
Title	The gambus (lutes) of the Malay world
Author(s)	Larry Francis Hilarian
Source	A search in Asia for a new theory of music: A symposium organised by the Philippines, Center for Ethnomusicology as the 7 th International Conference of the Asia Pacific Society for Ethnomusicology (APSE) (pp. 455-480)
Publisher	UP Center for Ethnomusicology

Copyright © 2003 UP Center for Ethnomusicology

This document may be used for private study or research purpose only. This document or any part of it may not be duplicated and/or distributed without permission of the copyright owner.

The Singapore Copyright Act applies to the use of this document.

Citation: Hilarian, L. F. (2003). The gambus (lutes) of the Malay world. In J. S. Buenconsejo, *A search in Asia for a new theory of music: A symposium organised by the Philippines, Center for Ethnomusicology as the 7th International Conference of the Asia Pacific Society for Ethnomusicology (APSE)* (pp. 455-480). Quezon City, Phiippines: UP Center for Ethomusicology.

This document was archived with permission from the copyright holder.

The migration of lute-type instruments to the Malay Muslim world

by Larry Francis Hilarian* (Singapore)

This paper will explore the migration of the Hadhrami Arab culture, religious practice and music to the Malay Archipelago (*Nusantara*). More specifically the paper discusses the transmission of the folk-lute (*gambus*) from Hadhramaut (Yemen) to the Malay Archipelago (*Nusantara*) where the instrument has been adapted to local needs and culture. This paper will briefly discuss the existence of two types of lute instruments. The transmission of these instruments and their role and identity as “icons” of Islam in the Malay world (*Alam Melayu*) is reviewed and debated. The status of music and the emblematic representation of cultural icons are constantly challenged by Islamic purists generating debates regarding Islamic attitudes to music in today’s Malay Muslim society. I will examine the role and functions of music, which constantly lies between acceptance and rejection within some Islamic societies. Finally, this paper will briefly explore the question of “cultural space” for traditional performers which is threatened by the influences of modernization, the influx of popular culture and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

Introduction : Trading-Links from the Arabian Peninsula to the Malay world (Alam Melayu)

The arrival of Arab traders and Islam is the most critical factor in this study. The historical periods are divided into three stages of Muslim trading links with the Malay Archipelago (*Nusantara*). First, in the Early Period (7th century) of early trading exploration in the historical sense by Muslim traders Second, is the Middle Period (15th century) which is most significant influences of Islamic contributions by Arabs, Persians and Indian Muslim traders. Third, is the Later Period (19th century) where the principal actors (Arabs) as entrepreneurs and religious men taking a more influential role in Malay culture and politics. This led to the establishment of land ownership, education and political philosophies of the Arabs in the Malay world (*Alam Melayu*). Events in the 19th century played a vital role by the arrival of Arab Hadhrami traders. This period can be referred to as the Hadhrami emigration “diaspora” (Alatas: 1997). With the high status and respect accorded to the Arabs, many Hadhrami traders came to trade, marry and settle down with the local Malay community. Subsequently, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 expedited the arrival of the Islamic *mullahs* and religious scholars from Yemen to this region.

* Assistant Professor of music at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

**THE GAMBUS (LUTES) OF THE MALAY
WORLD**

LARRY FRANCIS HILARIAN

The Gambus (Lutes) of the Malay World

Larry Francis Hilarian

(National Institute of Education, Singapore)

Introduction

This research was largely based on anthropology, organology, and ethnohistorical investigations. The main focus of this study is on the historical introduction of the *gambus* (Malay-lute) and the various hypotheses on the transmission of these types of instrument to the Malay Archipelago.

