSTANI CULTURE IN MALAY GHAZAL

MEDDEGODA LEKAMLAGE CHINTHAKA PRAGEETH MEDDEGODA

FEM 2015 9



**MUSICAL TRACES OF HINDUSTANI CULTURE
IN MALAY GHAZAL**

By

MEDDEGODA LEKAMLAGE CHINTHAKA PRAGEETH MEDDEGODA

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

June 2015

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright © Universiti Putra Malaysia



Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**MUSICAL TRACES OF HINDUSTANI CULTURE
IN MALAY GHAZAL**

By

MEDDEGODA LEKAMLAGE CHINTHAKA PRAGEETH MEDDEGODA

June 2015

Chair: Gisa Jähnichen, PhD
Faculty: Human Ecology

Malay ghazal is a music genre developed in the twentieth century as entertainment music among the noble community that lived in Riau Lingga, Singapore and Johor. Matusky and Tan (2004) infer two theories explaining that Malay ghazal originated through Hindustani ghazal practices. Apparently, Malay ghazal practices in Malaysia include Hindustani musical instruments, i.e. tabla and harmonium as prominent musical instruments which are said to be brought by Indians who came to the Malay world for various purposes. In addition to harmonium and tabla, a typical Malay ghazal ensemble consists of music instruments such as gambus, violin, maracas, and marwas that accompany vocal renderings. However, today, Malay ghazal practices do not demonstrate obvious Hindustani music elements. Only the adaptation of Hindustani harmonium and tabla imply Hindustani musical appearances and sound to a certain extent. Even though Indian sources are undoubtedly mentioned in current literature, the degree of integrating Hindustani musical elements into Malay ghazal practices as well as social and ethnic relations to the music content is yet to be discussed.

This study attempts to elucidate origin and evolution of Malay ghazal addressing questions regarding musical content and its relation to the Malay culture. The core questions are 'what is known to Malaysian scholars and musicians on Hindustani cultural and musical elements in Malay ghazal, to what extent Hindustani musical elements are used in Malay ghazal, and which cross-cultural approaches in assimilating Malay ghazal regarding Hindustani music can be detected. As result, a more detailed and exact insight into processes of cultural appropriations and transformations in Malay communities can be given. This study discusses essentially Hindustani musical elements used in Malay ghazal performances. This study attempts to investigate the understanding of various Indian musical elements, their application and appropriation within local music practices in Malaysia, mainly in Malay ghazal, by using music transcription and qualitative research methods such as grounded theory, domain analysis, microanalysis, analytical induction, and discourse analysis.

Methodically, this research investigates the process of how elements of Hindustani music culture are applied in Malay ghazal practices. It is to enhance the understanding of some patterns of cultural appropriation and adaptation thus stimulating further discussions.

Qualitative musical analyses and historical methods are the main methodological approaches looking into the ghazal transcriptions and current knowledge on the subject matter. The interviews carried out with musicians and other various informants are analysed and subsequently discussed using keywords. The time frame of this study will include essentially the last decades (approx. 1950-2015). However, for examining origin, historical context and evolution of Malay ghazal practices, the time frame must reach back into the late 19th century.

This study is significant among many other studies on Malaysian music genres that have not discussed Malay ghazal in historical and musical detail. A central concept explored is the selective tolerance towards musical traces of Hindustani culture.

The study shows that Malaysian scholars and musicians have due to diverse reasons limited access to knowledge about Hindustani culture and about Hindustani musical elements used in Malay ghazal. Interestingly, some musical elements of Hindustani culture can be traced in vocal lines as well as in the way musical instruments are played. However, the degree of understanding historical background and meanings given in the culture of departure is not high. Only selected musical elements and performance functions were adapted in Malay ghazal, mainly but not exclusively for ideological and pragmatic reasons.

By formulating a detailed account on the evolution and stylistic features of Malay ghazal that state clear traces of Hindustani music within the genre, this study brings new insights and allows for further discussions on patterns of cultural adaptation among Malay communities living in Malaysia.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

JEJAK BUDAYA MUZIKAL HINDUSTAN DI DALAM GHAZAL MELAYU

Oleh

MEDDEGODA LEKAMLAGE CHINTHAKA PRAGEETH MEDDEGODA

Jun 2015

Pengurus: Gisa Jähnichen, PhD

Fakulti: Ekologi Manusia

Ghazal Melayu merupakan satu genre muzik yang dibangunkan pada abad kedua puluh sebagai muzik hiburan di kalangan bangsawan yang bermastautin di Riau Lingga, Johor dan Singapura. Matusky dan Tan (2004) membuat kesimpulan melalui dua teori yang menjelaskan bahawa ghazal Melayu berasal dari amalan ghazal Hindustan. Dilihat bahawa terdapat alatan muzik terkemuka Hindustan didalam amalan ghazal Melayu di Malaysia, iaitu tabla dan harmonium yang dikatakan dibawa oleh kaum India yang datang ke alam Melayu untuk pelbagai tujuan. Selain harmonium dan tabla, alatan ensemble sebuah ghazal Melayu lazimnya akan terdiri daripada gambus, biola (violin), marakas, marwas yang di gunakan untuk mengiringi pentafsiran nyanyian vocal. Walau bagaimanapun, hari ini, amalan ghazal Melayu tidak mempamerkan unsur-unsur muzik Hindustan yang jelas. Hingga ke suatu tahap dimana, ianya merupakan penampilan muzik serta bunyi yang mirip Hindustan hasil dari adaptasi serta penyesuaian alatan muzik Hindustan seperti harmonium dan tabla. Walaupun sumber India sudah pasti disebut dalam sastera semasa, tahap mengintegrasikan unsur-unsur muzik Hindustan ke dalam amalan ghazal Melayu serta hubungan sosial dan etnik ke kandungan muzik yang masih belum dibincangkan.

Kajian ini dibuat bertujuan untuk menjelaskan asal usul serta evolusi ghazal Melayu. Disamping itu ia bertujuan menangani persoalan mengenai kandungan muzik serta kaitannya dengan budaya Melayu. Soalan-soalan teras yang terdapat didalam disertasi ini mempersoalkan apakah yang diketahui oleh orang-orang Melayu serta para cendekiawan perihal budaya serta elemen muzik Hindustan yang digunapakai didalam ghazal Melayu, dan sejauh manakah elemen muzik Hindustan digunakan dalam ghazal Melayu, serta pendekatan silang budaya muzik Hindustan yang manakah dikesan terdapat dalam ghazal Melayu. Kajian ini membincangkan unsur-unsur muzik Hindustan yang digunakan dalam persembahan ghazal Melayu. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menyiasat serta memahami pelbagai elemen muzik India aplikasi serta pengagihan amalan muzik tempatan di Malaysia, terutamanya dalam ghazal Melayu, dengan menggunakan transkripsi muzik dan kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif seperti teori 'grounded', analisis domain, analisis mikro, analisis induksi, dan analisis wacana.

Metodologinya, kajian ini mengkaji proses bagaimana unsur-unsur budaya muzik Hindustan digunakan dalam amalan ghazal Melayu. Ia juga bertujuan untuk meningkatkan pemahaman perihal beberapa corak pengagihan serta penyesuaian budaya disamping merangsang perbincangan lanjut.

Menganalisis muzik kualitatif dan kaedah sejarah adalah pendekatan utama metodologi berserta mengkaji transkripsi ghazal dan pengetahuan semasa. Temu bual dijalankan dengan pemuzik serta maklumat informan lain juga dianalisa dan dibincangkan dengan menggunakan kata kunci. Jangka masa kajian ini akan merangkumi satu dekad yang lalu (lebih kurang 1950-2015). Walau bagaimanapun, bagi penelitian asal usul, konteks sejarah dan evolusi amalan ghazal Melayu perlu dilihat dari abad ke-19.

Kajian ini adalah penting di kalangan banyak kajian lain terutamanya mengenai genre muzik Malaysia iaitu ghazal Melayu yang belum dibincangkan mengenai sejarah dan muziknya secara terperinci. Konsep utama yang diterokai adalah toleransi ke arah kesan muzik budaya Hindustan.

Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa cendekiawan dan ahli muzik Malaysia mempunyai pengetahuan yang terhad terhadap budaya Hindustan serta unsur-unsur muzik Hindustan yang digunapakai dalam ghazal Melayu. Menariknya, beberapa elemen muzik budaya Hindustan dapat dikenali melalui nyanyian vokal serta cara alat muzik dimainkan. Walau bagaimanapun tahap pemahaman mengenai latar belakang sejarah serta makna didalam budaya tidak tinggi. Unsur-unsur muzik serta persembahan yang terpilih sahaja telah disesuaikan dalam ghazal Melayu, terutamanya tetapi tidak secara eksklusif atas sebab-sebab ideologi dan pragmatik.

Dengan formulasi terperinci mengenai evolusi dan ciri-ciri gaya ghazal Melayu yang menunjukkan kesan jelas muzik Hindustan dalam genre itu kajian ini membawa kepada wawasan yang baru. Ini membolehkan perbincangan lanjut mengenai corak penyesuaian budaya di kalangan masyarakat Melayu yang tinggal di Malaysia dibuat kelak.

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 22 June 2015 to conduct the final examination of Meddegoda Lekamilage Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda on his thesis entitled "Musical Traces of Hindustani Culture in Malay Ghazal" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Doctor of Philosophy.

Members of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

Rumaya binti Juhari, PhD

Associate Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairperson)

Zahid bin Emby, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Tan Sooi Beng, PhD

Professor
Universiti Sains Malaysia
Malaysia
(External Examiner)

Timkehet Teffera, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Max-Delbrück Centrum (MDC)
Germany
(External Examiner)

ZULKARNAIN ZAINAL, PhD

Professor and Deputy Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 12 August 2015

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

Gisa Jähnichen, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairperson)

Jennifer Teng, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

Sarjit Singh S. Gill, PhD

Associate Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

BUJANG BIN KIM HUAT, PhD

Professor and Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

Declaration by Graduate Student

I hereby confirm that:

- this thesis is my original work;
- quotations, illustrations and citations have been duly referenced;
- this thesis has not been submitted previously or concurrently for any other degree at any other institutions;
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be obtained from supervisor and the office of Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and Innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software.

Signature: _____ Date: 20 September 2015

MEDDEGODA LEKAMLAGE CHINTHAKA

Name and Matric No.: PRAGEETH MEDDEGODA (GS33504)

Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) are adhered to.

Signature: _____

Name of Chairperson of Supervisory Committee: _____

Signature: _____

Name of Member of Supervisory Committee: _____

Signature: _____

Name of Member of Supervisory Committee: _____

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT		Page
ABSTRAK		i
APPROVAL		iii
DECLARATION		v
LIST OF TABLES		vii
LIST OF FIGURES		xii
		xiv
CHAPTER		
1	INTRODUCTION	1
	1.1 Background of the Study	1
	1.2 Problem Statement and Research Questions	2
	1.3 Objectives of the Study	3
	1.4 Significance of the Study	3
	1.5 Limitation of the Study	4
	1.6 Transcription of Terms	4
	1.7 Methodology	5
	1.7.1 Literature on Methodology	5
	1.7.2 Theoretical Framework and Research Design	6
	1.7.3 Setting the Field Location	10
	1.7.4 Data Collection	11
	1.7.5 Data Analysis	12
	1.8 Literature Review	13
	1.8.1 General Literature on Music Cultures in Malaysia and India	13
	1.8.1.1 Overviews on Music Cultures in Malaysia	13
	1.8.1.2 Overviews on Hindustani Music Cultures	14
	1.8.2 Cross-cultural Aspects	15
	1.8.3 Literature on Malay Ghazal	17
	1.9 Organisation of Thesis	31
	1.10 Summary	31
2	HISTORICAL ASPECTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALAY GHAZAL	32
	2.1 Literature Review on Historical Background of Migration from India to the Malay World	32
	2.1.1 Cultural Migration	32
	2.1.2 Indian Islamic Practices in Southeast Asia	35
	2.1.3 Cultural Position of North Indian Theatre and Music Practices in India from the Middle of the Nineteenth Century Onwards	40
	2.1.4 Language and Performance Practice in the Malay World	47
	2.2 History of Malaysian Awareness towards Indian Performing Arts	54

2.2.1	Indian Performing Arts in British Malaya	55
2.2.1.1	Comments on Demography	55
2.2.1.2	Comments on Migrating Entertainment Music	58
2.2.1.3	Comments on the Migration of Ghazal	62
2.2.2	Internal Exchange within the Malay World	67
2.3	Viewpoints on Other Cultures and Identities in Malaysia after Independence	72
2.4	Summary	81
3	PRESENTATION OF MUSICAL MATERIAL IN SELECTED MALAY GHAZALS	83
3.1	Introduction into the Presentation of Musical Material	83
3.2	Repertoire	85
3.3	Examples	97
3.4	Sri Mersing	98
3.4.1	Text	99
3.4.2	Musical Structure	100
3.4.2.1	Vocal Structure	103
3.4.2.2	Harmonium	106
3.5	Pak Ngah Balik	111
3.5.1	Text	112
3.5.2	Musical Structure	113
3.5.2.1	Vocal Structure	115
3.5.2.2	Harmonium	119
3.6	Nasib Badan	122
3.6.1	Text	122
3.6.2	Musical Structure	123
3.6.2.1	Vocal Structure	126
3.6.2.2	Harmonium	129
3.7	Sri Muar	132
3.7.1	Text	132
3.7.2	Musical Structure	133
3.7.2.1	Vocal Structure	136
3.7.2.2	Harmonium	139
3.8.	Sayang Musalmah	142
3.8.1	Text	142
3.8.2	Musical Structure	143
3.8.3	Vocal Structure	146
3.9	Tambak Johor	148
3.10	Summary	151
4	ANALYZING HINDUSTANI MUSICAL TRACES IN VOCAL LINES OF MALAY GHAZAL	153
4.1	Exclusions and Inclusions of Lyrics	153
4.2	Vocal Renderings in Malay Ghazal	158
4.2.1	Melodic and Rhythmic Features of Vocal Parts	160
4.2.2	Non-vocal Malay Ghazal	170
4.3	Summary	174

5	DISCUSSION ON HARMONIUM AND TABLA IN MALAY GHAZAL	176
5.1	Adaptation of the Harmonium in Malaysia	177
5.1.1	Origin and Evolution of Harmonium and its Practice in Malaya	177
5.1.2	Playing Styles in Hindustani and Malay Harmonium Tradition	189
5.2	Appropriation of Tabla in Malay Ghazal	203
5.2.1	History: India	204
5.2.2	History: Malaysia	205
5.2.3	Pedagogical Context	206
5.2.4	Organology of Tabla Used in Malaysia	207
5.2.5	Tabla Playing Techniques and Performance Style in Malay Ghazal	207
5.2.6	Cultural Transformation of Tabla in Malaysia	217
5.3	Summary	219
6	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	222
6.1	Summary	222
6.1.1	Understanding of Hindustani Musical Culture and Hindustani Ghazal among Malaysian Scholars and Musicians	222
6.1.2	Analysing Musical Traces of Hindustani Culture in Malay Ghazal	225
6.2	Conclusion	229
6.2.1	Findings on the Musical Material of Malay Ghazal	230
6.2.2	Musical Traces of Hindustani Culture in Vocal Lines of Malay Ghazal	231
6.2.3	'Hindustani' Musical Instruments in Malay Ghazal	233
6.3	Suggestions for Further Studies on Malay Ghazal	234
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	236
	APPENDICES	
A	List of Ghazals Available Online	249
B	Archival Support (ARCPA)	251
C	Example of Group Interview	290
D	Audio Examples	297
	BIODATA OF STUDENT	298
	LIST OF PUBLICATIONS	299

