

NATIONAL RITUAL, NEIGHBORHOOD PERFORMANCE--
CELEBRATING TUJUHBELASAN

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Discussions of the ritual functions of Javanese theater tend to imply a fixed, one-to-one relationship between particular kinds of dramatic performances and their social settings and effects. Performances of traditional theater, particularly *wayang kulit*, the shadow puppet play, held in conjunction with the significant ritual occasions of community life--births, marriages, calendrical celebrations--are seen to have the same sort of function as the *slametan* ritual communal meal which also accompanies such events. Like *slametan*, such performances bind together in shared community and protection from social and supernatural disturbance those attending them, and, through their familiar format, incorporate into the ongoing life of the community the particular events which they celebrate. At the same time, *wayang's* hierarchically ordered characters and portrayal of aristocratic qualities are often viewed as reinforcing traditional patterns of social stratification and ethical principles. Basing his arguments on this definition of *wayang* as a rite of integration and a celebration of traditional social and moral values, James Peacock defines the function of a form of twentieth century popular drama, *ludruk*, in precisely opposite terms.¹ Professional *ludruk* performances, held in commercial theater buildings, before anonymous paying audiences rather than groups of friends and neighbors, act as rites of modernization and separation, socializing audience members into more modern, individualistic modes of behavior.

What these definitions do not convey is a sense of the complexity and variability of functions of performances in different social contexts--the multiple meanings they can have for different sections of the audience, the way social role is shaped by the particular circumstances of a dramatic production. Even if one accepts the importance of the social dimension of ritual, in displaying and reinforcing existing social relations,² it is still not merely the form and content of a performance that determine its ritual function but also the social setting, the relationships between those presenting it. A relevant question to ask about a *wayang kulit* performance, for instance, is how its ritual impact is affected by social display, which is often the motive behind such occasions. Take the extreme example of a *wayang kulit* performance held to honor the silver wedding anniversary of a silver merchant "Tom," of Tom's Silver, in Kota Gede, near Yogya. This was presented by Java's most popular and trendy *dalang* (puppeteer) and guests from all over Java were treated

1. James Peacock, *Rites of Modernization: Symbolic and Social Aspects of Javanese Proletarian Drama* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

2. See, for example, the definition of the function of ritual given in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D. Sills (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), vol. 13, p. 524: "Ritual serves to remind the congregation just where each member stands in relation to every other and in relation to a larger system."

to such delicacies as individual, heart-shaped servings of ice cream. Just how much invocation of spiritual blessing for the local community and how much personal, material display were involved in such a presentation?

My focus here is on dramatic performances held to mark the new, largely secular rituals of Indonesian life--state occasions, such as Independence Day, as well as local community events, such as the anniversary of the badminton club, youth group, etc. Of these, Independence Day, August 17, *tujuhbelasan* (from the Indonesian *tujuhbelas*, "seventeen") is the most enthusiastically and ubiquitously celebrated, at least in the villages and *kampung* (city neighborhoods) of Yogyakarta, my base and source of material. I will, then, concentrate specifically on *tujuhbelasan* performances, though much of what will be said applies in some measure to the other such occasions.

Particularly in the urban *kampung*, where dramatic performances are now rarely staged in connection with traditional ritual occasions, *tujuhbelasan* celebrations assume great importance in community life. Typically, weeks of enthusiastic preparation precede the *malam kesenian* (literally "evening of arts," a kind of concert), to which many different *kampung* groups contribute. An assortment of performing arts are all presented in celebration of the same ritual occasion. Frequently the highlight of the show is a performance of *ketoprak*, a form of melodrama, particularly popular and widely cultivated in the Yogya area, which uses Javanese and dramatizes historical and mythological themes.

If, as I have suggested, even in more "traditional" settings, dramatic performances play complex and variable roles, this may be even more true in the new ritual contexts, with their fluid, not fully specified character. What I shall attempt, therefore, is to determine a standard format and function for *tujuhbelasan* presentations, and then to bring in specific examples to demonstrate the possible inward contradictions and complexities. First it is necessary to establish very briefly the overall context within which the performances take place.