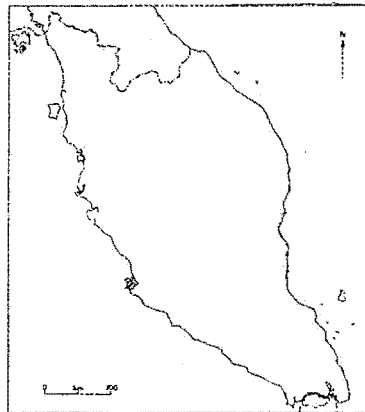
Problems and Situations of Malay Music

Very little has been written about the *gambus* or Malay music in either English or *Bahasa Melayu*. One might ask why there is so little information or documentation on Malay music. Perhaps the significance of Malay music was overshadowed by the *gamelan* music of Indonesia, which became popular with western researchers, scholars and composers in the late 19th and early 20th century. Another reason why Malay music went unnoticed could be largely due to the historical importance of Indonesia during the period of the spice trade. It can be argued historically that Indonesia's early history played a significant role in the *Malayo* kingdom of South East Asia.¹ The general lack of enquiry into the area of traditional Malay music may also partly be because of the "folk" art label attached to its music. In terms of social function, Malay society today seems to have far less traditional music due to modernization and westernization. The lack of any kind of formal training for traditional Malay music in schools, private institutions

and colleges is also responsible for its insignificant growth. Evidently, any of the factors that I have raised earlier could be the reason for the insignificant amount of interest generally shown in traditional Malay music.

Fieldwork and Research Methodology

When I first started my fieldwork in 1994, my attention was focused on the *gambus* found primarily in Peninsular Malaysia (see Map 1). Then I started by looking into the etymology and lexicon of the word “*gambus*” in Arabic, Persian, *Bahasa Melayu* and English.



Map 1: Peninsular Malaysia

In this study, I discovered the importance and relevance of investigating proto-type lute instruments from other countries. This helped me to understand the “similarities between and differences amongst” the various (short-necked lute) instruments and how this may be linked directly or indirectly to the *gambus*.

In the beginning, my research was focused on one type of *gambus* (arched-back) as I was unaware of the existence of the oval-shaped lute. When I first came across the ovoid-shaped lute my impression was that this instrument looked completely different and had nothing in common with the *gambus* of the arched-back type [see fig. 1 *gambus Hadhramaut* (a) and *gambus Melayu* (b)]. Why do they have the same name? However, I later found that both types of lute instrument were interchangeable in the performance of *zapin* and *ghazal* musical genres. This led to my belief that they are inseparable and it became necessary to investigate both types of *lute* instruments as both types were engaged to play the role as the main

instrument in *zapin* and *ghazal* but never played together in the same ensemble.

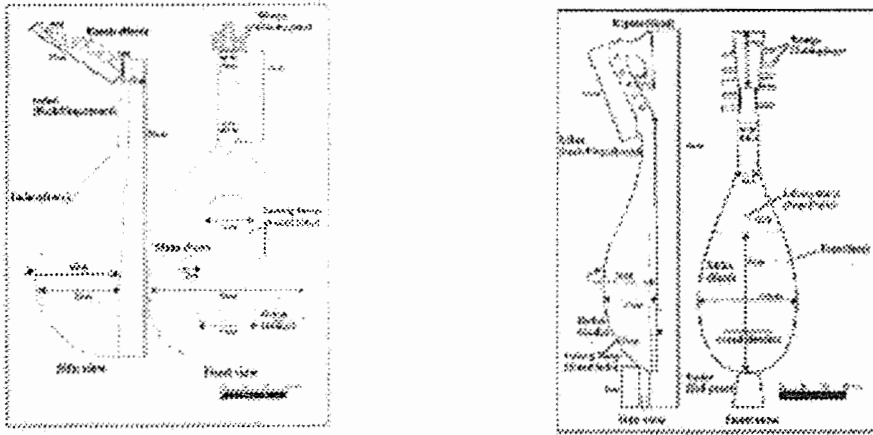
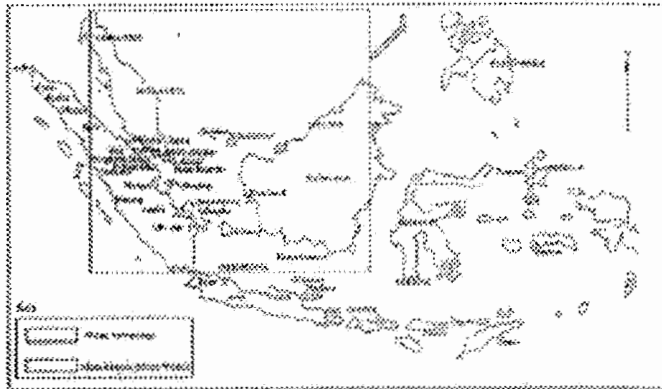