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Malay text and meaning of words of Malay ghazal lyrics that were composed by Mokhtar Zam Zam in 1968.	25
2	Visits of Indian theatre companies performing Parsi theatre in Penang and Singapore in the period between 1862 and 1910 (Information extracted from Braginsky and Suvorova (2008: 145,146) and summarized in a table.	49
3	Musical features of Asli song and Malay ghazal.	71
4	Music preferences of ethnicities in Malaysia according to the medium of language as observed in some urban areas of West Malaysia and commented by musicians and other informants 2012-2014 (Balasingham, 2014; Subramaniam, 2014, Murugeya, 2014).	79
5	Observed degree of understanding Indian performing arts elements in Malaysia and British Malaya (Subramaniam, 2014; Balasingham, 2014; Murugeya, 2014).	80
6	Selection of ghazal examples from different sources.	84
7	Ghazal lists as used by Rohaya Ahmad (2007), Ahmad Bin Roslan (1999) Ungku Mohd Zaman Tahir (1989), and confirmed by Norihan Saif (2012–2014).	85
8	Some obvious features of the structure of selected ghazals.	98
9	Differences between pivotal pantun and sung lyrics of ghazal Sri Mersing.	99
10	Structure and overview of vocal phrases in the ghazal Sri Mersing notation.	106
11	Differences between pivotal pantun and sung lyrics of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik.	112
12	The structure and overview of vocal phrases in the ghazal Pak Ngah Balik notation.	118
13	Differences between pivotal Pantun and sung lyrics of ghazal Nasib Badan.	122
14	Structure and overview of vocal phrases in the ghazal Nasib Badan notation.	129
15	Differences between pivotal pantun and sung lyrics of ghazal Sri Muar.	132
16	The structure and overview of vocal phrases in the ghazal Sri Muar notation	138
17	Differences between pivotal Pantun and sung lyrics of ghazal Sayang Musalmah.	142
18	Structure and overview of vocal phrases in the ghazal Sayang Musalmah notation.	148

19	Poetry elements used in the Urdu ghazal and in the Malay pantun Malay ghazal. The empty places indicate either a missing term or the use of the same term if known to the speaker.	155
20	Various cultural elements in Malay ghazal lyrics (Liaw, 2013; Kanda, 1992).	158
21	Shadows of ragas and fragments of maqamat in the vocal melody of selected Malay ghazals were detected by the author (ragas) and Gisa Jähnichen (maqamat).	162
22	Adaptation of selected appearances according to their cultural construction regarding instrumental parts in the Malay ghazal.	176
23	The formal structure and melodic structure of ghazal Johor (as flow and as sequence).	193
24	Comparison of some selected features in the migration process of the harmonium.	202
25	Structure, rhythmic and melodic features of Malay ghazal performances. Tabla transcription (Figure 77) of the first stanza is analysed.	208
26	Rhythmic pattern of Keherwa tala is indicated with mnemonics.	209
27	The tabla sound of the rhythmic pattern played in introductory piece of Sri Mersing is illustrated applying Hindustani tabla mnemonics.	209
28	Colour formula of tabla mnemonics.	211
29	First online search for available ghazal recordings.	250
30	Details of audiovisual recordings related to this study. Transcriptions of interviews are attached to the audio files and accessible in ARCPA	251
31	The list of recordings is included in the Audio CD.	297

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Overview on applied qualitative methods, their relationship to the objectives, and the theoretical framework.	7
2	Research approach.	9
3	Position of musicians in a ghazal ensemble before modernising it (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978: 12).	22
4	Position of musicians in a ghazal ensemble before modernising it (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978: 13).	22
5	The scheme showing the interrelation among performing genres in the Malay world on a timeline.	29
6	Till the end of British Colonialism in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan were not politically separated while Sri Lanka was always recognized as politically separated country from India. Map of India in 1860, around when the British Crown took control from the British East India Trading Co. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e6/British_india.png	56
7	Rahman B. performing in the middle in Bangsawan theatre performances. Recaptured photo by Chow Ow Wei from a private archive of Rahman B., Kg Baru, Kuala Lumpur, 2013.	60
8	Recaptured photo by Chow Ow Wei from a private archive of Rahman B., Kg Baru, Kuala Lumpur, 2013.	61
9	Johor Sultanate. Accessible via http://www.zum.de/whkmla/histatlas/seasia/johorpartition.gif (Open source).	68
10	Releases of ghazal and Asli recordings in the mid of the 20th century. The singing voice might have been idealised from some of these recordings that were widely distributed.	72
11	Language diversity in India [http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/karten/indi/indicm.htm].	73
12	Percentage distribution of the population by religion, Malaysia, 2010.	75
13	Traditional setting of Malay ghazal ensemble. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2013. Johor Baru.	81
14	Spectral and waveform view of ghazal Sri Mersing (introductory piece).	100
15	The first stanza of Sri Mersing.	101
16	Vocal transcription of ghazal Sri Mersing.	103
17	Harmonium transcription of ghazal Sri Mersing.	107
18	Introductory piece of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik in spectral and waveform view.	113
19	First stanza of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik in spectral and waveform view.	114

20	Vocal transcription of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik.	115
21	Harmonium transcription of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik.	119
22	Nasib Badan introductory piece, spectral and wave form view.	123
23	Nasib Badan A1-1, spectral and wave form view.	124
24	Vocal transcription of ghazal Nasib Badan.	126
25	Harmonium transcription of ghazal Nasib Badan.	129
26	Sri Muar introductory piece, spectral and wave form view.	134
27	First stanza of Sri Muar (A1-1), spectral and wave form view	135
28	Vocal transcription of ghazal Sri Muar.	136
29	Harmonium transcription of ghazal Sri Muar.	139
30	Introductory piece of Sayang Musalmah, spectral and wave form view.	143
31	First stanza of Sayang Musalmah, spectral and wave form view.	144
32	Vocal transcription of ghazal Sayang Musalmah with extremely long phrases (marked with ~).	146
33	Harmonium transcription of ghazal Tambak Johor.	149
34	The first stanza (A1-1) of ghazal Pak Ngah Balik. Both harmonium (above) and vocal lines (below) are represented together.	161
35	The first stanza of Sri Mersing (A1-1) demonstrates that beginning and ending of a vocal phrase resulted in unemphasized units of the bar.	161
36	Excerpt from the first stanza of Sri Mersing (A1-2).	163
37	Excerpt from the second stanza of Sri Mersing (B1-1).	163
38	Excerpt from the first stanza of Pak Ngah Balik (A1-1).	164
39	Excerpt from the second stanza of Pak Ngah Balik (B1-1).	164
40	Excerpt from the first stanza of Nasib Badan (A1-1).	164
41	Excerpt from the second stanza of Nasib Badan (B1-1).	164
42	Excerpt from the first stanza of Sri Muar (A1-1).	165
43	Excerpt from the second stanza of Sri Muar (B1-1).	165
44	The first stanza of Sayang Musalmah (A1-1) shows a few fragments of different ragas.	165
45	The second stanza of Sayang Musalmah (B1-1) shows a few fragments of different ragas.	166
46	Fourth Stanza (B2-1).	166
47	Repetition of Fourth Stanza (B2-2).	166
48	Typical Malay vocal melodic movements are shown in the first stanza of Pak Ngah Balik (A1-2).	168
49	Typical Malay vocal melodic movements are shown in the first stanza of Sri Mersing (A1-2)	168
50	Typical Malay vocal melodic movements are shown in the first stanza of Sri Muar (A1-2).	168

51	Typical Malay vocal melodic movements are shown in the first stanza of Sayang Musalmah (A1-2).	169
52	Typical Malay vocal melodic movements are shown in the first stanza of Nasib Badan (A1-2).	169
53	Score of Tambak Johor used as teaching material in the ghazal class of ASWARA 2012-2013, ARCPA1260G.	171
54	The harmonium melody played taking the score (Figure 52) as basic guide.	172
55	Transcription excerpt from ARCPA2678, the beginning of the first stanza of Tambak Johor, vocal part.	172
56	a) Paul Gauguin playing the harmonium in Mucha's Studio, c.1895. (Alphonse Marie Mucha, Copyright by Mucha Limited). b) "A well-known Ghazal group, led by Pak Lomak, taken in 1948 (Haji Musa bin Yusof 'Pak Lomak' at the piano. Enche Mokhtar bin Zam at the harmonium)" (Abudllah bin Mohammad, 1971: 27).	178
57	Map: Some spots where the 'Indian' harmonium is distributed.	180
58	One of two harmoniums encountered with Pakistan descendants in the Padang city, Sumatra. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2014.	182
59	One of two harmoniums encountered with Pakistan descendants in the Padang city, Sumatra. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2014.	182
60	A harmonium played by south Indian descendant named Ismail who is living in house 19A, Jalan Juanda Dalam, Padang, West Sumatra. Photo by Chinthaka Meddegoda, 2014.	183
61	One of two harmoniums encountered with a south Indian descendant named Elliyas living in Pariaman. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2014.	184
62	One of two harmoniums encountered with a south Indian descendant named Elliyas living in Pariaman. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2014.	184
63	The harmonium used by Ajia Umas Gandhi in Pariaman. Photo by Gisa Jähnichen, 2014.	186
64	Ajia Umas Gandhi playing on harmonium for gamat music at a canteen near Pariaman beach. Photo by Chinthaka Meddegoda, 2014.	186
65	Example of Hindustani ghazal: harmonium (Ghulam Ali) and voice (Ghulam Ali) in Kabhi Aha Lab. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	192
66	Repetition of first stanza (A1-2) in the harmonium melody of ghazal Sri Mersing. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	194
67	Repetition of Frist Stanza (A1-2) in ghazal Pak Ngah Balik harmonium melody played by Salleh Arshad. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	195
68	Introductory piece of Sri Mersing played on harmonium by Zainal Bin Talib. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	196

69	Harmonium melody of the first stanza (A1-1) in Nasib Badan. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	197
70	Harmonium melody of the first stanza (A1-1) in Pak Ngah Balik. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	197
71	Harmonium melody of the first stanza (A1-1) in Sri Mersing. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	198
72	Harmonium melody of the first Stanza (A1-1) in Sri Mersing. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	198
73	Harmonium melody of the first stanza (A1-1) in Tambak Johor ARCPA2680. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	198
74	A taksim like free metric melodic piece played on harmonium in Pak Ngah Balik. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	199
75	Concluding melodic phrase played on harmonium in Nasib Badan.	199
76	Concluding melodic phrase played on harmonium in Pak Ngah Balik.	199
77	Example of thumri performance: harmonium (Shankar Rao Kapileshwari) and vocal line (Abdul Karim Khan) in Jamuna ke Tira Kanha in Rag Bhairavi. Transcription by Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda.	201
78	Spectral and waveform view of introductory instrumental piece in ghazal Sri Mersing.	209
79	Malay tabla strokes are identified through Indian tabla mnemonics (ghazal Seri Mersing accompanied on tabla by Mohamad Syafiq, Johor, 2013: ARCPA2261).	212
80	Tabla strokes are translated into colours (ghazal Seri Mersing accompanied on tabla by Mohamad Syafiq, Johor, 2013: ARCPA2261)	213
81	Malay tabla strokes are identified through Indian tabla mnemonics (ghazal Tambak Johor accompanied on tabla by Abdullah Omar Abdul Wahid “Bobby”, Kuala Lumpur, 2013: ARCPA2152).	214
82	Tabla strokes are translated into colours (ghazal Tambak Johor accompanied on tabla by Abdullah Omar Abdul Wahid “Bobby”, Kuala Lumpur, 2013: ARCPA2152).	215
83	Often used tabla strokes in Malay ghazal playing that are not common in Hindustani music practices.	216



© COPYRIGHT UPM



© COPYRIGHT UPM



© COPYRIGHT UPM

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

It is evident that Indian culture and its people have been widely dispersed throughout Asia due to geographical factors, religious missions, trade, invasions, and tourism. North Indian music plays an important role in culturally shaping the region within this long-term process of exchange and migrations departing from India. In the last 150 years, the music based on Hindustani raga, meter (tala), words (pada) and instruments have been syncretized in Malay music cultures as a result of cultural adaptations, and supported by early Bollywood films since the 1930s and following Malay film productions. Malaya/Malaysia is one of those countries that have adapted many Indian cultural aspects in the course of this development. Prior to the arrival of Bollywood in Malaysia, Hindustani music was practiced on Riau Lingga, then in Singapore, in some other parts of Indonesia, Johor, Malacca, Kuala Lumpur, and Penang, as illustrated by many scholars and musicians. One remarkable feature is the development of Malay ghazal. It is apparent that ghazal practices in Malaysia have been dominantly perpetuating Hindustani musical instruments i.e. tabla and harmonium. Both musical instruments are, among others, prominent in Malay ghazal. They are said to be brought by Indian musicians who came to Malaysia for various purposes.

However, though Indian sources are undoubtedly mentioned, the degree of integrating Hindustani musical elements into ghazal music practice as well as social and ethnic implications has yet to be discussed. As a result, insights into processes of cultural adaptations and appropriations, mainly in Malay communities, could be contributed. Qualitative musical analyses and historical methods have great potential for an exploration of traces of Hindustani music in Malaysian ghazal. These methods have to be complemented by grounded theory, narrative and discourse analyses in order to obtain a wider picture that answers the questions raised in the context of cultural dynamics found in Southeast Asia.

In the first overview on the topic, it was found that there are at least two different types of practices connected to the term 'ghazal' in Malaysia that were widely confused in the literature (Amin, 1979, Chopyak, 1986). The two types are ghazal Melayu Johor, further called Malay ghazal; and ghazal parti Utara, also called ghazal parti. In order to trace musical elements of Hindustani culture, only the first type can be investigated since the other has a different history and has little to do with Hindustani music practices. This insight is the result of observations and the literature review made in the context of this background study.

1.2 Problem Statement and Research Questions

Due to the fact that Malaysia is a socially, ethnically, and religiously multi-layered country, the opinions and knowledge on music varies among musicians and listeners in Malaysia. Most of the musicians who are connected with popular music may not have a detailed perception of Hindustani music even though they listen, practice, and have named it as Hindustani in early Malaysian popular music. Due to a lack of exposure to Hindustani culture and society that forms the background of its musical features most of the music listeners in Malaysia cannot know much about the essentials of Hindustani music, though they may appreciate and enjoy them in their own way. Popular music in Malaysia is understood as a music culture that has been evolving through the integration of imported music cultures within existing Malaysian music practices. The history reveals that Hindustani music is ingrained in Malaysian music practices and today most of its content remains academically un-documented and is blurred due to a lack of historical research. Musical aspects of Hindustani culture have been modified in the multicultural context of Malaysia and used for extra-musical purposes including political, religious, and economical goals.¹ Malay ghazal is emblematic in this regard.

Therefore, it is crucial to look into **the ways and the extent to which Hindustani culture can be musically traced in Malay ghazal** in order to contribute to a wider picture. The main research questions are as following:

- What do Malaysian scholars and musicians know about the field of Hindustani music culture in the Malay world and what is known about Hindustani ghazal?
- Are musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal evident through transcriptions and participant observation? To what extent are Hindustani musical elements used in Malay ghazal?

To a certain degree, these research questions include investigations in a broader context of cross-cultural approaches. Sub-questions on different degrees of adapting musical elements and tools in Malay ghazal, as well as questions on diverse historical developments, unavoidably arise in the course of the research. However, these questions play a subordinated role and are only taken up in support of the main focus of understanding musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal.

This research aims at analysing how Hindustani musical elements are used in Malay ghazal performances in Malaysia. In this study, actual music practices are considered for analysis, with references to sound and audiovisual materials available in Malaysia, Singapore, and partly in Indonesia. This research mainly focuses on musical questions regarding Hindustani music in Malaysian ghazal compositions rather than on its popularity on the music market. In doing so, this

¹ For example, in tourism programmes that emphasize cultural unity among a diverse population, Hindustani elements constitute a cultural component.

research will deliver essential insights into musical processes connected to the incorporation of cross-cultural elements, which will support future research.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives in carrying out this study are derived from the research questions. Apart from that, these questions can be summarized in the following two objectives: **first, investigating the understanding of various Indian musical elements by Malaysian musicians and scholars; second, the adaptation/appropriation as well as application of Indian musical elements within local music practices in Malaysia, taking Malay ghazal as an example.**

The second objective is of a practical nature and aims at **analysing how Hindustani musical elements are used in ghazal performances in Malaysia.**

Both main objectives have to entail a broader view on the cultural context in Malaysia, on historical developments, migrating patterns of cultures and their changes. Therefore, this study will include a wider domain analysis, and methods of analytic induction, in order to focus on the given conditions for the two main objectives. Some of the extracted suggestions draw on viewpoints expressed by musicians and other informants, as well as the author's own observations during his direct interaction with them. In this context, discourse analysis will be conducted in order to support the framework of the main objectives.

1.4 Significance of the Study

There are many studies on music in Malaysia that encompass outlines or parts of the musical content, its actual value, its importance to the community, and also how this music is practiced at various occasions. Few studies discuss foreign musical elements that could be traced in traditional and modern music of Malaysia.

This study is set to trace Indian especially Hindustani musical elements that have been practiced in Malaysian music activities throughout the history. This research implies an explicit investigation into Indian musical elements and their application within popular music in Malaysia, with ghazal being the primary example. By doing so, the gap of studies about the musical content in cross-cultural adaptation processes can be filled.