Independence Day celebrations in Yogya usually begin about a month to six weeks before August 17. Banners and posters are erected and all kinds of competitions and shows arranged. Various levels of local government cooperate in organizing the celebrations, but it is at the level of the *rukun kampung*,³ the smallest unit of the state administrative system, that the most constant and enthusiastic activity takes place. The elected, nonpaid head of the *kampung* unit, Pak (father) r(ukun) k(ampung) appoints representatives of the various local functional groups --the youth section, the women's section, the social welfare section, etc.--to a committee, in which each is responsible for organizing activities related to his or her field of competence. The women's section arranges competitions in cooking, sewing, flower-arranging, etc.; the youth section organizes the races, badminton competitions, and other sports events; the construction and maintenance section oversees a beautification program in which every household is obliged to clean up its yard, repair any damaged fences, whitewash discolored walls, and so on.

3. *Rukun kampung*, *kampung* association, is an administrative term referring to the blocks into which the fourteen municipal wards (*kecamatan*) of Yogyakarta are divided. The *rukun kampung* in turn are comprised of varying numbers of *rukun tetangga*, neighborhood associations. The term "kampung" itself most usually refers to poor urban neighborhoods, mazes of alleys lined by small, densely packed houses which run between the main thoroughfares of the city. As this paper illustrates, it is in such areas, established *kampung* of this type, that the *rukun kampung/rukun tetangga* structure seems to function most actively and meaningfully.

Capital for these and other activities comes from local contributions. Every kampung household is generally expected to pay a fixed fee, as well as to contribute labor to the preparations for the celebration. The households that do not provide physical help, specifically those of wealthier kampung dwellers in the large brick or concrete houses facing out from the kampung on to the main road, are expected to make a substantially larger monetary contribution. While an average household in most Yogya kampung in 1977-78 would have given around 500 rupiah (about one dollar, at that time) towards *tujuhbelasan* activities, wealthier kampung dwellers, who did not contribute any labor, were asked for sums of 2,000, 3,000, 5,000 rupiah to compensate for their inactivity. As this illustrates, membership of a kampung is not just a question of living there; it involves participating in the mutual-aid networks of the kampung, self-identification with the local community, and being accepted by one's neighbors as of, rather than merely in, the kampung. On the whole, wealthier people with higher status jobs outside the kampung tend to be less involved in and reliant on kampung networks than their poorer neighbors. But there are cases of both rich and poor residents in the kampung not being accepted as part of the group.⁴

One central event in the buildup to the big day, involving all of the householders of the kampung in a single ceremony, is the *malam tirakatan* (literally "night of wakefulness and self-denial"), a gathering similar to those accompanying traditional life-cycle events and special calendrical celebrations. It is held on the eve of the 17th, in accord with Javanese calendrical reckoning, by which each day begins and ends at sunset, so that, for instance, Tuesday begins at sunset on Monday. During the early evening a *slametan* communal meal, prepared by the kampung women, is held in the *balai rk*, the kampung meeting hall, attended by representatives of each household. Each *rukun tetangga* (rt), a neighborhood subgrouping consisting, on average, of about thirty households, contributes one large *tumpang*, a cone of saffron rice with side trimmings--the traditional fare for a *slametan*. After a speech by Pak rk (in an equivalent position to the host at a traditional gathering), announcing the purpose of the assembly and thanking people for attending, prayers are offered by the local religious celebrant (*Pak kaum*). Next, Pak rk judges a competition for the best *tumpang*. After the winner is declared, the *tumpang* are divided up into portions for each household head to take home to his or her family.

Many participants return home once this central part of the ceremony is over, but a group of men usually remain, sitting around chatting until the early morning in the manner of the traditional *jagongan* (from the word *jaga*, "to guard") at a *slametan*, when members of the local community remain awake all night, "on guard" against supernatural disturbance.

In the *malam tirakatan* one finds a public, "official" version of the *slametan*/*jagongan* complex, invoking its traditional religious aspects as well as its function as an expression of social solidarity, at the level of a state administrative unit in the celebration of a state event. The provision of food for the kampung as a whole by individual rt groups symbolizes the workings of the kampung organizational structure: inasmuch as the *rukun tetangga*/*rukun kampung* format represents actual relationships of association and cooperation among neighbors,⁵ this fusion of

4. The workings of the mutual aid networks and the nature of true kampung membership are clearly and sensitively explained in J. Sullivan, *Back Alley Neighbourhood: Kampung as Urban Community in Yogyakarta*, Working Paper no. 18 (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1980).