Fig. 1: *Gambus Hadhramaut* (a) and *Gambus Melayu* (b)

The research became complex as it became necessary to look into the practice of *gambus* playing in the whole of *alam Melayu* (Malay world) as this instrument is identified with *Melayu* tradition. If I did not take this step, this research would not be complete, effective or accurate (see Map 2).⁴



Map 2: Malay Archipelago and *alam Melayu* (the Malay world)

As the *gambus* crosses many political boundaries it became imperative to focus my research on a particular area or country. After gaining a greater understanding through looking outwards, I

decided to narrow my research and focus on the *gambus*, primarily found in Peninsular Malaysia.

Sources of Information

Fieldwork interviews played a crucial part in this research. These were conducted with makers of *gambus*, professional and semi-professional *gambus* players, dancers and scholars. My data collection was largely based on personal interviews and participant-observations. The framework for this research came mainly from these discussions, conversations, seminars, interviews and active participation in music making in the various *Melayu* societies. Most of the interviews were carried out in the *kampong* in an informal setting. Over the nine years I visited the same musicians, makers and dancers. Most interviews were carried out in *Bahasa Melayu* as very few practitioners spoke English in the *kampong*. Part of my study is to construct and understand some sort of “music theory” as articulated by different practitioners of Malay culture as their music has been transmitted orally through generations.³

In my fieldwork methodology I did not engage my research in only one particular area. The approach to my initial field study was first made in Johor (southern part of Peninsular Malaysia). I then looked outwards by making field trips to the other *Melayu* cultural areas in Sumatra, Riau, Penyegat, Bintan in Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei and also the coastal areas of Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak in East Malaysia. Finally I went back and concentrated my entire research in Johor, which became the focal point of this study. It was in Johor that most of my extensive visits were done by locating myself at a few places where *gambus* were made and performed regularly. These were mainly in Batu Pahat, Muar and Johor Bahru in the State of Johor. I also visited performers in Kuala Lumpur frequently as some of the best *gambus* performers have uprooted themselves from Johor to Kuala Lumpur mainly for recognition and employment, as opportunities are better in big cities. This method of fieldwork looked at the wider area of the study of music in the social context. I have also re-visited the other areas, especially in Indonesia and Brunei more than once, to compare the differences with the Johor performances.

Investigations on *gambus* were also carried out at the Musée de l'Homme and Cite de la Musique in France and at Horniman (Museum) Store in Greenwich, England. Personal contacts, scholars and musicians from Yemen, France, Israel, America, Turkey and Egypt interested in lute-type instruments outside the Malay

Archipelago were relied upon as secondary sources. Their invaluable comments and suggestions also helped to shape the direction of this research. Close contact was kept with many Malay music experts, makers and *gambus* performers.

The Various “Theories” Since the 9th Century on the Arrival of the *Gambus*

There are various “theories” as to how *gambus Melayu* and *gambus Hadhramaut* arrived in the Malay Archipelago. One hypothesis is that scholars such as Professor Anis have attributed the arrival of *gambus* to the Arabs during the Islamization of Melaka in the 15th century.⁴ My hypotheses I am propounding is that the Persians and the Arabs were trading in the Malay Archipelago as early as the 9th century and these instruments could have been carried on board their ships for personal entertainment on long voyages. The *barbat*, *qanbus* and *‘ud* could probably have been introduced by these traders, when trading along the Malay Archipelago. I have designed a schematic map in Fig. 2 providing a diagrammatic illustration on the hypothetical historical routes of the *gambus* to *alam Melayu*.