This research will help to develop a clear picture on the musical content, regarding traces of Hindustani musical elements that have been practiced in Malaysian music activities throughout history. By doing so, the thesis is musically pioneering as a contribution in identifying the degree of cross-cultural exchange between Malaya/Malaysia and South Asia. At the same time, this study will contribute to preserve the diversity of Malay ghazal practices (Appendix A). From an anthropological point of view, this fact is important to Malaysians as well as to

Indians who will find a better understanding of cultural connections and exchange potential.

Moreover, this study will enhance the understanding of cultural appropriations within Malaysian popular music at the present time and deliver a broader understanding of the migration of ghazal around the world. Beyond the main tasks, this study can stimulate the discussion on a differentiated view on the history of Malaysian popular music over the past decades and on migrating patterns of musical cultures in general.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

This thesis does not aim at giving an account of the popularity of Hindustani music in Malaysia in the sense of its commercial value, or political and religious issues, unless those matters are directly relevant in answering the main research questions. Only significantly distinct musical elements of Hindustani music are considered in the analysis of materials collected. Literature on the main topics of this study is comparatively rare and cannot fully serve as a primary source of knowledge. A number of musicians and scholars who are experts in this regard are interviewed to gather information. Since the entire number of scholars, musicians and listeners is unknown, a percentage of saturation within the involved group of people cannot be defined. Therefore, only those Malaysian musicians who took part in this study were interviewed, thus operating with primary sources that are processed in course of the scientific discourse. The interview process necessarily cannot be comprehensive since the information to be obtained is a general experience in the field of Malay music that is inherited by most of the active musicians. In this research, musical recordings, including sound and audiovisual productions available since 1930 in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia are taken as references to actual music practices, though the clarity of recordings did not allow for detailed transcriptions. However, the auditory impression is helpful in order to note similarities in the framework of compositions. In some cases, music recorded in India, which provides elements to be compared to Malaysian music is examined to determine the relation between respective musical details. Further repertoires of ensembles that play music labelled as Malay ghazal such as popular songs or joget are not included in this study.

The time frame of this study is essentially the last 100 years for examining the origins, historical context and evolution of ghazal practices in Malaysia. For early recordings, the descriptions given in the literature have to be considered as a primary source since the recordings available since the 1930s are not clear enough or no longer available as primary sound sources.

1.6 Transcription of Terms

Certain terms often used in this study will have references to explanations that are explained in detail and in the context of their appearance. Also, terms used that are

taken from languages such as Sanskrit, Urdu or Arabic are transcribed in the most common and easily accessible way without diacritics. This is to enable readers searching for terms in digital media and also within the thesis itself provided that this thesis is available in digital format. In cases, where diacritics have to be used for clarity, footnotes provide further explanation.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Literature on Methodology

There are only a few studies directly focusing on popular music in Malaysia while there are numerous studies on other interrelated music and cultural phenomena that are indirectly connected to Malaysian popular music. However, these studies incorporate various methods that are compatible with and applicable on some parts of this study.

Mandal (2007) has employed qualitative research methods mainly discourse analysis and quasi-statistics to show the position and diffusion of Indians and Indian culture in Malaysia by inferring literature and statistics collected from various mass media source. His article 'Indianness in Malaysia: Between Racialized Representations and the Cultural Politics of Popular Music' is of interest as it helps to understand a deeper differentiation among Indians living in Malaysia.

According to Chopyak (1986) whose writings are essential for studies of Malay music traditions there are no fixed criteria for defining Malay traditional music. He has mainly chosen observations and interviews to descriptively and chronologically document the contour of Malay traditional music genres. His study (Chopyak, 1987) on the role of music in mass media was conducted through discourse analysis and observations to process complex information.

Jerry Farrell (1999) has endeavoured to bring a chronological coherence to material found in mass media in his study "Indian music and the West" by applying mainly discourse analysis. Keller (2005) proclaims that "I suggest a different strategy for discourse research in order to bring the latter 'down to earth' in empirical sociology: Rather than focusing on the analysis of 'language in use', it is preferable and possible to translate some Foucaultian insights on discourse into sociological theory building". Following this idea, this study also undergoes the principles of Foucaultian discourse analysis method rather than being restricted to the meaning of the language and other restrictive factors to understand the various statements found in relevant discourses.

Grounded theory looks at a particular situation and tries to understand what is going on (Kervin, Vialle, Herrington, & Okely 2006). What distinguishes grounded theory with other methodologies is that it is explicitly emergent i.e. it does not set out to test a hypothesis (Dick, 2002). Similarly, the current study is also ambivalent

about assuming a hypothesis, despite taking up a central concept of an aesthetic principle. This central concept is rather the outcome of the research and not the definite point of departure. By restricting the literature, there is a reduced likelihood that the data are manipulated to support existing theory and findings (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In contrast, Schreiber and Stern (2001, 58) suggested that “plunging into the field research without delving into the relevant literature would be folly”. The latter statement contrasts with the current thesis given that a lack of literature exists in the proposed realm. Therefore, grounded theory is set as the core method of this research to reach the objectives. Grounded theory is a methodology that can only be learned, as Glaser (1998, 19; 2003, 92) puts it “just do it”. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, 67) “theoretical saturation” is the criterion used to judge when to stop collecting data. In this research, every kind of data that is somehow pertinent to research objectives and questions is collected by employing various qualitative methods that are explicitly named in the following sub-sections.

1.7.2 Theoretical Framework and Research Design

Methodologically, the objectives of this research require continuous music practice over a time of at least two years and direct interaction with musicians, scholars and listeners in the context of live performances. The exact number of ghazal musicians or ghazal listeners in Malaysia is unknown. However, it is obvious that most of the ghazal musicians are to be found in Johor or have strong personal connections to Johor through visitations, private relationships, competitions, and other cultural events. As with the first objective, the second objective depends on participant observation and direct interaction with musicians and listeners. Furthermore, a great part of the entire process is micro-analytical work through detailed musical transcriptions, and their interpretations are conducted in order to clarify statements.

This research continuously uses qualitative research methods that would be more appropriate to determine answers for the proposed research questions. Quantitative research methods would not be effective for the great diversity of perceptive conditions; thus, it would not be possible to locate enough respondents that have to be placed into a relatively similar context. Hence, this research is designed to follow qualitative research principles by using the methods of domain analysis, microanalysis, discourse analysis, analytic induction, and mainly grounded theory that are combined according to the detail investigated. Another applied method is narrative analysis that is conducted in the context of interviews and informal conversation.

Especially, the first objective of this thesis requires a strong emphasis on grounded theory, due to the lack of literature in the area of study and the importance of participant observation. Eventually, this approach leads to a central concept that musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal are based on an aesthetic principle of ‘selective tolerance’, a term that will be introduced in this context.

These methods are used in a wider framework related to the key terms ‘adaptation’ and ‘appropriation’ as can be seen in some literature dedicated to the tradition of poststructuralism. For example, the chapter on ‘Adaptation in Theory’ found in explanations about Derrida’s theories of deconstruction written by Emig (2012), as well as recent literature by Huck and Baurnschmidt on Trans-Cultural Appropriation (2012). These rather philosophical writings can be supported for ethnomusicological studies by a number of authors working on cross-cultural adaptation such as R. K. Wolf in ‘Theorizing the Local: Music, Practice, and Experience in South Asia and Beyond’ (2009) or in the collection of essays edited by Chun, Rossiter and Shoesmith on ‘Refashioning Pop Music in Asia’ (2004).

Most importantly, these writings underline that “adaptation never happens inside an aesthetic vacuum, but inside ideologies and power structures that determine not merely the cultural value attributed to adaptation, but in many cases whether adaptations are possible at all” (Emig, 2012: 16). These thoughts lead then to a concept found through grounded theory applied in this study that can be summarized as ‘selective tolerance’.

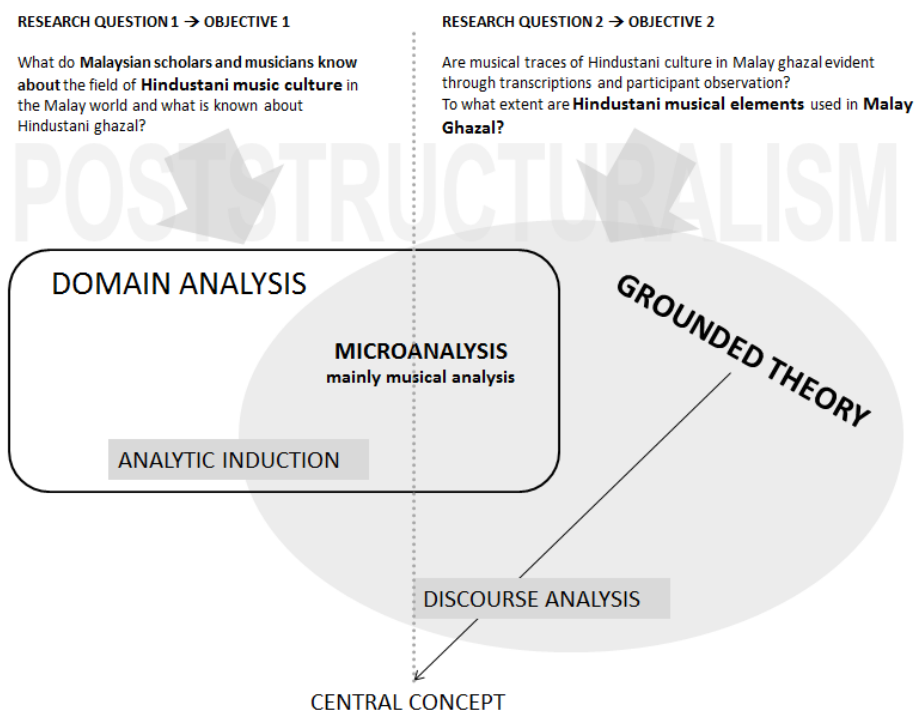


Figure 1: Overview on applied qualitative methods, their relationship to the objectives, and the theoretical framework.

The research design of this study follows the qualitative research methods. In this research, domain analysis is applied to study a part of popular music culture in Malaysia and to basically understand the current knowledge in this research area.

Therefore the domain of this research encompasses popular music practices, literature on popular music, sound and audiovisual materials of popular music in Malaysia mainly of the past 80 years as far as those materials can be accessed.

The term 'Hindustani music element' denotes idiosyncratic music features that are distinctive amongst other existing music systems. As a result, this study narrows down the scope to early urban popular music and further still, on a rather elitist entertainment practice that is then taken as the main focus is on Malay ghazal as practiced in Johor.

Microanalysis is utilized to identify ingrained and modified Hindustani musical elements out of renditions of Malaysian popular music. Microanalysis is essential as this research is mainly focused on musical content. Studying the discourses related to this study is crucial to examine current findings, views, arguments, and other essential information that is pertinent within this study. Most popular music practices remain ambiguous in understanding their relation to other musical practices given the situation that they have been synthesizing various cultural influences within their respective cultural environment. Analysing diverse discourses of other researchers provides information that helps to answer the research questions in this study. The analytical induction method is applied to understand particular matters that can be assumed only by logical thinking. Apparently, there is lack of hypotheses and comparative studies available and this study needs to follow grounded theory in essential sections. This grounded theory enables the author to emerge with statements and central concepts in answering the research questions.

All these methods appear mixed and intentionally overlap in order to maximise the outcome from multiple perspectives. Each research question carries more than one method in order to acquire findings. The methods of domain analysis and microanalysis must be used to find out what Hindustani musical elements exist in Malaysian popular music and how they are modified within Malaysian music culture, especially in Malay ghazal.

Following an unbiased approach to traditional and modern music in Malaysia, the methods of grounded theory, domain analysis, and discourse analysis are appropriate. These are applied to trace Hindustani musical elements in Malaysian music and to determine to what extent Hindustani music is used without being obscured by imposed social or cultural hierarchies or derived taxonomies.

As Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country, its music is shaped and affected by many music cultures such as Indian, European, Persian, Arabian and Malay music in the wider Malay world. Generally, each ethnic group in Malaysia may prefer its own music while there is also a certain interest in others' music. As a matter of fact, the language of a particular music genre often affects musical preferences. Musical content is often not seen as an independent value (Fornäs, 1997). Various interviews with musicians and other informants are to observe the place of Indian music in Malaysia.

The author's experience with Indian listeners in North India helps to formulate questions and to interpret findings on similarities and differences when looking at musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal. Apparently, some Malay music traditions including ghazal are partly based on Indian musical elements. But most of the Malaysian musicians and other informants that could be observed are unable to define these Indian musical elements used in their music compositions apart from identifying musical instruments. Many Indian musical elements appear blurred during the process of adaptation. The methods of domain analysis and analytic induction have been used to find out which Indian musical elements are actually practiced in Malay ghazal and how they might have been modified.

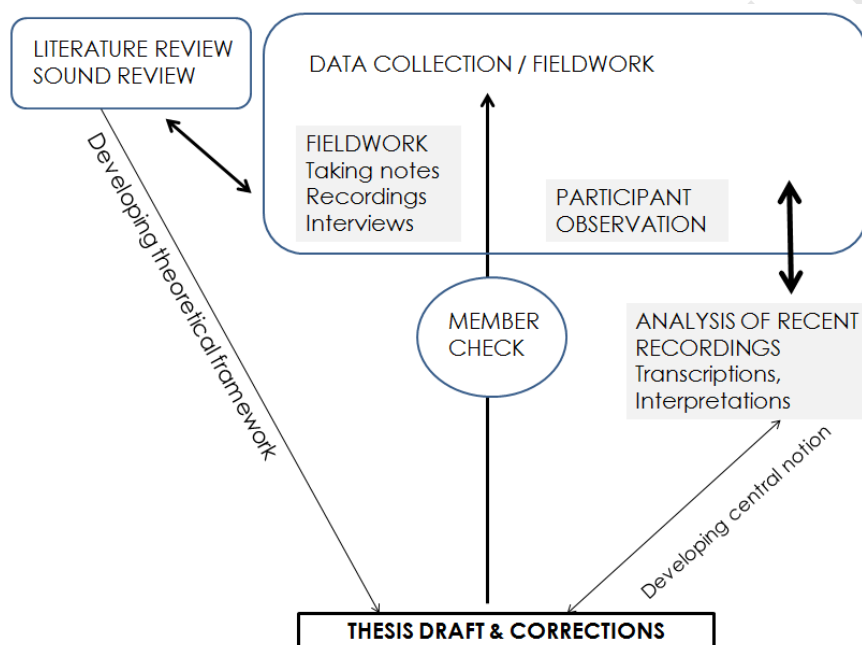


Figure 2: Research approach.

Despite detecting musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal, more general aspects have to come into view. Therefore, a discourse analysis using diverse sources has to be conducted in order to determine how Hindustani music is understood by musicians and other informants.

The central concept of a **selective tolerance** in cross-culturally adapting or appropriating parts of a migrating culture through acknowledging visually represented music instruments is to be discussed as an outcome of the methodologically application of grounded theory. In sociological studies (Hage, 1998; Calcutt et al., 2009), the term 'selective tolerance' is used to denote openness to the free flow of some products and ideas between different cultures, while the direct confrontation with another culture as a complex entity that includes all its historical and social features causes discomfort. The harmonium, as it will be shown, is rather adapted in the way as described by Emig (2012) and Wolf (2009),

while the tabla is appropriated as well as the scattered traces of raga based melodic renditions in vocal lines that will be analysed in Chapter 4. Seen in the context of multicultural Malaysia, the ethnic labelling of the harmonium and tabla is possibly part of a strategy following a selective tolerance towards a rather undifferentiated Indian culture. This central concept has to be confirmed or refused throughout this thesis.

1.7.3 Setting the Field Location

According to the objectives in this thesis, selected interviewees reside in Malaysia. Thus, practicing musicians living in Kuala Lumpur, Johor, and Penang are considered. In particular, music practitioners of popular music who come from families with a strong musical background and a local history as musicians are interviewed to determine the history through narratives. Their singing and playing sessions are video recorded and analysed as proposed. In this research, musicians that learned music practices in a traditional way are of particular interest due to the belief that they might possess musical legacies that may still be in a somewhat unmodified shape such as following a certain type of musical understanding inherited within the family. Reference is made to sound and audiovisual sources of social musical events featuring music played by ghazal ensembles in Kuala Lumpur, Johor, Malacca and other places that were recorded by other researchers, professionals, and scholars. This material is obtained from archives, personal collections, or purchases.