5. In *Back Alley Neighbourhood*, John Sullivan argues that this is in fact the case. See esp. pp. 30-36.

state structure and neighborly practice is confirmed. Meanwhile, the competition for the best tumpeng, while certainly introducing a novel and at first seemingly incongruous element into the slametan complex, may, like other tujuhbelasan competitions, act not so much to promote individualistic rivalry as to strengthen the sense of shared participation in, and commitment to, the success of the whole venture.

There is relatively little activity at kampung level on the actual day of August 17. Sometime during the morning, the Indonesian flag is raised outside the balai rk, as a local parallel to the big flag-raising ceremony on the Yogyakarta city square, which in turn parallels the even grander one in Jakarta. But only a small number of kampung officials participate, with a few passersby the only onlookers. Neither do local people go to watch the ceremony on the city square, with its speeches and marching by units of the armed forces, civil servants, and school groups. "Oh, that's just for school children," they remark dismissively. If they take any heed at all of these official, elite-level celebrations, it is more likely to be a few minutes spent watching the broadcast of the really big event, the Jakarta ceremony, on a neighbor's TV set, than attending to the less spectacular local equivalents.

After the 17th, the next event, the culmination of all the previous activity, is the malam kesenian, which can be held any night after the 17th. The most popular times are the two subsequent Saturday nights. On the day before the performance young people may be seen hard at work either erecting a temporary wooden stage in the open or decorating the permanent stage in the balai rk, setting up the loud-speaker system, and so on. People start arriving nearly an hour before the official start at 8 p.m. Some of these early arrivals, almost all woman and children, squeeze into the back rows of the chairs set up facing the stage--front seats are reserved for dignitaries such as kampung officials and perhaps one or two invitees from the *kecamatan* municipal ward. Other people stand behind, in a densely packed crowd. The first item on the program is often gamelan playing and singing by the *ibu-ibu* (literally "mothers," adult women) of the kampung, then perhaps some dancing by the children. Ten-year-old girls clad in black leotards and with pink bows in their hair, members of the modern dance club, gyrate under the fond gaze of their parents, usually from the more affluent echelons of the kampung. Tiny kindergarten children perform a version of a traditional Javanese dance created for them by their teacher. Then there is a folksinging, a poetry reading and/or a pop band, involving the teenagers, the *pemuda* (youth), who also may present a short modern play. Somewhere during the proceedings comes the prize-giving ceremony. Finally it is 10:30 or 11 p.m., time for the *ketoprak* performance, which will last for four or five hours. *Ketoprak* groups typically consist of a solid core of adult men, aged between twenty-five and fifty, with some teenage youths, and perhaps a few particularly daring local women--if not, a professional actress or two must be hired to play the women's roles. Most of the performers are of lower economic and occupational status--laborers, food sellers, *becak* drivers--rather than, say, clerks and teachers, though there are individual exceptions to this rule.

The type of *lakon* (story) considered most appropriate for these occasions is a historical tale of struggle against the Dutch colonizers, although, in practice, any story with a historical background, portraying the deeds of a heroic figure, is acceptable. Quite commonly, the story is one with a "*jaka*" motif, wherein a young man (*jaka*) of village origin goes to the court to serve his king and, by winning victories in battle, earns for himself a high-ranking position. There would seem to be clear potential here for expressing modern nationalist sentiment--each citizen's obligation to work loyally and, when necessary, to fight bravely, for his country. The performances I watched in 1977 and 1978, however, laid no special emphasis on this theme--no heart-felt declarations of loyalty by the *jaka* figures, no grandiose

speeches of gratitude from the king. In one presentation of *Jaka Dolog*, for example (a lakon I would regard as a quintessential tujuhbelasan story), the stress seemed to be instead on the local reference of the action on the stage. It was explained that the names of various villages in the Klaten area, between Yogya and Solo, derived from events in the life of Jaka Dolog, the villager-hero; and the clown sequence, the conventional spot for anachronistic commentary on contemporary affairs, drew an explicit link between the content of the lakon and the current celebration. Two clowns, playing the part of fellow students of a village religious teacher, discussed the need for all members of the community to work together (*gotong royong*) to clean up yards, repair fences, and *jaga katentreman* (keep the peace) in honor of the "big day" that was approaching. After a time their teacher came onto the stage and, after checking their progress in these tasks, suggested that they also rehearse some turns to enliven the forthcoming celebrations.