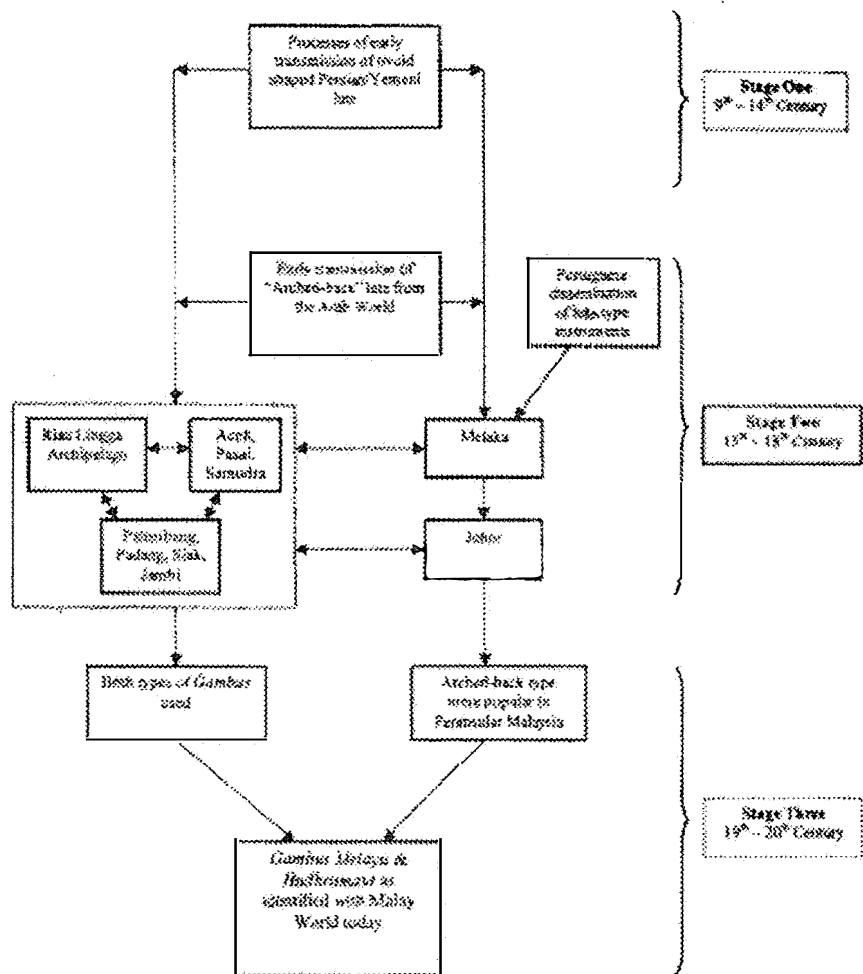


Fig. 2: Historical Hypothesis on the Transmission of *Gambus*-type lute

The earliest western documented source that I have come across in English, recorded the word “*gambus*” was by Sachs in *The History of Musical Instruments*.⁵

“ [sic. Lute-types instruments] carved out of a single piece of wood with no distinct neck and tapering towards the peg box, are found first in Iran (Persia), the same country which afterwards became their center; Elamic clay figures attributed to the 8th century B.C. show them in rough

outlines; the strings and their attachment are not distinguishable.Islam migration and conquests carried this lute eastwards from Persia as far as Celebes ([sic. Sulawesi]) and southwards to Madagascar. In all these countries it has been called by a name probably of Turkish origin, variously spelled as *gambus*" (1940: 251-252).

The Journey of the Gambus Type Instruments

It is interesting to note that Sachs mentioned that the Persian lute could have arrived in the Malay Archipelago through "Islamic migration and conquest." Sachs's view clearly requires an examination of the probable dominant Persian influence on South East Asia before the arrival of Muslim Arab traders in the 15th century.⁶ This is an important quote by Sachs as it discusses some of the ideas surrounding the "transmission" with regards to the Malay Archipelago. It is possible that the *barbat*, could have been brought by *Sufi* missionaries from Persia who plied the trade route of the Muslim merchants to South East Asia.⁷ This vital fact was mentioned earlier in a quotation by Sachs (p.8). It supports the hypothesis that the *barbat* may have been introduced into the Malay Archipelago even before the arrival of Muslim Arab traders to Melaka in the 15th century. Historical evidence to prove that Persians and Arabs were in the Malay Archipelago as early as the 9th century.