Additional information regarding this research is collected from scholars in proposed research areas such as musicology, ethnomusicology, and anthropology by interviewing and conducting informal discussions. These scholars were met at their respective universities and information was gathered by recording their views on the research questions and arising issues.

The main interviewees are active musicians of ghazal and related genres such as Norihan Saif and his ghazal musicians Ridhuan, Syahir, Hazwan, Lukman, Sunya, and Radei; a family of ghazal musicians with Sabihah Abdul Wahid, Abdullah Omar Abdul Wahid, Muhammad Radzi Abdul Wahid, Muhammad Sofie Abdul Wahid, and Muhammad Saffian Abdul Wahid; musicians and singers of the traditional show band 1Malaysia Rojer and Jamilah; the probably highly qualified musicians of Yayasan Warisan Johor Abdul Rahman, Mohamad Syafiq, Zainal Bin Talib, Sheikh Malek Fuizal, Kamaruz Zamad; musicians of the Ghazal Muar Group led by Johari Arshad that are Hasnah Ismail, Zainab Binti Mohamad, Razali Noor, Paiman Haji Ahmad, Yusof Bajur, and Abdul Rashid. Interesting partners were also the representative Malay musician in the Sarawak Cultural Village Haji Mohd Nor bin Arbi, who confirmed the absence of local ghazal practices in East Malaysia; the gambus musician, singer and cultural activist Zubir Abdullah in Singapore, musicians of the Malay Heritage Centre in Singapore Firdaus, Ridhwan, Hazlan, Afi, and Fadil, the Bangsawan performer and collector Rahman Abu Bakar (Rahman B.), local musicians in Pariaman and Padang (Sumatra) Ribut Anton Sujarwo, Ajia Umas Gandhi, Hasnawi, Lismawati, Yuli Dar, and Pirin.

All these musicians contributed significantly to the research by allowing for participant observation in the context of their own music practice, and through their responses to the research questions. Furthermore, the musicians involved are significant observers due to their experience with musicians of former generations and their grounded understanding of Malay ghazal and related genres.

Additionally to that, scholars in the field of Asian performing arts were informally interviewed such as Mohd Anis Mohd Nor, Ghulam Sarwar Yousof, Tan Sooi Beng, and Patricia Yamaguchi. Jean During could provide further information on the general history of ghazal. Other scholars and occasional performers interviewed for their knowledge on the subject of research and historical background are found in Taman Budaya Sumbar of Padang (Sumatra) such as Sexri Budiman and Muasri in Padang; and Martarosa in Padang Panjang; the anthropologists and sociologists Gill Sarjit Singh, Zahid Emby, Sohaimi Haji Abdul Aziz; and scholars and performers of North Indian classical music Anirban Bhattacharyya and Srijan Deshpande.

Another group to be observed and interacted with is constituted of organisers, occasional performers, and other informants who are familiar with the genre, for example: the multitalented organiser and performer Omara and the dancer Halim Ibrahim from Penang, who clarified some aspects of 'ghazal parti'; and Haji Jafar, who organises the main activities in Yayasan Warisan Johor; and teachers at Sekolah Seni such as Abdul Rahim Bin Abdullah and Izyan Syazwani binti Abdol Rahaman in Johor with their students. Additionally, conversations with diverse listeners during weddings and official events as listed in the archival support table (Appendix B) were essential to understand the various functions of Malay ghazal in the community.

A full list of 218 recordings made during this research and for the reasons described above is attached in the Appendix B. The data given comprise place, date, duration, themes discussed, music practiced, names/ groups of performers or interviewees, technical information, and legal status of the recordings.

1.7.4 Data Collection

The collected data consists both of secondary and primary sources in terms of their origin. Primary data in this research are materials collected through direct interviews, notes of formal discussions, teaching lessons, and live performances, sound and audiovisual documents of music performed by musicians and recorded by the author of this study. The secondary data in this research are recordings regarding popular music available in popular media, libraries, personal collections and literature accessible on this topic.

Data which are likely related to Hindustani music in Malaysian popular music were collected as the researcher is thoroughly unaware on the entire domain of this research, i.e. Malaysian popular music that can be further narrowed down to early

urban popular music and to a certain extent elitist entertainment music since the beginning of the 20th century. By referring to and examining the findings during the data collection process, the researcher focused on most prominent and necessary information that is to be obtained from certain sources and thus the completion of data collection is fast progressing. Discourse analysis and other proposed methods of analysis were carried out concurrently with the data collection process, so that those conclusions and outcomes could imply what should be collected next. Any sound and audiovisual material gathered was archived and documented as well as transcribed parallel to data collection and was processed at the Audiovisual Research Collection for Performing Arts (ARCPA) at the UPM Music Department.

Field work for data collection was conducted in four periods (semester-wise). Secondary sources were a focus throughout the four semesters when the primary data were collected. In the first semester, the primary sources of focus were scholars and musicians of the relevant research area who are accessible in Kuala Lumpur. In the second semester, Johor Baru, Muar, Malacca, and Penang are covered. In the third semester, Malacca and Kuala Lumpur were the areas of focus. In the fourth semester, multiple places were chosen for gathering data as required by the researcher after examining previously collected data and confirming findings with previously consulted participants.

1.7.5 Data Analysis

Data analysing processes were recurrently undertaken during data collection. The literature obtained is not only on popular music but also other interdisciplinary matters and has to be critically analysed. Recorded material regarding interviews, discussions, and all kinds of verbal expressions related to this study was transcribed. This was so that analyses were made more effective and accurate, as referring to the text which is provided through supplementary material stored in the Audiovisual Research Collection of Performing Arts at the Music Department of Universiti Putra Malaysia (ARCPA). Some music recordings demonstrated by performers and other relevant music recordings are transcribed in a modified Western notation so that transcriptions make the expressed musical ideas visible in texts and signs. In my opinion, this way of looking at music expressions makes implications more explorative and apparent. By scrutinizing transcriptions and text of recorded material, the convolution in interpreting the convergence of different music contacts in Malaysia can become traceable.

Keeping in mind that data are obtained within a theoretical framework of poststructural thinking on the construction and/or deconstruction of musical meanings emerging through musical elements and behaviours, data analysis was conducted in two major steps: the analytical presentation of the musical text; and the related discourse in the context of these primary findings. These two steps are provided in different chapters. The complexity of the genre requires a joint focus on vocal and instrumental features for each chosen example. Only the visually highlighted Indian traces embodied in the two musical instruments harmonium and

tabla can be discussed separately in order to strictly follow the guiding research questions.

1.8 Literature Review

The literature review in this chapter deals with the most necessary literature in the context of this study. Further literature is explored in Chapter 2 regarding historical aspects and the development of Malay ghazal.

1.8.1 General Literature on Music Cultures in Malaysia and India

This subchapter is divided into reviews on literature dealing with music cultures in Malaysia that historically includes Malaya and India. Some literature is connected to the wider region of South Asia. Another complex of reviews is dedicated to cross-cultural aspects. The study of these writings is a basic step in approaching the central tasks given through the objectives of this study. By studying overview literature, fundamental terminology can be obtained that is necessary for conducting the analysis. Seen from the viewpoint of poststructural thinking (Emig, 2012), overview literature implements a first productive ‘bias’ that has to be approved or rejected through the actual findings.

1.8.1.1 Overviews on Music Cultures in Malaysia

Matusky and Tan have briefly described musical genres which exist in Malaysia and categorized them as classical, folk and syncretic traditions. Ghazal is discussed as a syncretic tradition for its integration of musical instruments and features from Malay, Indian, Arabic and western cultures.

Tan discusses in her book *Bangsawan* some details of using Hindustani music in *Bangsawan* theatre practices. She writes about *Irama Hindustan* which means Hindustani tempo, rhythm and metre (Tan, 1997:159). She provides examples of two rhythmic patterns from north Indian music called *Dādrā* and *Kaharvā*.

Matusky (1985) provides descriptions of major music instruments and genres of music, dance and theatre which are available in folk and traditional genres throughout Malaysia. In 1985, the time in which the article “An Introduction to the Major Instruments and Forms of Traditional Malay Music” was written, the musical life of urban areas reflects a high degree of western influence and many forms of syncretic music. In rural areas at that time, the singing of Arabic texts from the *Kitab Zikir* in praise of the holy prophet Muhammad and other traditional vocal and instrumental music were still broadly practiced. As Matusky declares, this article was originally written as introduction to the Malaysian music courses

for students and others who possess some knowledge of practice and theory in this regard. Nevertheless, it is also an introduction to traditional music in general since this article mainly focuses on folk and classical musical traditions in the Malay culture of Malaysia (Matusky, 1985:121). The overview gives a good picture about musical life in Malaysia at a time when the musicians that were later observed and interviewed were growing up.

Benjamin (2011) has emphasized that melismatic elaborations are dominant as a key feature in Malay vocal music practices, a fact that might be important to vocal renderings of pantuns. They mark certain Malayness among other cultural groups in Malaysia. He describes that Malay cultural expressions such as social personality, cooking and eating, dance, religion, grammar and lexicon are paralleled closely through increasing elaboration of the cultural expression regarding transition and transitivity of rakyat-Melayu, raja-Melayu and modern urban-Melayu. These features were manifest in different manners of musical performances favoured by various Malay groups. Benjamin's study gives some relevant information on aesthetics that are also important to Malay ghazal practices.

Sarkissian (1998) explains diversity in different cultures and how they are shown on different occasions with modifications in the context of tradition and tourism accordingly. Sarkissian (1998) describes social and political influence on traditional cultural events when they are displayed for different purposes. Chopyak (1986) categorizes the music genres found in Malaysia as traditional and modern. He writes about ghazal and says ghazal was used in Malaysia as an accompanying genre for dance after 1975, since the ministry of culture started to promote Malaysian dances (Chopyak, 1986:118–119). Sarkissian's and Chopyak's writings help to differentiate functions of ghazal. Chopyak may have confused Malay ghazal with ghazal parti, however, the observations made are important to the history of Malay ghazal and its understanding.

The book written by Andaya and Andaya in 2001 has given an account of the history of Malaysia including the precolonial era. The authors have used precolonial sources to provide some precise information, which may serve as a basic reference to cultural developments that have to be discussed in the historical context of Indian cultural influx.

1.8.1.2 Overviews on Hindustani Music Culture

Here are overviews on Hindustani Music Cultures briefly reviewed that are widely available regarding language and public access thus being used as a source of information among musicians and scholars beyond the geographical area of Hindustan. The understanding of Hindustani music is crucial to this research in order to define and to find musical traces of Hindustani culture in Malay ghazal.

The main principles of the classical Hindustani music system are elaborated by Danielou (1968). The essences of many north Indian ragas are described in detail.

Sanyal and Widdess (2004) provided comprehensive knowledge on Dhrupad, the oldest Hindustani vocal music genre among those that are still practiced. Their book “Dhrupad: Tradition and Performance in Indian Music” describes some of idiosyncratic features of Hindustani vocal music which would be taken into consideration in studying Hindustani music in Malay ghazal.

The typology of ghazal in India according to the occasion of ghazal practices is described as religious and secular by Qureshi (1990). The structure, meaning and extra-musical expressions are analysed in different ghazal idioms which were written in Urdu.

Van der Meer (1980) includes brief descriptions of various genres of Hindustani music and their evolution through various social and political developments in his book “Hindustani Music in the 20th century”. The basic features of Hindustani music which are distinct from other genres are discussed. This study helps to understand the changes of musical expressions that may have affected ghazal practices.

Manuel (1989) summarizes in the article “A Historical Survey of the Urdu ghazal-Song in India”, the development of ghazal in North India from a diachronic perspective, illustrating the unique versatility of the genre and suggesting how its stylistic evolution reflects broader socio-cultural changes in the subcontinent.

1.8.2 Cross-cultural Aspects

Jähnichen (2012) reviews Al Ghazali’s thoughts on the effects of music and singing upon the heart and the body and their impact on present-day Malaysian society. Al Ghazali’s thoughts have been followed by the ‘learned’ in the Muslim community in Malaysia over centuries. Moreover, actual changes through global knowledge access and through social contradictions within the multi-cultural Malaysian society are discussed employing an epistemological approach to key terms such as ecstasy, sin, control, fear, sorrow and joy. This review contributes to the understanding of various aesthetic principles among Malay musicians. Clare Chan Suet Ching (2012) explored P. Ramlee’s contribution to Malaya’s and Malaysia’s early popular music and gives examples of cross-cultural applications. Further contributions to the subject have to be reviewed in the course of the study.

Yousof (2010) discusses on the Islamic elements which are traceable in Malay and Indonesian theatre genres. Some possible ways of cultural migration through Indian and Arab traders, Sepoys and Indian immigrants are mentioned integrating some historical sources and logical assumptions that help to imagine historical changes.

Madiha Ramlan and M. A. Quayum (2010) have published a transcription of their interview with Ghulam Sarwar Yousof in reference to the theatre practices in Southeast Asia, cultural and political issues of succession of Southeast Asian theatre, dance and music practices and viewpoints of Ghulam Sarwar Yousof on the current situation of performing arts in Malaysia. This interview introduces useful aspects of current discussions among musicians and scholars in Malaysia.

The article of Braginsky and Suvorova (2008) titled “A New Wave of Indian Inspiration: Translations from Urdu in Malay Traditional Literature and Theatre”, explores the nature of Malay adaptations from Urdu works such as theatre scripts and Indo-Persian stories written by Indian and Persian writers. They discussed the cultural background of Malaya in the time when these Urdu works were translated, localized, reshaped, Malayised or appropriated. The long journey of Parsi theatre from its origin to its life in India and Malaya is clarified in this study. The social situation in Malaya and some parts of Indonesia is described referring to extant historical accounts and Urdu adaptations such as Hikayats, Syairs and Parsi theatre. Some necessary profiles of the authors and the impresarios and the challenges that they underwent while writing, printing and staging during British colonial period are well discussed and form a good background of understanding musical migration patterns.

Cohen (2001) discusses the Komedi Stamboel which is a theatre genre mainly thrived in Surabaya and Bhatavia in Java in the period from mid-19th century to mid-20th century. Referring to the sources, Cohen assumes that it is not only Komedi Stamboel which originated through interaction with Parsi theatre and Bangsawan, but also there are many other theatres sprang up from the same sources in the late nineteenth century. Providing some information on theatre genres practiced in Java and Sumatra, Cohen finds similarities, interaction and contacts with the theatre genres in Peninsular Malaya. He includes some information regarding music used in Parsi theatre and its offshoots and finds a musical piece known as lagu Parsi that is still performed in the repertoire of Lenong which is a popular theatre genre practiced in Jakarta.

The bibliographic essay on Parsi theatre written by Hansen (2001) refers to literary works available in Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati and English which were published in the twentieth century. The book (1981) written by Somnath Gupta on Parsi theatre was the latest and most comprehensive work which Hansen has often referred to in the essay. Reviewing these works, Hansen provides critical insights on origin, evolution and composite character of Parsi theatre that apparently had a great impact on the dissemination of musical elements all over Southeast Asia.

Martarosa (2008) gives a historical overview and informs on current practice of a particular music genre known as gamat in West Sumatra and some parts of the Malay world. Gamat practices are traced back to the Portuguese colonial period in Malacca since the early 16th century. Portuguese used to enter West Sumatra for trading purposes. Gamat has developed through the Portuguese interaction, Malay sailors who travelled with Portuguese and the Minangkabau people living along the West coast of Sumatra. Martarosa says that gamat was practiced for enjoyment of the musicians and their friends in informal gatherings at places of the West coast.

Later gamat was included in weddings and musicians got used to maintain certain rules and behaviour during the performances such as musicians need to return to their seat though they are allowed to stand and dance for a while during performance and musicians should not look back at the bride while performing. In 1952, gamat was performed while walking with wedding processions where the singer was accompanied by music instruments such as violin, guitar, drums, and tambourine. Gamat performances in wedding processions were practiced in the sub district known as Koto XI. The observations provided in Martarosa's study help to differentiate various musical adaptations and the changes they underwent in cultural practice over a larger period of time that is of significance for the development of Malay ghazal.

An addition to this is a study of Kartomi (1999) who writes about orkes Melayu which comprises vocalists, several gambus (lutes), a biola, a harmonium and frame-drums in its typical form. Kartomi mentions in her interpretation from early sources that "these ensembles performed harmonized songs with romantic Malay quatrain texts in coastal towns such as Painan". Painan was regarded as the major centre of gamat (1999:142). Gamat music dates back to the sixteenth to seventeenth century, the time in which Portuguese used to travel the West coast of Sumatra. This particular Minangkabau coastal style of Malay ensemble known as orkes Melayu later evolved into orkes gamat after adding international popular songs and styles which have been disseminated via radio in the twentieth century. According to Kartomi, "orkes gamat" connotes cheerful [music] ensemble. The performers of gamat comprised only males though they also impersonate females and female dance (ibid). This study shows a part of the development that can be brought into connection with ghazal parti, which has obviously little to do with Malay ghazal, where dance is not a prominent feature.