The atmosphere at the rehearsals, which were held in one of the densely settled, inner-city kampung of Yogya, was warm, enthusiastic, and *kompak*--an Indonesian adaptation of the English "compact," indicating solidarity and smooth-functioning cooperation. There was great excitement in the kampung, and on the night itself, the crowd of spectators was enormous. Held at the end of a concert to which many different kampung groups had contributed, as the culmination of a general program of kampung celebrations, this tujuhbelasan performance appears to have been celebrating "pride in local identity, co-operation among neighbours and village or kampung solidarity."⁶ *Ketoprak* appears particularly suitable for this purpose, for while easy to stage and requiring no special costumes or equipment, it offers opportunities for many local people to participate--*Jaka Dolog*, for example, was chosen because of its large number of characters. The repertoire of *ketoprak* stories is appropriate to the occasion and it has a close historical association with the city of Yogya, specifically with the kampung population of the city.

In the performances I witnessed in 1977 and 1978, there seemed to be little reference to "Indonesian nationalism," as a sense of identification with the political state of Indonesia and a bond of solidarity among all Indonesian citizens. Perhaps this was in part a reflection of the current political climate in Indonesia, the eclipse of radical nationalism, and its replacement by the notion of *pembangunan* (development). Surely it also revealed a strongly local, inward-looking sense of identity. Yet in one important way all kampung celebrations of tujuhbelasan do have a reference beyond the local community to the national state. For the rukun kampung is a state administrative unit; the organizers of the celebrations are heads of local sectional groupings determined by the state; and the tujuhbelasan activities themselves show a strong "modern" input, a blending of contemporary Indonesian culture with local, Javanese tradition. By joining enthusiastically in tujuhbelasan activities, kampung people are expressing a sense of solidarity with their neighbors which is also an implicit recognition of the viability of the state administrative unit as a real community group. The celebrations take place quite independently of, and in a different spirit from, those at higher levels of government. As often happens, kampung people here adapt the state-instituted machinery to their own needs rather than simply following models or directives from above. While, for example, the presence of kecamatan officials or other dignitaries at malam kesenian performances is warmly welcomed as recognition of the kampung's contribution to the larger social whole, what goes on there is a purely local matter. In contrast to the official tujuhbelasan

6. I have described this performance of *Jaka Dolog* in such terms in an article on *ketoprak* presentations of Javanese history, "Babads on Stage: Javanese History and Contemporary Popular Theatre," *Indonesia Circle*, no. 26 (November 1981), p. 13.

ceremonies, with their emphasis on hierarchical ranks and ex-officio responsibility, kampung competitions and performances appear to celebrate an egalitarian, participatory notion of what it means to be Indonesian, perhaps reflecting the experience of nationalist struggle and revolution, coalescing with the age-old, survival-oriented, cooperative patterns of peasant life.

In general terms, I think it is possible to define the ritual function of Independence Day performances this way--as a confirmation of local community pride and solidarity, which less directly reflects the relationship with the national state. But, as with other forms of drama, the symbolic function of any one performance always embodies not only these general characteristics but also the specific social conditions in which it is produced. To illustrate this point, I would like to describe briefly a few performances I attended on a flying visit to Yogyakarta in 1981, which alerted me to the complexity and variability of the social symbolism of such theater.

The first was again a performance of the lakon *Jaka Dolog*, held this time in the balai kampung of a more recently settled and spaciouly appointed kampung on the east side of the city. The crowd was relatively small. A group of teenagers hung about in front of the hall, showing spasmodic interest in the program of dancing, folksinging, etc., and gathered in closely to laugh at a farcical skit presented by local youths about a medical practice, involving exaggerated male impersonations of female patients. As soon as the skit was over, the teenagers disappeared, so that by the time the keṭoprak began there were even some spare seats in the hall, something almost unheard of at a *free* kampung performance. When it finished, at 1:15 a.m., relatively early for such a show, only a few onlookers--mostly women and children--were left. The play itself, presented by a local amateur group, followed the same outline as the performance of *Jaka Dolog* described earlier. One difference, however, was that there was barely any mention, in the clown sequence or elsewhere, of the local event being celebrated. One clown merely reminded the other that they had been placed on special guard duty by their master (note the ordering from *above*), in order to mark a *hari besar*, "big day"--then the subject was changed.