Alatas supports the hypothesis the presence of large Persian and Arab trading Muslim settlements in the Malay Archipelago.⁸ Alatas states that a thriving port also existed on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in the 9th century (named Kalah or Klang) inhabited by Muslims from Persia and India. Kalah is in the State of Selangor where the capital Kuala Lumpur is situated.⁹ It could therefore be possible to suggest that the Persians could have brought the *barbat* to the Malay Archipelago.

The question that comes to mind is did the *gambus* type instruments come from Persia or the Arabian Peninsula? The *gambus Melayu* that came to the Malay Archipelago could be either a direct descendant of the Persian *barbat* or from the Yemeni "*qanbus*," which itself may have evolved from the "*barbat*."¹⁰ The *gambus Melayu* has striking resemblances to both *barbat* and *qanbus* type instruments. There is historical evidence to suggest that either of these routes were possible as coming from Persia and Arabia. The similarities between the *gambus* and the *barbat* are

those that also link the *gambus* with the *qanbus*.¹¹ Even the strings of both types of *gambus* instruments are tuned in perfect 4ths, as it would be in the case of most Persian and Arabian lutes.¹²

Information gathered about the construction of *gambus Melayu* is similar in manner to the construction of *barbat*. Ella Zonis in her book titled *Classical Persian Music* concludes that *barbat* is constructed from one piece of wood. To quote Zonis: "As early as the Sassanian period (224-651 A.D.) the Persians had a *ud* called *barbat*. The construction was different from that of the Arab lute since in the *barbat*, the body and the neck were constructed of one graduated piece of wood..." (1973:179). The above quotation confirms the close similarities apparent in the construction of the *barbat* and *gambus Melayu*. One cannot doubt the probability of Persian influence in the construction method of *gambus Melayu*. The descriptions by Sachs and Zonis about *gambus* implies the instrument may be of Persian origin.

Also, according to Farmer, the *barbat* was exported to the Arabian Peninsula from Persia. This may explain the close similarities between the '*ud* and the *qanbus* from Yemen.¹³ Farmer concludes that Persian lutes were taken to Arabia in late 7th century by Persian slaves who were to work in Mecca and other parts of the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁴ In the 8th century Zalzal introduced a new type of '*ud* which superseded the *barbat*. It was this new invention ('*ud*) that was brought to Europe by the Arab invasion of Spain and became known to the West as the lute (1967:108).¹⁵

Islamization of Alam Melayu (Malay World) in the 13th Century

There is another hypothesis that claims that the Persians may have brought the *barbat* or even the '*ud* type instruments separately to the northern Sumatran states of Samudra, Pasai and Aceh during the 13th century as Islamic settlements were established by the early Persians.¹⁶ Picken concludes: "that the establishment of Islam in Sumatra in the 13th century has been correlated with the first transmission to the Indian Archipelago of *kopuz* like instruments" (1975: 269).¹⁷ It is believed that the Aceh royal court in the 13th century also maintained musicians from Persia.¹⁸ Persian musicians were invited to stay in Aceh and even today strong Persian *Sufi* influence is still apparent in Achinese culture.¹⁹ During that time many literary works were translated from Persian and adapted into the Malay language.

It is difficult to state categorically when and how the *gambus* arrived in the *alam Melayu*. Questions such as: Was the *gambus*

fretted or unfretted? Did it have wire, gut or other types of strings? are difficult to answer, as no documentary or iconographical evidence has been found. With little or no information regarding the arrival of *gambus* type instruments, the present research relied heavily on historical accounts and on theories regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago during the 15th century. Early historical accounts of Islamization are vital clues for understanding the dissemination of Arabian and Persian lute-type instruments in the Malay Archipelago.²⁰ The golden age of Malay history and the concept of *Melayu* culture began with the Melaka Empire and the arrival of Islam in the 15th century.²¹

The 16th Century Portuguese Connection

Although no historical sources have mentioned anything about the possibility of the Portuguese connection with the transmission of *gambus* into *alam Melayu*, I am inclined to follow another line of argument on the hypothesis of the Portuguese link. There is some evidence to show the Portuguese arrival may have played a part in the transmission of *gambus*-type instruments into *alam Melayu*.²²