Matusky and Chopyak (2008:1300) state that the Asli music genre dates back to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Asli music has been developed through *dondang sayang* (love song) practices. The primary difference between both genres is that Asli songs are precomposed and the *dondang sayang* improvises the text (ibid). In some cases, these genres are so similar and distinctions may not be identified (ibid). The musical instruments in a traditional ensemble of Asli music comprise rebana or gendang, knobbed gong, violin, and sometimes harmonium. In some cases, the harmonium can be replaced with an accordion (ibid). However, Asli music can be played by other popular music ensembles such as Jazz bands, rock bands and orchestras. Joget is played with the same music instruments which are used in Asli bands (ibid).

The arrangement of musical instruments in various ensembles is important to the research question on how Hindustani music elements were understood.

1.8.3 Literature on Malay Ghazal

This sub-section of Chapter 1 comprises the most important literature that strongly contributed to this study. The order of review and the different types of texts set the

main framework constructed through rather sparsely available written sources. In course of the analysis, these sources are critically explained.

Haji Musa bin Yusof ([1956], 2007) writes on the relationship and difference between Malay ghazal and Hindustani ghazal in reference to the music practice and lyrics. This author is known as “Farther of ghazal Melayu” in the field of Malay ghazal. According to him, “gamat” music practices existed before Malay ghazal was known in the Malay world and gamat would be the term used in Hindustan for ghazal while the term ghazal was used by Malays (2007:126). Haji Musa bin Yusof stated that ghazal is performed in Hindustan in large gatherings of nobles by a female singer who charged one thousand Rupees per one evening. But ghazal was performed in Hindustan also in religious gatherings for praising the Prophet, Auliak, and their Keramat. Likewise in the Malay world, Berzanji Marhaban, Berdah (Zikir Rebana) and Hadrah were practiced (ibid). The author informs that sarangi and sitar were replaced with biola and gambus respectively in the Malay ghazal ensembles and later, kecapi Jepun and guitar were added enhancing the richness of the sound (ibid). He mentions that there are differences in singing style and song repertoire between Malay ghazal and Hindustani ghazal while some aspects of tabla playing are similar to Hindustan in terms of “teka”, its speed, and its “lagham” (ibid). By mentioning the word “teka” he might mean the Hindustani word “theka” which defines Hindustani rhythmic patterns illustrated with mnemonics. Provided that the author has defined it as “variety of tempo” within brackets, it is not clear whether he meant the same. What he meant by “lagham” is not really known, unless that was a misprint of “langgam” (melodic singing style) or “ragam” (mood?²). He insists that in order to become a ghazal musician, one needs extensive preparation and discipline in musical behaviour unlike the others who play for dance such as ‘zafin, jogi, tandak, masri’, and other types of dances which are performed with vigorous speed (2007:127). The lyrics of Malay ghazals are always consisting of pantun and sha’er (syair) in “Bahasa Melayu Riau-Johor” which is different from colloquial language (ibid). In the pantuns and sha’ers that contain a wide variety of satire and allusion need to be understood by reading unless these lyrics are disseminated through ghazal singing (ibid). He provides twelve verses of Malay sha’er or pantuns as an example for Malay poetics.

The term sha’er is actually an Urdu term that became only in course of time the Malay syair. In contrast to the high regard of ghazal in Malay society as described by Haji Musa bin Yusof, Hansen says on Urdu ghazal: “The Urdu ghazal, which like other genres was adopted into the performative texture of the Parsi theater, is treated at best with ambivalence, at worst with outright disdain” (Hansen, 2001:49).

Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971:24) states that ghazal in Johor is mostly performed during indoor gatherings. He writes “The ghazal is essentially Malay in spirit and

² It is not clear to which extent the term ragam was understood by early ghazal musicians. Most probably it could be understood as certain ‘mood’ which relates to speed, interval relationships and melodic features.

form, despite some traces of foreign influence, mainly Indian, not Arabic. (...) The ghazal is not meant to be performed in the open like the ronggeng” (1971:29). Many traditional pantuns were conserved since they were adapted in ghazals (ibid). He finds that the ‘Laila Majnun’ story was widely known among people in the Middle East and the Malay world via Arabic ghazal scripts through which Malays embarked on the ghazal arena. However, Malay ghazal lyrics were very far from being a romantic phenomenon (ibid).

Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971:29) says that Pak Lomak is a grandson of Dato Bentara Luar Mohamed Salleh bin Perang who was ordered to improve locations in Muar, Batu Pahat, and Endau. The Dato Bentara Luar was a great fan of ghazal and took the initiative in spreading ghazal in Johor using his authoritative position in the kingdom (1971:29). His assumption on the evolution of ghazal is stated as such “perhaps the Malay followers of the Temenggong centred at Telok Belanga with their leisure and contact with Indians and Arabs, in an atmosphere of a more tolerant society, were able to develop and organise the ghazal in their present form” (1971:29). He describes the political and cultural background for emerging and development of ghazal that:

During the 18th and 19th centuries, ghazal has been performed as an entertaining music in the petty courts situated in Riau-Lingga-Johor.

With the rise of leisured class in Riau-Lingga-Johor as the result of Pax-Hollandica and Pax-Brittanica, ghazal was patronised among people of leisured class.

With the development of economy in Southern Malaya through trade exchange with Europe, Arabia, and India, various foreign cultural elements were integrated into Malay culture for example foreign music instruments.

Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971: 24) states that “Malay ghazal is not a poetic genre or music form: it is rather a name applied to a musical session, a sort of salon musical party, consisting of traditional Malay folksongs controlled and disciplined by number of musical instruments mostly a foreign origin with the harmonium as the leader” (1971: 24). However, the latter statement is contradictory in many ways; if Malay ghazal is not a music genre, it would not sustain until today with specific musical repertoire, setting, and social function; seemingly, the author does not agree Malay ghazal as a music genre for it has a foreign origin and was controlled and disciplined by Malays. Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971:28) believes that melodies and lyrics of Malay ghazal are essentially Malay in character and the music instruments were adapted from foreign music cultures to accompany Malay melodies. He says Malay ghazal was originated in Riau-Lingga and was then spread in Johor (ibid). The most of Malay ghazal lyrics are standardized traditional pantuns which contain themes inspired from the Riau-Johor-Malacca heritage such as animals, birds, plants, and flowers. He speculates that some evidence for existence of Hindu and animistic beliefs in Malay folklore can be detected through the lyrics of Malay folk songs which include gunungs (mountains), hulus (streams), and kualas (mouth of river) (ibid).

According to Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971: 28), ghazal musicians believe that the application of a “quarter tone” makes the ghazal more advanced and only well experienced singers are able to apply a “quarter tone” precisely on ghazals. The author questions from the readers whether the concept of “quarter tone” has been borrowed from Indian, Arabian, Balinese or Javanese music traditions (ibid). The author describes his own experience regarding a ghazal performance was taken place at Stulang Laut seaside in Johor Bahru before the World War II (1971: 29,30). Although, the author has mentions Malay ghazal lyrics are very far from being a romantic phenomenon, he has witnessed in one of ghazal performances in which male singers and female singers sang ghazals on love, specifically the pain of separation of two lovers. The author describes “The game was quite simple. The girls were really making love to the noble patron present, a person quite beyond their hope. The male singers really replied, in their pantuns, on behalf of the “noble lover”. As the night wore on, the girls’ singing became more languid, and their love more appealing, and their desperate state of hopelessness appeared to me almost real” (Abdullah bin Mohamed, 1971:30). The star songstress Sa’erah must have known myriads of pantuns to apply some of them confidently into well-known ghazal melodies appropriately (ibid).

The pictures provided in this article indicate that the both hand pumped harmonium and foot bellow harmonium used relatively depending on the place where ghazal was performed (Abdullah bin Mohamed, 1971: 25–27). The pictures indicate the other music instruments used in ghazal ensemble are Jepun kechapi, gambus, tabla, violin, guitar, piano, and maracas.

Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz (1978) has brought together some information on ghazal referring to preceding literary works and few informants. He mentions “Mereka-menama kannya Langgam” by which he might have meant either Malays adapted ghazal as their entertainment event or the music genre called “Langgam” was replaced with ghazal (1978: 3). According to him the lyrics of Malay ghazal indicates themes based on cult of nature, king, country, religion, saints and those which are not about romantic phenomena (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978:3). In addition to Datuk Bentara Luar, Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz mentions few others’ names who contributed in spreading and improving ghazal i.e. Engku Cik Ahmad, Engku Sulaiman, Engku Ahmad, Engku Abd. Aziz B. Abd. Majid and Encik Dapat (1978:5). The author has further described what undertakings were started by those mentioned personalities for the development and improvement of ghazal in Malaya. The grandson of Datuk Bentara Luar and his role as a musician, composer, teacher, and administrator are described in few writings found from the time in which this article was written. Possibly, Datuk Bentara Luar has been in his position since the middle of nineteenth century. His grandson’s name is given by this author as Haji Musa bin Yusof and his nick name as “Pak Lomak” (1978: 6). He is regarded by Malays as “Bapa Melayu ghazal Johor” which means the farther of ghazal Johor (ibid) for his talents as a musician and entrepreneur and for his contribution as a composer and innovator (ibid). Pak Lomak composed many ghazals and a few of them are Pak Ngah Balik, Baharom Pengail (now known as Nasib Pengail), Sri Pati, and Puteri Ledang (1978: 10). The author tells an interesting anecdote of how Pak Lomak found a title for his new composition. When Pak Lomak was composing a ghazal using the harmonium, he noticed a

person whose name is “Pak Ngah” that was coming back from fishing. Then he put the title of the song as Pak Ngah Balik which means Pak Ngah is back or Pak Ngah returns (1978:10).

Ghazal musicians used to wear traditional Malay clothes and it was not considered as “costumes” which performers might wear in drama performances or other music ensembles (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978:7). In the beginning of ghazal ensembles, there were only four musicians who played sarangi, harmonium, tabla and sitar which are directly inherited from North India (ibid). All musicians were male and one of them used to sing while accompanying with his music instrument for his own singing (1978:6–7). Subsequently, guitar, maracas and mandolin³ were incorporated and also a female singer who is not expected to play a music instrument (ibid). For some reason, Malays replaced the sarangi and the sitar with violin and gambus respectively (ibid). Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz mentions many other music instruments were welcomed into Malay ghazal ensembles such as ukulili [ukulele], clarinet, romba [he might have meant bomba], flute, kecapi Jepun [Japanese mandolin], seruling, and accordion. Those instruments were considered as additional rather than as part of the ghazal ensemble while harmonium, tabla, violin and gambus remained as vital to the identity of the ensemble (1978:7). Among these instruments, the author finds the harmonium as leading instrument among other instruments given it is always initiative and followed by other instruments and it shows the “masa” (timing) or the point where the singer need to start renderings in the composition (1978:8).

In private gatherings, normally ghazal performances start after the final prayer “Isha” and were continued until dawn (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978:11). In weddings, ghazal performances are presented in front of the bride and guests who are sitting on beautiful carpets (1978:10). The position of each musician in a Malay ghazal ensemble is illustrated (1978:12) by the author as follows:

Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz (1978:13) has listed seven basic criterions which might be useful to evaluate Malay ghazal performance and those are Masuk lagu, Mengalunkan lagu, Mematah lagu, Merenek lagu, Mematikan lagu, Senikata lagu, and Suara. Rohaya Ahmad (2007) has provided an extended account of this phenomenon which might be derived from Pak Lomak’s hand written manuscript (Haji Musa bin Yosof, 1953).

³ According to him, the madolin was brought to Malaya from China (1978:17).

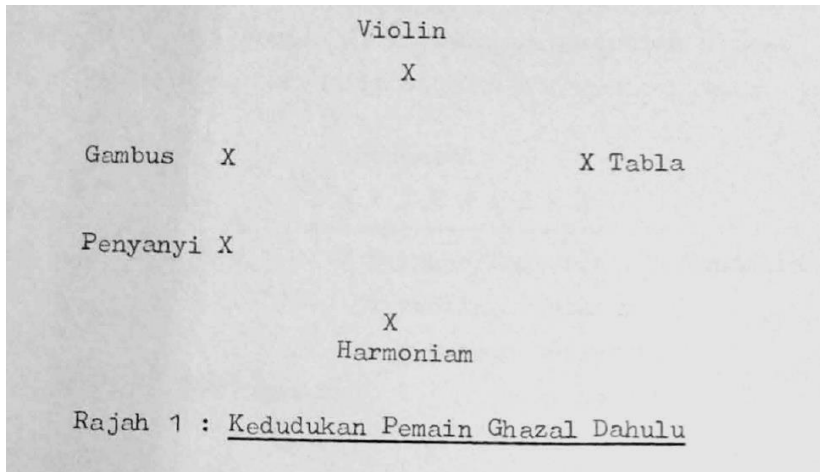


Figure 3: Position of musicians in a ghazal ensemble before modernising it (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978: 12).

After many musical instruments included in Malay ghazal ensemble, the musicians' sitting positions were changed as illustrated by the author (1978:13).

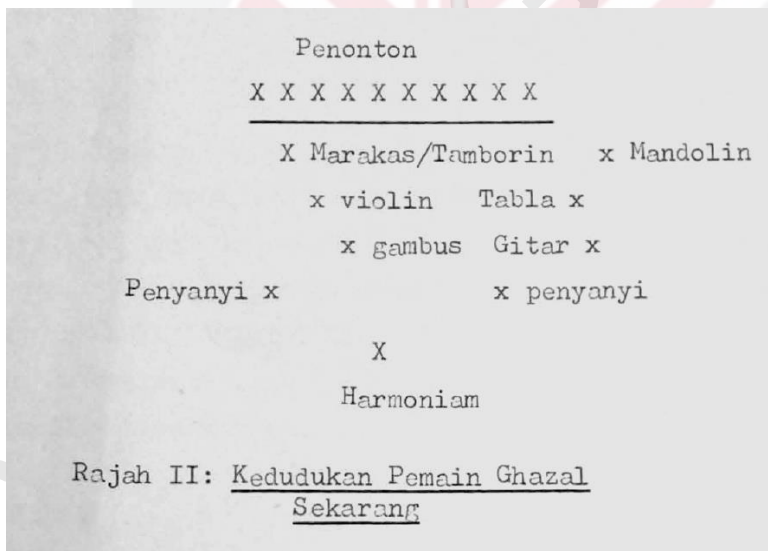


Figure 4: Position of musicians in a ghazal ensemble before modernising it (Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz, 1978: 13).

Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz observes that Malay musicians acquired sensory acuity of musical intervals through singing solfege used in Hindustani music culture which he named as “Sarigama” (1978:9). He says that Malays did not use notations during learning or giving performances (1978:9). Seemingly, the author has mixed up musical forms and rhythmic patterns mentioning some singing genres as “Tal”.

He says that many Hindustani music compositions were forgotten by Malay musicians. He mentions the list as “Khirwa, Dadra, Cuncil, Holi di Warpat, and Tombri” (1978:9). The first two i.e. keherwa and dadara are considered as light classical singing forms in Hindustani music and these terms also indicate two basic talas (rhythmic patterns) played on tabla in Hindustani music. The third term is unclear and the fourth term might be hori or holi which is a type of compositions sung in dhrupad genre which he has mentioned as “Warpat”. The last term can be meant as thumri which is a “semi classical” music genre in Hindustani music. He also says that only dadara and keherwa remained until today and the rest is forgotten (1978:9).