A clue to the differences between this malam kesenian and that described earlier can be found in the physical structure of the kampung. Coming in from the main street I had noticed many large, modern brick and concrete houses, some with sizeable gardens around them. As I moved deeper into the kampung, the houses became smaller and closer together, though still for the most part built of concrete--the balai rk was situated in such an area. But the keṭoprak actors, I discovered later, all lived close by one another, still further into the kampung, in a cluster of small *gedèk* (woven rattan) houses almost bordering on the open rice fields by the kampung's edge. Partly enclosing these houses is a crumbling, moss-covered stone wall, the ruins, it seems, of an old Dutch dairy. In the huge, high-ceilinged rooms that still stand--now gloomy and rather forbidding in their neglected state--live a painter, his ex-keṭoprak-actress wife, and her brother, the leading figures in the keṭoprak troupe. The painter, apparently a one-time favorite of President Sukarno, has suffered a decline of fortunes since Sukarno's eclipse. He explains that his father moved to Yogya and acquired this residence during Japanese times, and allowed families fleeing to Yogya from the deprivation in their villages to settle in the grounds. The keṭoprak players, most young men--laborers, becak drivers, unemployed youths, a few schoolboys--are the children of these families.

The painter's wife claims to have founded the group several years ago to provide recreation for these neighborhood youths. They hold regular rehearsals and have performed on a number of occasions--at the last two tujuhbelasan celebrations, for example--but they are hampered, she explains, by the lack of a "sponsor" (using the English word). The kampung officials are not interested in helping them,

for local people generally are not fond of ketoprak. As evidence of their indifference, she cites the poor crowd at the tujuhbelasan performance, and the express instructions they received from Pak rk, to keep the show relatively short.

In contrast to most inner-city kampung, which are predominantly poor with a sprinkling of wealthier members on the periphery, a substantial proportion of the population of this kampung are affluent, middle-class people, and they set the tone of its affairs. In their midst, the impoverished country folk from among whom the ketoprak players are drawn are clearly outsiders. The local citizenry's reported lack of interest in ketoprak may stem from their rejection of the group who perform it, and whose ties to a politically discredited artist and his actress wife (with all the connotations of bohemian excess that pairing might evoke!) probably do little to enhance their social status. Kampung officials find it convenient to have a ketoprak troupe to perform each tujuhbelasan, to fulfill the requirements for a malam kesenian. But other local people feel no sense of involvement and no obligation to stay and watch. In addition, the small crowd and muted atmosphere at the malam kesenian lead one to suspect that the kampung dwellers have a fairly lukewarm attitude to tujuhbelasan activities generally. A relatively large number of them may have little sense of local identity, participating minimally in kampung affairs, and not being regarded as kampung people, either by themselves or their neighbors. Despite the sense of group solidarity shown by the performers in the tujuhbelasan ketoprak themselves, this particular malam kesenian did not display and "ritualize" cooperation and shared identity, but rather social cleavage and lack of community involvement.

The second performance I attended took place in a kampung on the western edge of the city. Like many of Yogya's outlying areas, which until quite recently were rural or semirural, there had been a big influx of middle-class people to this locality. The kampung's sizeable student population is made up of the teenage sons and daughters of these new arrivals, augmented by many young people from other areas of Java and beyond, sent to Yogya for their schooling, who board with local families. In 1977 I had also attended a malam kesenian in this kampung, where the sole item had been a performance by these young people of an "Indonesian ketoprak"--a dramatization of the Sumatran legend *Malin Kundang*. This had combined spoken passages in Indonesian with singing and dance to the tunes of popular songs, with the performers dressed in the traditional costumes of various regions of Indonesia. In 1981, the presentation by the pemuda group of an Indonesian-language modern "drama" was only one item on the program, which also included a ketoprak performance. The young people staged a popular story from Javanese history--that of Untung Suropati, the Balinese slave who led a rebellion against the Dutch at the end of the seventeenth century. It turned out to be a mixture of pageant and play, beginning with a parade of various figures from the Indonesian Revolution--guerrilla fighters, nurses, ordinary farmers--who made emotional speeches of loyalty to the Indonesian Republic both before and after suffering brutal assaults by Dutch soldiers. These Dutch soldiers, who appeared as caricatures of inhuman cruelty, were dressed in the uniforms of contemporary Indonesian army personnel! Presumably this was done simply for convenience, because of the ready accessibility of the uniforms and the difficulty of obtaining the historically appropriate ones; one can only wonder about the resulting possibility of a conflation of the images of colonial oppressor and contemporary soldier.