Historical sources claimed that since the early sixteenth century the Portuguese had brought large quantities of musical instruments to Melaka, especially plucked and bowed stringed instruments.²³ The Portuguese who were in Melaka were not only white Portuguese, but “*Portugis*”, also known as the “Black Portuguese,” who were usually the freed slaves and mercenaries.²⁴ It has been documented that the Portuguese folk music and instruments were introduced into colonial Melaka households, performed by slaves of African, Indian, Moorish (*Morisco*) and other origins, resulting in a musical synthesis between Portuguese, Malay, African, Indian and Arabian musical elements and instruments.²⁵ The freed slaves and “native soldiers” adopted Christianity, intermarried the local Malays, settled in *kampong* and also took up employment as ceremonial and Malay court musicians. On being converted to Christianity they were allowed to take up Portuguese citizenship and their descendants have promoted Portuguese culture in Melaka (around *kampong Serani*).²⁶ Even to this day there are strong Portuguese cultural influences maintained in Melaka, thus preserving a distinct cultural identity in Melaka.

An important musical development was that various genres of music and dance styles emerged during the period of Malay-Portuguese contact such as *kronchong*, *joget*, *ronggang*, *dondang sayang* in the Malay courts throughout the Malay Archipelago

(Kartomi: 1997:312-319).²⁷ The importance of the “*Portugis*” community in the development of music with “Portuguese influences” concluded by Kornhauser (1978), Salwa (1997) and Kartomi (1997) presented another convincing hypothesis of the arrival of *gambus*-type instruments into *alam Melayu* (Malay world). Kornhauser mentioned the Portuguese writer Filipe de Caverel had claimed that ten thousand guitars went with the Portuguese to Morocco in 1582.²⁸ I am inclined to believe the possibility of Moorish from North Africa, Persian from the Hormuz region of the Gulf States played a part in the transmission of lute-type instruments into *alam Melayu* as the Portuguese were trading and colonizing these regions as early as the 15th century.²⁹ Hence, the possibility of transmission of *gambus*-type instruments through the Portuguese cannot be discarded altogether.

The 16th and 18th Century Aceh-Johor-Riau- Triangulation

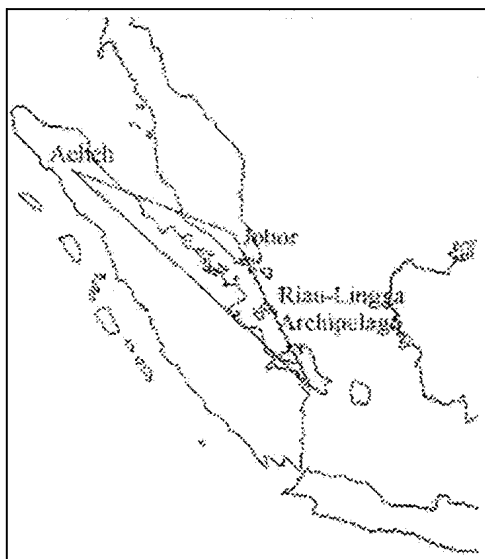
Once the “theories” pertaining to the arrival of the *gambus* have been advanced, its dissemination throughout *alam Melayu* in the 16th century needs further consideration. Another hypothesis is that *gambus*-type instruments could have been brought from Melaka to Johor by the fleeing Melakans after their defeat by the Portuguese the 16th century.

Johor-Riau-Lingga Empire became the direct inheritor of the old Melakan royal tradition. It has been claimed by scholars that *gambus* and *zapin* came to Johor from Melaka.³⁰ Arab music could have virtually been a court music and later spread into Johor and then to the other parts of Indonesia and Riau-Lingga Islands but these are only presumptions as there is little evidence to prove this point. Anis concludes that:

“In Malaysia, the coastal areas of north-west Johor is the center of the *zapin* tradition. This area was at one time under the political hegemony of the Melaka empire (c.144-1511). It is from this region that *zapin* is believed to have later spread to the outlying areas east and west of Melaka. The fall of Melaka was followed by the emergence of the Johor-Riau kingdom into the Malay world and a continuation of the Melaka lineages in other parts of the Straits of Melaka region. Singapore and the Riau Islands were historically tied to the greater Johor empire when *zapin* made its appearance in these areas” (1993:19).