The newspaper article titled “Ghazal Music is Becoming Popular Again” written by Adibah Amin (1979) narrates the current situation of ghazal practices and the reception in 1979 comparing ghazal history and the author’s observations on ghazal practices in Southern Malaya. Ghazal has been performed exclusively for “southern aristocratic addict-audiences” and by the time of this article was written, ghazal has tremendously been changed from its earlier shape. The author has not mentioned in detail what was changed though there are some facts provided informing why it was changed. However, the author says that the current shape of ghazal is “so different from the older ghazal that you might cry out in anguish” (Amin, 1979: 58–59). The author has mentioned four names of pioneers of ghazal music that are Colonel Musa, Colonel Yahya, Major Lomak, and Syed Ali. The first three names seem to be the name of one person though these three names appear as names of different persons in this article. The same mistake is found in the book of Matusky and Tan (2004: 59) and since then many other authors have continued the same mistake in their writings. Adibah Amin (1979: 59) refers to Encik Mohamed Noor, who says Malay ghazal was flourishing in the 19th century in Malaya after Parsi theatre was first performed in Johor Bahru in 1918 (ibid). The dignitaries in Southern Malaya were overwhelmingly inspired by Parsi theatre musicians’ performances and Pak Lomak and Syed Ali learnt to play harmonium and tabla from Parsi theatre musicians (ibid). Adibah Amin writes what Encik Mohamed Noor narrates as “Some dashing officers from the JMF (Johor Military Force) and their equally dashing friends went crazy over the opera’s rendering of a Persian musical form called ghazal and got the performers to teach it to them” (ibid). Malay musicians used to sing “the ghazal to Asli lyrics and their own rakish pantuns too” (ibid). According to the author, in the beginning, ghazal was accompanied on harmonium and tabla, and then gambus and violin were added later. After 1925, other music instruments have been incorporated including “Japanese harp”⁴ (ibid). Ghazal musicians had not taken money for performing ghazal in the palace and places of higher dignitaries. Instead, musicians were rewarded with gifts and honours (ibid).

The ghazal performance that Adibah Amin visited was held in a village where Pak Dolah’s daughter’s marriage ceremony was taking place (Amin, 1979:58–57). The ghazal group’s title is Sri Melati Ghazal and the founder and the manager of the

⁴ This is actually a simple zither.

group is Encik Noor Said who was often referred to by Adibah Amin in the article. The prices of music instruments and the charges for a ghazal session in a wedding ceremony including sound set-up were mentioned in detail. Some information about the members of the ghazal group is provided. The initial performances included Asli, keroncong, Malay pop and Hindustani music as well as ghazal and as the midnight approached, series of joget tunes were played to which “young and old let themselves go in the lively joget lambak” (Amin, 1979:58–57–58).

A master thesis in Malay titled ‘Ghazal Melayu’ Johor is written by Rohaya Ahmad and has been the only study that can be found entirely on Malay ghazal until today. This thesis was submitted to University Malaya in 1985 and first published by Yayasan Warisan Johor in 2007. The study provides an extensive account on the musical elements and poetic structure including some history revealing its origin and the role of important musicians and impresarios who propagated this naval music genre in Southeast Asia. However, some ill-informed and incoherent statements are occurring due to lacking historical evidence and cultural misunderstandings in reference to the musical elements and some cultural features of India and Western countries. Rohaya Ahmad (2007:4) informs that Malays do not adapt foreign cultural phenomenon in its original shape but Malays are in general used to appropriate them into Malay cultural practices that were already established (Adat⁵). The possibility of adapting the cultural practices coming from Muslim communities is much higher than those coming from non-Muslim communities (ibid).

The origin of Malay ghazal is retold in the published thesis of Rohaya Ahmad referring to the two authors Mohd Ishak Abdul Aziz (1978) and Rahmah Bujang (1975). Rohaya Ahmad (2007:12) identifies ghazal as a syncretic music tradition which has early traces of practices in the palace of the Riau-Lingga Sultanate of the early nineteenth century prior to the British invasion in Malaya. Later, ghazal practices were common place in “Dendang Istana” where many entertainment activities were open to the wider society. Since Sultans and nobles of both Riau-Lingga and Johor used to meet in Riau-Lingga for various purposes, they also frequently enjoyed ghazal performances (2007:18–19). Subsequently, Sultan Temenggung Ibrahim the Sultan of Johor who lived in Teluk Belanga and the Johorian elite preferred to enjoy these new music performances in their palaces and private places in Johor as well (ibid). Usually, Malays in Johor maintained a close relationship with Indian and Persian traders who contributed for the development of the ghazal genre in Johor (ibid). In 1855, the administrative headquarters of Johor were moved from Teluk Belanga to another place in Johor known as Tanjung Puteri which was renamed as Johor Bahru in 1866 (ibid). Datuk Bentara Luar⁶ Mohd Salleh Bin Perang was appointed by the Sultan to handle the formation of the new administrative city. It was said that he could play some of the important instruments and sing ghazal (Rohaya Ahmad, 2007: 18–19). In 1886, the same Datuk Bentara Luar brought Bangsawan from Penang and these events

⁵ Customary Malay law and practice.

⁶ The administration post responsible for foreign affairs.

caused further modification of ghazal practiced in Johor (ibid). Bangsawan performances included music performances between episodes which are also known as “extra-turns” and these music performances were mostly accompanied with harmonium, tabla, gambus, violin, dhol and banjo (ibid). The history of current ghazal starts from the music that performed during the extra turns in Bangsawan. Nevertheless, Datuk Bentara Luar Musa bin Yusof whose nick name is Pak Lomak modified ghazal in Johor during the first half of twentieth century. The mixture of music and poetic elements adapted from Persia, Arabia, India and Malaya created Malay ghazal as a unique Malay traditional music (Rohaya Ahmad, 2007:13).

Rohaya Ahmad (2007:13, 14) draws historical lines to two types of ghazal forms of Malaya, one in the North (Kedah and Perak) and the other in the South (Johor). In the North, the musical event known as ghazal parti consist of repertoire inspired by the songs of Egyptian singers namely Umm Kulthum⁷ and Abdul Wahab (Rohaya Ahmad, 2007:17). These songs have been widely popularized in Northern Malaya in 1920s. The lyrics of those songs were mostly taken from Abbasid poems. Rohaya Ahmad insists that the term “Parti” means a group of musicians and does not consist of any connotation in ghazal performances. The author might have meant that the term “ghazal parti” means a musical event and a group of musicians and does not connotes any relation to the ghazal poetry or ghazal singing (ibid). The ghazal practices of the South (Johor) were predominantly consisting of Persian, North Indian, and some Malay elements (Rohaya Ahmad, 2007:13, 17). Seemingly, Rohaya Ahmad is quite convinced by the historical information given in the following Malay ghazal lyrics that were composed by Mokhtar Zam Zam in 1968.

Malay Text	Meaning of Words
Riwayat Ghazal	History Ghazal
Riwayat ghazal lagu kunyanyikan, Serba ringkas saya ceritakan, Tahun 1900 telah dimulakan, Di Johor Bahru tempat asal diadakan, Seorang Parsi bernama Syeikh Abdullah, Dibawa ke Johor kerana mengajar, Muridnya Pak Lomak, lain-lain pembesar, Banyak lagu ghazal telah digubah.	History ghazal song singing, I briefly narrate, 1900 has begun, In Johor Bahru origin held. A Persian named Sheikh Abdullah, Brought to Johor for teaching, Students of Pak Lomak, other authorities, Many ghazal songs were composed.

Table 1: Malay text and meaning of words of Malay ghazal lyrics that were composed by Mokhtar Zam Zam in 1968.

The origin of Malay ghazal that has been widely mentioned in most of the current literature might be based on these Malay lyrics. Referring to Mohd Ishak Aziz

⁷ Rohaya Ahmad writes her name as Umi Kalthum.

(1978: 6, 8), Rohaya Ahmad (2007: 20, 21) mentions that Malay ghazal was further modified after Sheikh Abdullah's teachings by bringing another Indian musician whose name was "Alfa" to Johor to enhance the knowledge of Hindustani music among Malays. He taught young Malays some Hindustani melodies and playing techniques of Hindustani music instruments i.e. harmonium, tabla, sarangi and sitar. Datuk Bentara Luar and some family members of the noble community were fascinated by Hindustani ghazal and they named it "gamat" (ibid). Possibly, they were comparing the newly appeared ghazal with gamat practices in Sumatra that existed there since Portuguese times and that were later modified through the use of the harmonium brought in by the Sepoy community in Bengkulu and further to the North. Pak Lomak was identified as the most efficient and versatile musician who could master singing (Persian and Hindustani songs) and playing (harmonium and tabla). He also could compose Malay ghazals by merging Persian and Hindustani music and poetic elements into Malay lyrics (ibid). Among Malay musicians, the best tabla player was Datuk Haji Yahya bin Abu Talib and the best harmonium player was Datuk Abdullah bin Jafaar (ibid). The dates of the above mentioned incidents are however uncertain due to lack of reliable references and historical evidences that were not entirely documented by previous authors.

The lyrics of Malay ghazals were apparently composed by adapting elements from the pantuns existed even before the origin of Malay ghazal. Sometimes, entire pantun was appropriated into the compositions. Rohaya Ahmad describes typical feature of Pantuns used in Malay ghazal that the first two lines of the Pantun contain a metaphor for the meaning of the last two lines (Rohaya Ahmad, 2007: 92). Rohaya Ahmad has provided 222 titles of Malay ghazal and the lyrics of 164 Malay ghazals which she has categorized under specific themes i.e. locations, Love (compassion), love (unfortunate), hopes (trading ventures), Pantun (itself), and development (achievements).

In the context of Malay ghazal sound, Matusky and Tan state in their encyclopaedic work that the musical instruments Indian harmonium, tabla, violin, guitar, maracas, tambourine and gambus are used. They affirm on the musical content that western major and minor diatonic scales are commonly used and mainly Malay linear musical texture is prompted and western harmony results from the accompanying instruments in practice. The given examples cannot fully confirm the conscious presence of western harmonic elements. However, shifting melodic emphasis might indicate their application. Matusky and Tan see rhythmic patterns from Malay Asli, joget and Indian popular music have being used in this genre (Matusky & Tan, 2004: 352, 353). Their statement that "The guitar and gambus players control the tempo" is further not explained and invites for discussion.

Matusky and Tan (2004) briefly describe two theories on the origin of ghazal in Malaysia. The first theory is based on Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971⁸); he reveals

⁸ This article was published in 1971 while Matusky and Tan (2004) mentioned the year as 1974.

that Indian traders introduced ghazal to Malay Archipelago in the 19th century and it was developed by the Malay nobility lived in Riau-Lingga Sultanate and later it was moved to Johor-Baru with the Malay ruler Temenggung Abu Bakar who was in Singapore and thus ghazal was developed and spread (Abdullah bin Mohamad, 1971:28–29; Matusky & Tan, 2004: 352). The second theory is presented according to Abidah Amin (1979:59) that with the arrival of Parsi theatre from India to Johor in the early 20th century, several military officers such as Colonel Musa, Colonel Yahya and Major Lomak were impressed by ghazal performances and learnt harmonium and tabla playing from the Persian theatre groups thus they practiced ghazal with singing traditional pantun verses to ghazal melodies, and added gambus and violin to the ensemble. Matusky & Tan (2004: 352) speculate that ghazal is an Indian heritage which began to flourish in Malaya in the early twentieth century. Ghazal has been performed for entertaining in private gatherings of Sultan and nobles and also during Malay weddings in Johor (ibid). However these authors have not provided clear information about a clear source of ghazal melodies to which lyrics were set in, though the authors mention “they sang ghazal melodies to lyrics from traditional pantun verses” (2004: 352). The average structure of Malay ghazal compositions shows a strophic form rather than a through-composed form (2004: 353). The formation of Malay ghazal lyrics are based on the structure of pantun, syair and seloka (ibid). Matusky & Tan (2004: 352) find that ghazal was sung during the transitions of episodes in Bangsawan theatre practices. Some of these ghazals such as Gunung Ledang (by D. Hamzah with Hiboran Ghazal Party, 1950s) another ghazal sung by Simun (HMV NS 586, 1939) were recorded by the 78 RPM record companies (ibid).

Mohamed Ghouse Nasuruiddin (2007: 165) includes Malay ghazal in the category of syncretic Malay music and ghazal first came to Malaya from India. He says ghazal was a music form played in the courts of Riau Lingga Sultanate and later in the Johor Sultanate as an entertainment music form (ibid). According to him, Since 1920s, Malay ghazal was relegated to the status of folk music and was exposed to the public through Bangsawan theatre practices in Peninsular Malaya (ibid). His statements seem to be rather speculations with lacking evidences. The author defines some “structural elements” particularly in ghazal singing i.e. masuk lagu, patah lagu, merenek lagu, and mengalun lagu (2007:166). These terms are described in detail by few other scholars for example Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971), Mohd. Ishak Abdul Aziz (1978) and Rohaya Ahmad (2007) who might have referred to Pak Lomak’s hand written manuscripts dated 17 Jan 1953. Mohamed Ghouse Nasuruiddin (2007:169) says that the tabla patterns used in Malay ghazal were produced by interlocking the strokes of tabla and banya and those rhythmic patterns are “made up of a standard 16 semiquaver beats per measure” (ibid). He mentions about a music ensemble that is mainly found in Johor and is called “Zamrah al-Wadi Hanna” which he believes as a hybrid of a Malay ghazal ensemble. Zamrah al-Wadi Hanna is played in official functions and Malay weddings (ibid). The ensemble contains music instruments such as ud, accordion, bongo drum, marwas (three pieces), maracas, and a tambourine. The repertoire of this music ensemble includes Asli music, zapin melodies and popular Malay songs which are played in the style of modern Egyptian music (ibid).

Gisa Jähnichen (2015a) examines the origin of ghazal parti or ghazal parti utara music repertoire, ensemble and practices in the North of Peninsular Malaysia. The main sources referred in Jähnichen's article consist of personal communications and publications of Sohaimi Hj Abdul Aziz (2012) and Omar M. Hashim (2012) and few other informants from the North of Peninsular Malaysia and West Sumatra. Jähnichen infers some important information from a publication of Sohaimi (2006) who says that the Muslim scholar Haji Abdullah Ibrahim [Fahim] who returned from the Middle East after few decades of Islamic education had incorporated music playing and singing into his teaching at a newly established Quran School in Kepala Batas (Jähnichen, 2015a: 1). The music repertoire used in this teaching was known within the Malay community as lagu-lagu Padang Pasir (Songs of the Desert Songs from the Middle East) which originated mainly in Egypt and were distributed through records and later the early Egypt film industry. Progressively, during the period from 1920s to 1950s, Hindustani and Malay film songs have been adapted into the repertoire which was further formulated and practiced as an entertainment genre in private and social gatherings (Jähnichen, 2015a: 2). How the term 'ghazal parti' was established for this ensemble still remains open-ended since lacking evidence. According to Sohaimi (2006, 2012), a ghazal parti ensemble includes 8-12 persons playing instruments such as rebana, bongos, tambourine, maracas, accordion, flute, gambus, violin and double bass and others are 1-2 singers, 1-3 dancers, and 1-2 comedians (Jähnichen, 2015a: 2). Haji Ahmad Badawi was one of them who were involved in matters regarding dance performances. Ghazal parti performances involve cross dressing of the male dancers, which as described by Sohaimi (2006, 2012) caused some uneasiness in the 1970s due to changed views on gender issues in performing arts (ibid). As a consequence of a new cultural policy⁹ following re-interpretations of Islam and related activities in 1970s, ghazal parti was declining in public entertainment practices (ibid). The author has drafted a scheme showing historical interrelations among specific performance practices that include cross dressing and comedians in the Malay world showing the emergence and continuation of those genres through a long time span starting before 1900 (Jähnichen, 2015a: 3). Through Jähnichen's scheme, it is visible that Egyptian film songs, Bollywood songs and ghazal Johor (Malay ghazal) have had a remarkable direct influence on the music repertoire of ghazal parti informed indirectly by previous genres such as gamat, hadrah and Parsi theatre.

According to the facts presented by Jähnichen, men impersonating female belly dancers are the most intriguing phenomena which generate the "fun" in ghazal parti performances. Jähnichen observes that "the Ghazal parti dance must have been a parody as it may imitate male dancers impersonating female belly dancers rather than representing female belly dancers" (Jähnichen, 2015a: 4). The comedians in the group play the mediator role between the performers and the audience through facial expressions and gestures making male dancers ridiculous by which some immediate misconceptions relating to "religious correctness" among the audience might be dissolved (Jähnichen, 2015a: 5). In addition to

⁹ Which might have been formulated according to a hidden political agenda.

keeping the balance of the perception of music, dance, and stories, the comedian may maintain the connection tight and clean through his acting (ibid).