During the early part of the evening, as tiny kindergarten children danced and folk music was played, a huge crowd of young people gathered, probably also from neighboring kampung, to see their friends up on stage. Though the acts seemed stiff and wooden and the drama as a whole was poorly prepared, the audience responded very enthusiastically, with much laughter and applause. By the time it

ended and the *ketoprak* performance was due to begin, the crowd had visibly thinned, but was still large. The lakon was another favorite story of confrontation with the Dutch, that of the Madurese rebel-hero, Trunajaya, and was acted by a local group which had re-formed recently after a long period of inactivity. A few of the young men who had played Dutch soldiers in the drama reappeared in the opening scenes of the *ketoprak*, dressed in their contemporary army uniforms, playing seventeenth-century Dutch militia. After being swiftly and soundly defeated by some Indonesian rebels from the Bugis area, they disappeared from the scene. Most of the subsequent action focused on a love affair between the Javanese crown prince of the time, Tejaningrat, and a girl being groomed to become his father's concubine. Not until the very end of the lakon, after the girl had died and Tejaningrat had fled from the palace, did a meeting take place between the prince and Trunajaya, who had meanwhile joined forces with the Buginese. They made a pact to unite to overthrow the king and expel the Dutch, with whom the king was collaborating. Then the lakon ended, with nothing of this confrontation with the Dutch actually shown on stage.

Questioned about this truncated presentation of the story, the actors explained that they had planned to show more of Trunajaya's exploits, indeed to continue the performance until morning. But because most of the audience had left by three o'clock, they had been forced to cut short the show and go home themselves. Whatever the validity of this explanation, as it was actually performed, the lakon could not be said to have had an anticolonial, nationalist flavor, except for one crucial scene where the clowns made their appearance. In a surprising departure from what I had seen at other performances, two skilled veteran actors here mixed their jokes with highly serious statements and exhortations, Javanese language with Indonesian, in an enthusiastic display of political nationalism.

In the scene, the comic servants of prince Tejaningrat first announced to one another in Indonesian the purpose of their appearance--to "help celebrate the 36th anniversary of the proclaiming of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia." Then followed a question-and-answer session in Javanese about the independence struggle. "Who was the '*proklamator*' of independence?" "Sukarno/Mohammad Hatta!" The crowd applauded. There were questions and jokes about military training under the Japanese and guerrilla fighting--one of the clowns had participated in all this, one not--and enthusiastic shouts of the old nationalist greeting *Merdeka Bung!* "Freedom, brother." Sukarno was described as not merely the proclaimer of independence but also the person who established the Panca Sila as the philosophical basis of the state--"history will provide the proof." So the clowns agreed that they should pass on to their children the legacy of *Bapak Ingenieur Sukarno sing mengko menjabat Presiden* ["Revered Engineer Sukarno who later served as President"]--the task of guarding this country of Indonesia.

The public expression of these sentiments was not so surprising in 1981 as it would have been in earlier years, for the Indonesian government had recently permitted a partial restoration of Sukarno's position in Indonesian history. But these middle-aged clowns, who would have remembered well the intoxicating spirit of the Revolution and the drama of the Sukarno years, were certainly not simply repeating a currently acceptable political line. Their calling of Sukarno "president," when official ideology allowed him only the role of "*proklamator*," and invoking his legacy to inspire future generations of Indonesians, suggested a delight in this opportunity to express admiration for their old hero, a burst of nationalist sentiment which went well beyond the limits prescribed by the authorities. Just how far these attitudes were shared by their fellow performers and by kampung dwellers as a whole is hard to tell. The fact that the troupe had only recently regrouped in the kampung after years of anonymous "inactivity" may indicate past leftist connections,

keeping them out of public affairs till now. Yet their performance of the Trunajaya story focused mainly on domestic concerns, not political struggle. In the young people's presentation of *Untung Suropati*, the audience showed excitement not so much at the melodramatic statements of nationalist commitment from the Indonesians as at the caricatured nastiness of the Dutch, and the fight scenes. The remarks of the clowns provoked applause, but not wild cheering, from the crowd. Nevertheless, the very fact that *two* stories of anti-Dutch (equated with pro-Indonesian, nationalist) struggle appeared here in the same malam kesenian program, when in recent years celebrations have tended to be quite apolitical, both in this kampung and elsewhere, may indicate some shift in political conditions and attitudes.