The conquest of the Melakan Empire by the Portuguese, led to the establishment of a new Empire by the Melakan rulers in Johor Lama (old). The Johor Empire eventually became powerful and controlled the Riau-Lingga islands as well as the eastern coast of Sumatra. In the 17th century there was much contact between Aceh and the Johor Empire established from the capital at Johor Lama (old). Hence there is an argument that the *gambus* could have arrived into Johor through the northern Sumatran state of Aceh since the 13th century.

As the Johor Empire maintained its supremacy over these areas, there were many contacts, conquests, inter-marriages, exchanges of musicians and, most importantly, political overlordship paid to the Johor Empire by the eastern Sumatran states and the Riau-Lingga islanders. Because of the close connections amongst these states in *alam Melayu* the *gambus* could have filtered across a triangulation of Johor -Riau -Aceh axis (see Map 3).



Map 3: Johor-Riau-Aceh Triangulation

The geographical closeness of Aceh-Johor-Riau axis made it almost inevitable for the *Melayu* people to engage in trade, commerce, intermarriage and the sharing of musical styles. This eventually would have led to the absorption of each other's cultures and music. The triangulation of the Johor-Riau-Aceh axis may have played a crucial role in the spread of *gambus* and its musical styles

through the sharing and adopting of each other's cultures. Something else that brought about the development of *gambus* was the patronage bestowed by the Malay rulers. The spread of Islam and the convergence of the common people in the sharing of culture also helped in the dissemination of the *gambus* throughout *alam Melayu*.

The 19th Century Arrival of the Hadhramis from Yemen

In the 19th century there was a greater interest shown by the Arabs to trade and also some Arabs were attracted to settle down in the Malay Archipelago. The Arab immigrants in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia originated predominantly from the valley of Hadhramaut. In the 19th century Hadhrami Arabs played a significant role in the spread of Islam as well as commercial trade in Southeast Asia. The Hadhrami not only arrived here, as traders and merchants, but many were cultured and scholarly men imbued in Arabic literature, religious law and philosophy. They traded extensively in the archipelago where they were granted special commercial privileges because they were of the same "race" as the Prophet. By the 19th century, it had become the mission of Islam that was the primary goal of the Arabs in *alam Melayu*. The Arabs brought along not only trade but huge amount of rich cultural baggages with them.

Another significance is the establishment of closer contact with West Asia, which began in the 19th century with the steamship travels and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. This shortened sea journeys and travel, especially from the Arab world to the Malay Archipelago. More exchanges and close developments of religious orthodoxy took place between the Arab world and the Malay world from the 19th century onwards. The economic success of the Hadhramis in the Malay Archipelago led to the arrival of more family members³¹

Hadhrami Arabs brought not only their music and culture but they also intermarried with the local women. Later Islamic clergymen and religious scholars from the Hadhrami community started to arrive in this region. Musical instruments such as the arched-back *'ud* arrived into this region once again in the 19th century. The arched-back lute became more predominantly used during the 19th century in Peninsular Malaysia. Interestingly, the Hadhrami communities in *alam Melayu* provide a fascinating case of transnational communities. They assimilated well into their host countries of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore but retained their

cultural identity at the same time. This is referred to as the Hadhrami practice of “*asabiyya*.”³²

The Re-introduction of the Gambus in the 19th and 20th Century

Having considered the various “theories” on the arrival and establishment of the *gambus*, there is one more hypothesis on the arrival of the ‘*ud*’ in particular. The opening of Suez Canal in 1869 would have expedited and shortened the sea journey from the Middle-East to *alam Melayu*. The Arabian ‘*ud*’, but this time coming from other parts of the Middle East, could have been re-introduced as a “second coming” of the *gambus* in *alam Melayu*. It can be argued that the popularity of the ‘*ud*’ (*gambus Hadhramaut*) superseded *gambus Melayu* in the late 19th or early 20th century in Peninsular Malaysia. In Peninsular Malaysia today, *gambus Melayu* has been almost completely replaced by *gambus Hadhramaut*.