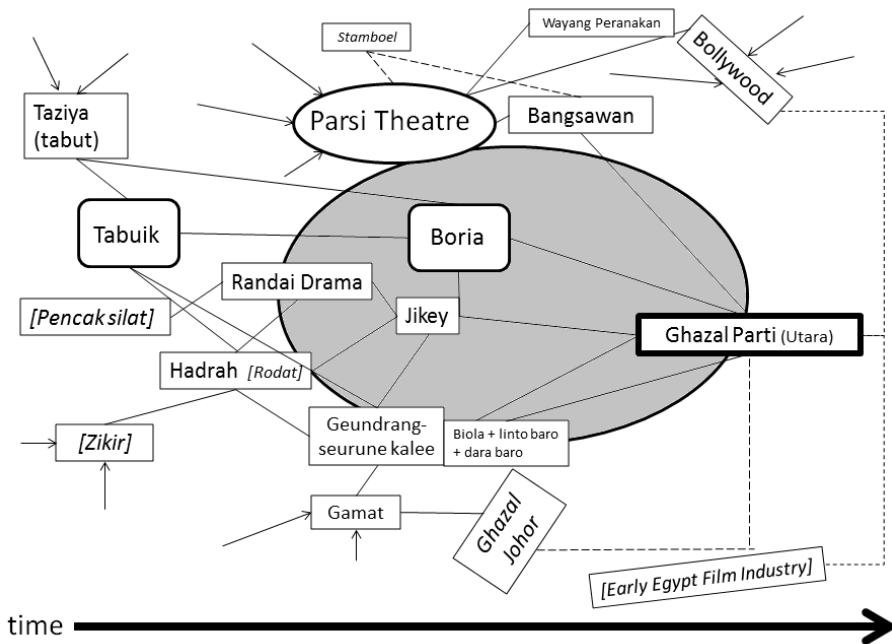


Figure 5: The scheme showing the interrelation among performing genres in the Malay world on a timeline.

This study gives a clear picture about the great distance of what is understood about ghazal in the North of the peninsula and what is seen as Malay ghazal as being performed in Johor.

Another paper of the same author (Jähnichen, 2014a) on ‘Maqam in Peripheral Cultures’ includes a critical account on musical elements of Malay ghazal and was mainly based on the findings acquired during field works recently carried out in Malaysia. In this paper, the history, domain, types, repertoire and musical content of Malaysian ghazal in relation to Maqam and Hindustani raga are discussed. Jähnichen (2014a) speculates that Malays may hear or experience Malay ghazal sound through Maqam based music perception rather than Indian raga based music perception. Perhaps, Malays are more familiar with Maqam-like sound given they are attached to Muslim music practices which were inherited, imported and transformed from Arabian countries. However, those were urban Arabic music practices in which Maqam principles or rules were loosely regarded and conditioned that have been brought to the Malay world by Arab traders and Islamic scholars who were educated in Arabian countries (Jähnichen, 2014a: 9–10). The Maqamat such as Bayati, Kurd, Nahawand, and Hijaz were popular in the Malay world though not named as such and the Arabian ud is called gambus Hadhramaut or gambus Hijaz among Malays (ibid). Though Malays seem to favour Maqam based music practices, they are also exposed to Indian raga based melodies which

are specifically delivered through Indian film music in the Malay world, especially through Bollywood music. Malays' musical understanding of Maqam or raga might be combined or depending on the degree of one's individual familiarity. Some similar musical characteristics are found by Jähnichen (2014a: 17) in the following Maqams and ragas.

1. Nahawand and Kirwani
2. Hijaz and Basant Mukhari
3. Ajam Mu'addal and Bagashri
4. Ajam and Pahari
5. Kurd and Bhairavi.

The cases 1, 2 and 5 are observed as the most established combinations in the Malay world (Jähnichen, 2014a: 17).

This study on the overlapping exposure to and musical practice of different music cultures is very important for the understanding of the musicians' awareness of adaptation processes in Malay ghazal.

A few publications of Yayasan Warisan Johor include collective accounts regarding Malay ghazal such as previous newspaper cuttings (Yayasan Warisan Johor, 2010), program booklets (Yayasan Warisan Johor, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2009), Malay ghazal lyrics (Ahmad bin Roslan, 1999) and other compilations of information taken from previous publications (Yayasan Warisan Johor, 1997, 1998). The content in these publications comprises mostly restatements of information taken from former literature of which most were reviewed in this study.

Zainal Arifin (2012: 6) says in an article on the functions of the Malay lute Gambus that the gambus plays a role in ghazal, which is closely related to gamat in West Sumatra. Muhammad Takari (2005: 134) insists in his article on communication in Malay performing arts that in ghazal music ensembles, which were clearly derived from Hindustani music practice, the 'sarenggi' was substituted by the biola, while the sitar was replaced by the gambus and extended by the guitar. This was repeated by Fadlin bin Muhammad Dja'far (2008: 55) in number 8 of the same journal. Opposed to that, Francis-Hilarian (2007) says that the gambus replaced the sarangi in ghazal ensembles and that the ud was introduced mainly in Johor in the time before 1900. According to his talk with the performer Fadzil Ahmad, the author fixed the year 1897. However, he also mentions that other performers see the gambus Hadhramaut being used only since the 1950s (ibid). In an online document, dHerouville (2012: 41) shows the Singaporean Ghazal Orchestra Sri Temasik with 2 gambus Melayu, 1 gambus Hadramaut, a mandolin, 2 violins, 1 cello, 1 accordion, and a metallophon, possibly maracas and tambourin (not visible, but expected) and 2 rebanas.

Literature on Malay ghazal reviewed is still rare. The main gap in literature most closely related to the research questions is literature on the musical content of Malay ghazal. This gap has to be filled with this as well as further studies.

1.9 Organisation of Thesis

This thesis is structured into 6 chapters. The first chapter is the introduction that introduces background, research questions, objectives, limitations, significance, methodology and basic literature of the study.

The second chapter will introduce and discuss through literature reviews the historical aspects and the development of Malay ghazal. In this chapter the cultural migration process from India into the Malay world, language and performance practice, and viewpoints on other cultures and identities in Malaysia have to be briefly discussed because these perspectives are important to the identification of what is understood by Hindustani culture and musical traces in Malay ghazal.

Chapter 3 is to present musical materials of selected Malay ghazals as primary findings with a strong focus on concise comments about musical elements.

Chapter 4 and 5 are the main discussion chapters dealing with the analyses of Hindustani musical traces in vocal lines of Malay ghazal (Chapter 4) and with a detailed discussion of harmonium and tabla in Malay ghazal (Chapter 5).

Chapter 6 summarizes without introducing new concepts or findings the most relevant outcomes. In conclusion the main research questions will be answered and further research on Malay ghazal suggested.

1.10 Summary

This chapter introduces the study 'Musical Traces of Hindustani Culture in Malay Ghazal'. The migration of ghazal into Southeast Asia, namely the Malay Peninsula at the end of the 19th century, provides the background of the study. The chapter starts with formulating the main research questions and the objectives roughly reflected in the title of the study. The first objective is investigating the understanding of various Indian musical elements; second, their adaptation/appropriation as well as application within local music practices in Malaysia, taking Malay ghazal as an example. The second objective is of a practical nature and aims at analysing how Hindustani musical elements are used in ghazal performances in Malaysia.

Further, the significance and limitations of the study are concisely described. The methodology is of qualitative nature and the theoretical framework is outlined as following poststructuralist ways of grounded theory that includes a brief explanation on research procedures, interview and practice partners in this study, and the setting of a central notion that has to be further observed.

The most basic literature is reviewed and linked to the research objectives so far. Further literature is explored in the following chapter on historical aspects and the development of Malay ghazal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY¹⁴⁸

- Abdullah bin Mohamed (1971). Ghazal in Arabic Literature and in Malay Music. *Malaysia in History*, 14 (1), 24–31.
- Abdullah Omar Abdul Wahid “Bobby” and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (17 March, 2014). Personal communication, ASWARA, Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA2570.
- Abdullah Omar Abdul Wahid “Bobby” and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (8 April, 2013). Personal communication, ASWARA, Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA2153.
- Abels, Birgit (2010): *The Harmonium in North Indian Music*. New Delhi: New Age Books.
- Abraham, Sheela, James H. Liu and Belinda Lawrence (2002). Social Representation of History in Malaysia and Singapore: On the Relationship between National and Ethnic Identity. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 5, 3–20.
- Ahmad Bin Roslan (1998). *Ghazal Melayu Johor*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Ahmad Bin Roslan (1999). *Senikata Lagu Lagu Ghazal Melayu Johor*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Ahmad, Rohaya (2007). *Ghazal Melayu Johor*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Ajim Mohammad Noor Bin Arbia, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, and Gisa Jähnichen (26 November, 2012). Personal Communication. Cultural Village, Sarawak, Malaysia. ARCPA1688 & ARCPA1689.
- Ali, A. Yusuf (1917). 'The Modern Hindustani Drama'. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 35, 70–99.
- Amin, Adibah (1979). Ghazal Music is Becoming Popular Again. *New Straits Times Annual, Kuala Lumpur*, 57–59.
- Balasingham, Anne (29 August, 2014). Personal communication, UPM. ARCPA2261.

¹⁴⁸ This bibliography includes audiovisuals and sound recordings, which are marked as such. Also, personal communication with informants of all types is part of the bibliography.

- Bausani, Alessandro (1960). Ghazal ii in Persian Literature. *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition 1*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Bausani, Alessandro (1965). Ghazal ii in Persian Literature. *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition 2*, 1033–1036. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Beeman, William O. (2011). Production, Hearing and Listening: Intentional Participation in Musical Culture in the Islamic World. *Anthropology News*, 52 (1), 11.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey (2011). Music and the Cline of Malayness. *A paper presented at 'Symposium on Thinking Malayness'. Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of International Studies*, 19–21 June 2004. Retrieved on 24, September 2012 from <http://class.cohass.ntu.edu.sg/Publications/Documents/Benjamin%20Music%20and%20the%20Cline%20of%20Malayness.pdf> Unpublished.
- Berleant, Arnold (2012). *Aesthetics Beyond the Arts*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Blades, James (1992). *Percussion Instruments and Their History*. Westport: Bold Strummer.
- Bosma, U., and G. Oonk, (1998). 'Bombay Batavia; Parsi and Eurasian Variations on the Middlemen Theme'. N. Randerad. Hilversum, (ed), *Mediators between State and Society* (17-40). Hilversum: Verloren.
- Braginsky, Vladimir, Anna Suvorova (2008). A New Wave of Indian Inspiration: Translations from Urdu in Malay Traditional Literature and Theatre. *Indonesian and the Malay World*, 36 (104), 115–153.
- Bruijn, J. T. P. (2000). *Ghazal. Encyclopedia Iranica*, 10 Fasc. 4, 354–358.
- Calcutt, Lyn, Ian Woodward, and Zlatko Skrbis (2009). Conceptualizing Otherness: An Exploration of the Cosmopolitan Schema. *Journal of Sociology*, 45 (2), 169–186.
- Chun Allen, Ned Rossiter, Brian Shoesmith (2004). *Refashioning Pop Music in Asia: Cosmopolitan Flows, Political Tempos, and Aesthetic Industries*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Chatterjee, Partha (2012). *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chee Kiong Tong (2010). *Identity and Ethnic Relations in Southeast Asia: Racializing Chineseness*. Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media.

- Chopyak, James D. (1986). Music in Modern Malaysia: A Survey of the Musics Affecting the Development of Malaysian Popular Music. *Asian Music*, 18 (1), 111–138.
- Chopyak, James D. (1987). The Role of Music in Mass Media, Public Education and the Formation of a Malaysian National Culture. *Ethnomusicology*, 31 (3), 431–454.
- Chow Ow Wei (28 March, 2014). Personal Communication. Music Department, UPM, Malaysia.
- Cohen, Matthew Isaac (2001). On the origin of the Komedi Stamboel Popular culture, colonial society, and the Parsi theatre movement. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 157, (2), 313–357.
- Courtney, David (2011). *Learning the Tabla*. Pacific: Mel Bay.
- Daniels, Timothy P. (2005). *Building Cultural Nationalism in Malaysia: Identity, Representation, and Citizenship*. Abingdon: Psychology Press.
- dHerouville, P. (2012). *Constructions of the Gambus Hijaz*. Accessible: http://inthegap.between.free.fr/pierre/process_malay_gambus_hijaz_skin_v1.pdf. Last retrieved 11 September, 2014.
- Edrus, A. H. (1960). *Persuratan Melayu: Drama dan Perkembangan Bahasa Melayu*. Singapore: Qalam Press.
- Emig, Rainer (2012). Adaptation in Theory. *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation: Literature, Film, and the Arts*. Edited by Pascal Nicklas and Oliver Lindner. Berlin/Boston: Walter deGruyter, 14–24.
- Fadlin bin Muhammad Dja'far, (2008). Seni budaya islam dan peradaban melayu. *Etnomusikologi*, 8, 47–60.
- Farrell, Gerry (1999). *Indian Music and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fornäs, Johan (1997). Text and Music Revisited. *Theory, Culture and Society. Explorations in Critical Social Science*, 14 (3), 109-123.
- Francis Hilarian, Larry (2009). Is Kompang Compatible with Islamic Practices of the Malay Muslim Society? Gisa Jähnichen (ed), *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis I*, 17–36. Münster: MV-Wissenschaft.
- Francis-Hilarian, Larry (2007). The migration of lute-type instruments to the Malay Muslim world. *Paper given at the Conference on Music in the world of Islam, Assilah, 8-13 August, 2007.*

- Ghulam Sarwar Yousof, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda and Gisa Jähnichen (14 August, 2014). Personal communication. University Malaya, ARCPA2662.
- Gill, Sarjit Singh & Chinthaka P. Meddegoda (18 August, 2014). Personal communication. UPM, Serdang, ARCPA2659.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence (2000). In search of patrons: Chinese business networking and Malay political patronage in Malaysia. Chan Kwon Bun (ed), *Chinese Business Networks: State, Economy and Culture* (207–223), Singapore: Prentice Hall; Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.
- Gottlieb, Robert S. ([1993] 1998). *Solo Tabla Drumming of North India: Inam Ali Khan, Keramatullah Khan, Wajid Hussain*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Graham, Allan (2000). *Intertextuality*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Grimes, Jeffrey Michael (2008). *The Geography of Hindustani Music: The Influence of Region and Regionalism on the North Indian Classical Tradition*. Doctoral Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Austin.
- Gupta, Somnath (2005). *The Parsi Theatre: Its Origin and Development*. Translated and Edited by Kathryn Hansen. Calcutta: Seagull Books.
- Hage, Ghassan (1998). *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Haji Musa bin Yusof ([1956] 2007). Ghazal Melayu di-dalam Lapangan Kesenian Melayu. Abdullah Hassan (ed), *Kongres Bahazal dan persuratan Melayu (Third Congress of the Malay Language and Literature, 1956, Johor and Singapore), I–IV*. Kuala Lumpur: persatuan penterjemah Malaysia.
- Haji Musa bin Yusof (1953). *Ghazal Melayu (Gamat)*. Hand written manu script by the author.
- Halim Ibrahim, Omara bin Hashim, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda and Gisa Jähnichen (9 December, 2012). Personal communication. Penang, Serdang, ARCPA2065 and ARCPA2066.
- Hansen, Kathryn (1998). Stri Bhumika: Female Impersonators and Actresses on the Parsi Stage. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33 (35), 2291–2300.
- Hansen, Kathryn (1999). Making Women Visible: Gender and Race Cross-Dressing in the Parsi Theatre. *Theatre Journal*, 51 (2), 127–147.
- Hansen, Kathryn (2001). Parsi Theater, Urdu Drama, and the Communalization of Knowledge: A Bibliographic Essay. *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, vol. 16: 43–63.