Was it confined just to this one kampung? As I was in Yogya for only a few days in 1981, and the popularity of Saturday night as the time for holding tujuhbelasan performances meant that most malam kesenian I heard about were scheduled simultaneously, I did not see enough performances to be able to judge whether there was a more widespread change in the attitude of kampung people towards the tujuhbelasan or an increase or resurgence of political nationalism. But this one example does indicate that the characteristic local focus and absence of political nationalism in the malam kesenian I attended in 1978 is not necessarily always true, and does at least suggest that the political content of the performances varies from kampung to kampung and year to year.

But it is not only the political content of the celebrations that changes. When I returned in August 1981 to the kampung where I had attended the performance of *Jaka Dolog* in 1977, I found that, although local people were aware that a ketoprak performance was scheduled for tujuhbelasan, they knew none of the details of when and where it was to be held. In view of the interest in the 1977 performance, this vagueness seemed surprising and turned out to be due to the fact that both the location of the performance, and the selection of the performers, had meantime been taken out of local hands. The functionaries of the various kampung in the kecamatan had decided to pool their resources, and to hold a joint performance outside the kecamatan offices, hiring professional actors from the prestigious radio troupe, RRI. To invite one or two top professional actors or actresses to join a kampung tujuhbelasan performance is a common practice, greatly enhancing the appeal of the local show and the sense of kampung pride. But having to go outside the kampung, to a site with no local connotations, to watch these professional performers as part of an anonymous public crowd, is a very different experience. Those people from the kampung who attended the 1981 ketoprak performance presumably did so primarily for entertainment, rather than as an expression of community identity. In pooling funds to provide high-class entertainment for their constituency, kampung officials may have demonstrated the efficiency of their local network but at the expense of an important "ritual" of social solidarity.

A similar change was apparent in another kampung bordering on the main thoroughfare, Malioboro, a collection of tiny, densely packed houses where in 1977 a group of locals, including many young people, had put on a very lively ketoprak. In 1981, however, the ketoprak was performed by a top professional troupe, Saptamandala. In 1980, I was told, the tujuhbelasan performance had been a wayang kulit, performed by one of Yogya's best dalang, for now the kampung could afford the very best in entertainment. This did not mean that the fortunes of the average kampung dweller had improved; but officials had been able to tap, for tujuhbelasan contributions, the highly profitable tourist-oriented shops on Malioboro, whose owners are generally prepared to offer quite hefty sums in the interests of good community relations. In addition, the current kampung head, although apparently a local man, is by profession a civil servant, working at the regional government offices, with wide contacts in the extra-kampung world and cultivated tastes in

entertainment. Through his acquaintance with a top actress in the troupe who also happens to work in the bureaucracy, he had personally arranged for the keṭoprak performance. Local people were very excited about seeing the great Sapta Mandala, and presumably proud that their kampung should be the site for their performance. But members of the local keṭoprak troupe, like the displaced players in the other kampung, must have had mixed feelings about the change. One suspects that for other kampung members also the nature of the performance has changed--that the participatory quality of the malam kesenian has been weakened and the local residents become consumers rather than producers of their own culture.

A general picture has been established of the ritual significance of dramatic performances held in the kampung for Indonesian Independence Day. The celebration of tujuhbelasan and other secular rituals of modern Indonesian life may well have taken the place of older rites of community in the kampung neighborhoods of Yogyakarta and other Javanese cities.⁷ When such festivities are independently organized and locally focused, they seem to assert a sense of neighborhood pride and solidarity embodying a specific "grass roots" notion of Indonesian-ness. In this context, performances of the local form of popular theater, keṭoprak, act not as "rites of separation" from local community and culture (cf. Peacock) but rather serve to reinforce these ties.

But the nature of the tujuhbelasan is not static. At least some of those I watched in 1981 gave a more visible expression than in 1977 to an openly political nationalism tied directly with Sukarno and the anticolonial Revolution. In some of the more recent performances, too, there was growing evidence of attempts by ambitious officials to take over the celebrations and provide good quality art for the local tujuhbelasan performances. In doing so, they have sometimes, apparently unwittingly, undermined a vital principle of such performances, the participatory basis. It is too soon to know whether these tendencies are more widespread or whether they are merely passing characteristics of individual performances in particular kampung.

7. Peacock, *Rites of Modernization*, pp. 98-100, suggests that this was happening in Surabaya in the sixties and quotes supporting statements by other observers. To him this represents "the incorporation of the kampung into the nation" and performances of ludruk popular theater held in celebration of such national rituals are seen to symbolize this trend.