- Hansen, Kathryn (2001). Theatrical transvestism in the Parsi, Gujarati and Marathi Theatres (1850-1940). *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 24 (1), 59–73.
- Hansen, Kathryn (2002). Parsi Theatre and the City: Locations, Patrons, Audiences. Ravi Vasudevan et al (ed), *Sarai Reader 2002: The Cities of Everyday Life* (40–49), Delhi: Sarai, CSDS + The Society for Old and New Media.
- Hansen, Kathryn (2009). Staging Composite Culture: Nautanki and Parsi Theatre in Recent Revivals. *South Asia Research*, 29 (2), 151–168.
- Harkirat S. Hansra (2007). *Liberty at Stake*. Bloomington: iUniverse.
- Hirschman, Charles (1986). The Making of Race in Colonial Malaya: Political economy and racial ideology. *Sociological Forum*, 1 (2), 330–361.
- Hood, Made Mantle (2001). *The Kendang Arja: Improvised Paired Drumming in Balinese Music*. Master Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of Hawai'i.
- Huck, Christian and Stefan Bauernschmidt (2012). Trans-Cultural Appropriation. *Travelling Goods, Travelling Moods: Varieties of Cultural Appropriation*. Edited by Christian Huck and Stefan Bauernschmidt. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 229–252.
- Irving, D. R. M. (2011). The British Historiography of the Malay Music in the Nineteenth Century. Retrieved on 20, September 2012 from <http://www.thinkcity.com.my/penangstory/images/stories/images/irving-penang-paper-for-proceedings.pdf>.
- Jähnichen, Gisa (2008). Chinese Past in Present Saigon. Zahid Emby (ed), *Turning Perspectives on South East Asian Music Practices* (90–111). Serdang: UPM Press:
- Jähnichen, Gisa (2009). Renovation versus Formalization in Zapin Music? Some Remarks on the Recent Meaning of Maqam in the Malay World. Jürgen Elsner and Gisa Jähnichen (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th ICTM Study Group Meeting Muqam Urumqi 2006* (209–228), Urumqi: Xinjiang Art Photography Publishing House.
- Jähnichen, Gisa (2010). Indian Community Cultures and their Present Situation in Malaysia. Wim van der Meer, Survanalata Rao, Jane Harvey and Niels Hoogendoorn (eds), *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society (JIMS)*, 40, 43–65.
- Jähnichen, Gisa (2012). Al-Ghazali's Thoughts on the Effects of Music and Singing upon the Heart and the Body and their Impact on Present-Day

Malaysian Society. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2 (9), 115–123.

Jähnichen, Gisa (2014a). Maqam in Peripheral Cultures. Jürgen Elsner, Gisa Jähnichen & Jasmina Talam (eds), *Maqam: Historical Traces and Present Practice in Southern European Music* (8–19), Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Jähnichen, Gisa (2014b). Melodic Relativisation of Speech Tones in Classical Vietnamese Singing: the Case of Many Voices. *Jahrbuch des Phonogrammarchivs der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 4, 180–194. Göttingen: Cuvillier.

Jähnichen, Gisa (2015a). Parody and Dance in Ghazal Parti. *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of ICTM conference on Southeast Asian Performing Arts held in Bali from 14 to 20, June* (Printing in progress).

Jähnichen, Gisa (2015b). I Am the Chosen One Zubir Abdullah and the Far World of Maqam in Singapore. Jürgen Elsner, Gisa Jähnichen and Cenk Güray (eds), *Proceedings of the 8th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group Maqam, Ankara, December 2014* (Printing in progress).

Jamie Chick, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, Norihan Saif and Gisa Jähnichen (23 November, 2013). Personal Communication. Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA1699.

Jayawardana, Ruwini (2009). ‘Nurthi, the Living Art’. *Daily News*. Last retrieved on 22 August 2013 from <http://archives.dailynews.lk/2001/pix/PrintPage.asp?REF=/2009/04/29/fea24.asp>.

Jean During and Gisa Jähnichen (20 December, 2014). Personal communication. Yildirim Beyazit University, Ankara, Turkey.

Jones, Kathleen (1958). *Social Welfare in Malaya*. Singapore: D. Moore.

Kanda, K.C. (1992). *Masterpieces of Urdu Ghazal from the 17th to the 20th Century*. New Delhi: Sterling Paperbacks.

Kartomi, Margaret J. (1999). The Music-Culture of South-Coast West Sumatra: Backwater of the Minangkabau “Heartland” or Home of the Sacred Mermaid and the Earth Goddess? *Asian Music*, 30 (1), 133–181.

Kobayashi, Eriko (2003). *Hindustani Classical Music Reform Movement and the Writing of History, 1900s to 1940s*. PhD dissertation, Austin, University of Texas at Austin.

- Kraig Brockschmidt, Satyaki (2003). *The Harmonium Handbook: Owning, Playing, and Maintaining the Devotional Instrument of India*. Nevada City: Crystal Clarity.
- Kulke, E., (1974). *The Parsees in India; A minority as agent of social change*. München, Weltforurh.
- Lanza, Joseph (2004). *Elevator Music: A Surreal History of Muzak, Easy-Listening, and Other Moodsong (Expanded and revised edition)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie (2014). *The Last King in India Wajid Ali Shah, 1822–1887*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Liaw Yock Fang (2013). *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Loke, Xiaoyun (28 March, 2014). Personal Communication. Music Department, UPM, Malaysia.
- Mandal, Sumit K. (2007). Indianness in Malaysia: Between Racialized Representations and the Cultural Politics of Popular Music. *Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*, 2: 46–67.
- Manuel, Peter (1979): The Relationship between Prosodic and Musical Rhythms in Urdu Ghazal-Singing. Muhammad Umar Memon (ed), *Studies in the Urdu Ghazal and Prose Fiction*, (5), 101–119. Madison: University of Wisconsin
- Manuel, Peter (1989). A Historical Survey of the Urdu Ghazal-Song in India. *Asian Music*, 20 (1), 93–113.
- Manuel, Peter (1999). The Harmonium in Indian and Indo-Caribbean Music: From colonial tool to Nationalist Icon. *Free Reed Journal*, 1, 48–59.
- Martarosa (2002). Musik Gamat Sebagai Musik Prosesi (Sebuah Tinjauan Sosial Budaya). *Antropologi Fisip Univesitas Andalas Padang*, 4 (6), 1–24.
- Martarosa (2008). Musik Gamat Dari Seni Pertunjukan Pentas Ke Seni Pertunjukan Prosesi. *Dalam Jurnal Ekspresi Seni*, 10 (1).
- Mashino, Ako (2009). Making sound, communicating with each other, and being on show: Body movements in musical performances of Balinese gamelan. Gisa Jähnichen (ed), *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis I*, 165–175. Münster: MV-Wissenschaft.

- Matusky, Patricia and James Chopyak (2008). Peninsular Malaysia. Ellen Koskoff (ed), *The Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: The Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, Volume 2*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Matusky, Patricia Ann & Tan Sooi Beng (2004). *Music of Malaysia*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Matusky, Patricia Ann (1985). An Introduction to the Major Instruments and Forms of Traditional Malay Music. *Asian Music*, 16 (2), 121–182.
- Matusky, Patricia Ann and Tan Sooi Beng (2004). *Music of Malaysia*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- McGarty, Craig, Vincent Y. Yzerbyt and Russell Spears, eds. (2002). *Stereotypes as Explanations The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs about Social Groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meisami, Julie Scott (1998). Ghazal. Meisami, Julie Scott and Starkey, P. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 1, 249.
- Meer, Wim Van Der (1980). *Hindustani Music in the 20th Century*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Mohd Anis Md Nor, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda and Gisa Jähnichen (17 May, 2012). Personal communication. University Malaya, ARCPA1553.
- Mohd Ishaak Abdul Aziz (1978). *Ghazal*. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan.
- Muhammad Fadil, Rudi Bin Salim and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (24 October, 2013). Personal communication. Kampung Glam, Singapore, ARCPA2430 & ARCPA2431.
- Muhammad Takari (2005). Komunikasi dalam seni pertunjukan Melayu. *Etnomusikologi*, 1, 126–160.
- Murugeya, Jayanthi and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (22 April, 2014). Personal Communication. Sri Siva Subramaniara Temple, Serdang, Malaysia, ARCPA2677.
- Napier, John (2006a). A Failed Unison or Conscious Differentiation: The Notion of Heterophony in North Indian Vocal Performances. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 37 (1), 85–108.
- Napier, John (2006b). Novelty That Must Be Subtle: Continuity, Innovation and ‘Improvisation’ in North Indian Music. *Critical Studies in Improvisation*, 1 (3), 1–17.

- Napier, John (2007). The Distribution of Authority in the Performance of North Indian Vocal Music. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 16 (2), 271–301
- Nasuruddin, Mohamed Ghouse ([1989] 2007). *Traditional Malaysian Music*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.
- Niemann, G. K. (1861). *Inleiding tot de kennis van den Islam*. Rotterdam: M. Wijt.
- Norihan Saif and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (2012–2014). Personal communication. ASWARA Kuala Lumpur.
- Norihan Saif, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, and Gisa Jähnichen (18 April, 2012). Personal Communication. ASWARA, Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA2067.
- Omara bin Hashim, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, Gisa Jähnichen and Loke Xiaoyun (28 November, 2012). Personal communication. Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA1691 & ARCPA1692.
- Oon, Helen (2008). Singapore. London: New Holland Publishers.
- Othman, Johan (2002). Cultural Decentralization within a Post-Colonial Territory: Movements in Malaysia's Musical Culture. *Wacana Seni Journal of Arts Discourse*, 1, 79–86.
- Prange, Sebastian R. (2008). Scholars and the Sea: A Historiography of the Indian Ocean. *History Compass*, 6 (5), 1382–1393, 10.1111/j.1478-0542.2008.00538.x.
- Prange, Sebastian R. (2009). Like Banners on the Sea: Muslim Trade Networks and Islamization in Malabar and Maritime Southeast Asia. Feener, M, Sevea, T. (ed), *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Provencher, Ronald (1975). "Groups" in Malay Society. *The Rice University Studies*, 61 (2), 79–110.
- Qureshi, Regula (1969). Tarannum: The Chanting of Urdu Poetry. *Journal of the society for Ethnomusicology*, 13 (3), 425–468.
- Qureshi, Regula (1972). Indo-Muslim Religious Music, an Overview. *Asian Music*, 3 (2), 15–22.
- Qureshi, Regula (1981). Islamic Music in an Indian Environment: The Shi'a Majlis. *Ethnomusicology*, 25 (1), 41–71.
- Qureshi, Regula Burckhardt (1990). Musical Gesture and Extra-Musical Meaning: Words and Music in the Urdu Ghazal. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (3), 457–497.

- Rahaim, Matt (2011). That Ban(e) of Indian Music: Hearing Politics in the Harmonium. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 70 (3), 657–682.
- Rahmah Bujang (1975). *Sejarah perkembangan drama bangsawan di tanah Melayu dan Singapura*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Rahman B., Gisa Jähnichen and Loke Xiaoyun (30 December, 2012). Personal communication. Kuala Lumpur, ARCPA 2064.
- Ramasamy, P. (1992). Labour Control and Labour Resistance in the Plantations of Colonial Malaya. Danial E. Valentine, Henry Bernstein, and Tom Brass (eds), *Plantations, Proletarians, and Peasants in Colonial Asia. Cass Series on Soviet Military Theory and Practice Library of Peasant Studies*, 11, 87–105. Oxford: Psychology Press.
- Rasmussen, Anne K. (2010). *Women, the Recited Qur'an, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rizvi, M. H. (1957). *Urdu Drama aur Istej [Urdu Drama and Stage]. Lakhnau ka awami isteji: Amanat aur Indarsabha [The People's Stage of Lucknow: Amanat and the Indar Sabha]*. Lucknow: Kitab Ghar.
- Salleh, Hood, ed. (2006). *People and Traditions*. The Encyclopedia of Malaysia, 12. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- Sandhu, Kerinial Singh ([1993] 2006). The Coming of the Indians to Malaysia. Sandhu, Kerinial Singh and A. Mani (eds), *Indian Communities in Southeast Asia (151–584)*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Sarkissian, Margaret (1998). Tradition, tourism, and the cultural show: Malaysia's diversity on display, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 17 (2), 87–112.
- Shamsul A.B. & Giokhun Pue (2011). Discourse on 'Peranakanness' with focus on the Peranakan Chinese Community in Contemporary Kelantan, Malaysia. *IPEDR*, 20, 241–245.
- Shamsul, A. B. (1995). In Search of 'Bangsa Malaysia': Politics of Identity in Multiethnic Malaysia. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 27, 57–68.
- Sodhy, Pamela (1983). The "International Relations" of the Malay Peninsula from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Century. *Akademika*, (23), 21–36.
- Sohaimi Haji Abdul Aziz (2006). *Ajinda Ghazal Parti Kepala Batas*. Penang: Jabatan Kebudayaan, Kesenian Dan Warisan Negeri Pulau Pinang.
- Sohaimi Haji Abdul Aziz (2006). *Ghazal Parti Pulau Penang*. Penang: Jabatan Kebudayaan, Kesenian Dan Warisan Negeri Pulau Pinang.

- Sohaimi Haji Abdul Aziz, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda and Gisa Jähnichen (10 December, 2012). Personal communication. Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia, ARCPA2068.
- Stark, Jan (2006). Indian Muslims in Malaysia: Images of Shifting Identities in the Multi-Ethnic State. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 26 (3), 383–398.
- Subramaniam, Ganesh (30 August, 2014). Personal communication. UPM.
- Swee-Hock Saw (2007). *The Population of Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Tagore, S. M. (1874). *Harmonium Sutra: a treatise on Harmonium*. Calcutta, Pracrita Press.
- Tan Shrz Ee (2009). ‘The Red Accordion: Inscribing Chineseness into Singaporean Music.’ *ICTM Southeast Asia Study Group Inaugural Conference. International Council for Traditional Music*. Kuala Lumpur: unpubl. manuscript.
- Tan Sooi Beng (1989). From Popular to Traditional Theater: The Dynamics of Change in Bangsawan of Malaysia. *Ethnomusicology*, 33 (2), 229–274.
- Tan Sooi Beng (1990). The Performing Arts in Malaysia: State and Society. *Asian Music*, 21 (1), 137–171.
- Tan Sooi Beng (1997). *Bangsawan: A Social and Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera*. Penang: The Asian Centre.
- Tan Sooi Beng, Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda and Gisa Jähnichen (08 December, 2012). Personal Communication. Penang, Malaysia, ARCPA2067.
- Tan, K.B.E. (2000) “Ghettoization of Citizen-Chinese?” State Management of Ethnic Chinese Minority in Indonesia and Malaysia. T. A. See (ed), *Intercultural Relations, Cultural Transformation, and Identity* (371–412). Manila: Kaisa-Angelo King Heritage Center.
- Tate, D. J. M, David Ng and Steven Tan (1987). *Kuala Lumpur in Postcards 1900-1930 from the collections of Major David Ng (Rtd) and Steven Tan*. Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti.
- Tenzer, Michael (2006). *Balinese Gamelan*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.
- Tilley, Leslie Alexandra (2013). *Kendang Arja: The Transmission, Diffusion, and Transformation(s) of an Improvised Balinese Drumming Style*. PhD Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies (Music), The University of British Columbia (Vancouver).

- Van Abdul Kadir (1988). *Pertumbuhan Muzik Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia. *Jurnal Purba*, 37–56.
- van der Putten, Jan (2009). Wayang Parsi, Bangsawan and Printing: Commercial Cultural Exchange between South Asia and the Malay World. R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (eds), *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (86–106.). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Wade, Bonnie C. (1985). *Khyal: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wales, Q. H. A. (1940). "Archaeological Researches an Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 18 (1).
- Wheatley, Paul (1961). The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsular before A.D. 1500. *Malayan Historical Studies*, 33. Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Press.
- Willford, Andrew (2007). *Cage of Freedom: Tamil Identity and the Ethnic Fetish in Malaysia*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Wolf, Richard K., ed. (2009). *Theorizing the Local: Music, Practice, and Experience in South Asia and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yamaguchi, Patricia and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda (27 September, 2012). Personal Communication. University Malaya, ARCPA1548.
- Yayasan Warisan Johor (199?). *Kajian Muzik Ghazal Melayu*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Yayasan Warisan Johor (1998). *Ghazal Melayu Johor Koleksi*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Yayasan Warisan Johor (2010). *Ghazal: Keratan Akbar YWJ. Report on Activities of Yayasan Warisan Johor for the year 2009*, Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Yayasan Warisan Organizing Committee (1999). *Pertandingan Ghazal Kebangsaan and Remaja Johor 1999*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Yayasan Warisan Organizing Committee (2002). *Pertandingan Ghazal Johor Peringkat Kebangsaan 2002*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- Yayasan Warisan Organizing Committee (2003). *Pertandingan Ghazal Johor 2003*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.

Yayasan Warisan Organizing Committee (2006). *Pertandingan Ghazal Johor 2006*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.

Yayasan Warisan Organizing Committee (2009). *Pertandingan Ghazal Johor 2009*. Johor Baru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.

Yusof, Gulam Sawar (2010). Islamic Elements in Traditional Indonesian and Malay Theatre. *Kajian Malaysia*, 28 (1), 83–101.

Zainal Arifin (2012). Fungsi gambus dalam musik melayu deli di sumatera utara. *Grenek*, 1 (1), 67–75.

Zeilinger, Martin (2009). *Art and Politics of Appropriation*. PhD Thesis Submitted to the Centre for Comparative Literature, University of Toronto.