Summary

The hypotheses on the arrival of *gambus* in *alam Melayu* have been mentioned by Sachs (1913;1940); Kunst (1934); Picken (1975) and Anis (1993), as being mainly through the spread of Islam. Information on the presence of early Muslim settlements in Borneo has been well documented in Chinese records. Islamic practices and *gambus* performances have become intertwined with some aspects of Malay music. The Malay Muslim populations of the coastal areas of Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Kalimantan (Borneo) identify with Islam and regard the *gambus* as an important instrument of their culture. Religious significance may account for the popularity and performance of *gambus* in Muslim areas of Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei, Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) and Sulawesi.³³ Hence, today the *gambus* is associated with Muslim populations in the whole of *alam Melayu*. There are many Malays who strongly believe that the *gambus Melayu* is of Malay origin, as opposed to *gambus Hadhramaut*.

Conclusion

No one knows for sure exactly how the *gambus* arrived in *alam Melayu*. My argument points to the fact that both types of *gambus* were already highly developed when introduced into the Malay Archipelago. There is no evidence of “similar” or “primitive” types of lute found that could point to the *gambus* being indigenous to *alam Melayu*.³⁴ Evidence pointing towards the contribution of the Muslims from Persia and Arabia in the transmission of the *gambus*

to the Malay Archipelago is substantial and conclusive. The *gambus* may have developed over the centuries in *alam Melayu*, however, the striking resemblance to *qanbus* or *barbat*, supports the theory that it was an "imported" instrument rather than being indigenous to *alam Melayu* albeit now modified and adapted.

I am convinced from the arguments that the *gambus Hadhramaut* was a later arrival to *alam Melayu* as the 'ud only arrived in Yemen in the 19th century.³⁵ My research argues that *gambus-Melayu* type instruments probably arrived first. It could even be possible that these ovoid shaped lutes were transmitted by others and not only the Arabs from Hadhramaut. The Portuguese connection presents yet another convincing hypothesis. The significant contributions of the unique musical styles of the "Portugis" of Melaka concluded by Seebass (1976), Kornhauser (1978), Salwa (1997) and Kartomi (1997).

In short, both types of *gambus* were later modified and adapted to have regional characteristics and an identity that is today representative of Malay cultural heritage. It can be argued without doubt that the *gambus* is now the manifestation of the Malay/Muslim tradition through adaptation, modification and interaction with Arabic custom, culture and religion. Today, both types of *gambus* act as powerful symbols of Malay identity and pride tied to their culture and religion.

References

- Andaya, B.W. and Andaya L.Y. 1982. *A History of Malaysia*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Asmad. 1990. *Seni Lagu dan Peranian Tradisi*. Melaka: Association Educational Distributors (M) Sdn-Bhd.
- Becker, Judith. 1975. "Kroncong, Indonesian Popular Music." *Journal of the Society for Asian Music* 7(1): 14-19.
- Beg, M.A.J. 1982. *Persian and Turkish Loan-Words in Malay*. University Kebangsaan Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malays Press.
- Benjamin, Geoffrey. 1976. "The Cultural Logic of Singapore's 'Multiracialism.'" In *Singapore Society in Transition*. Riaz Hassan, ed. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 115-133.
- _____. 1993. "Grammar and Polity: The Cultural and Political Background to Standard Malay," *The Role of Theory in Language Description* (ed.) William A. Foley, ed. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 341-392.

1997. "Affixes, Austronesian and Iconicity in Malay." Paper presented at the Association for Linguistic Typology Symposium On Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (Penang), February 14-15. Unpublished.
- _____. 1999. "The Malay World as a Regional Array." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association on forms of regional integration: South America, Melanesia and Southeast Asia. Chicago, November 17-21.
- _____. 2002. "On Being Tribal in the Malay World". [In press]
- Bouterse, C. 1979. "Reconstructing the Medieval Arabic Lute: A Reconsideration of Farmer's 'Structure of Arabian and Persian Lute.'" *The Galpin Society Journal* XXXII(May):2-76.
- Brown, C.C. 1970. "*Sejarah Melayu: Malay Annals*." Translated. Reprint. 25 parts, Nos. 2 & 3. Kuala Lumpur: Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Malayan Branch).
- Catherine Homo-Lechner and Rault C. 1999. *Instruments de musique du Maroc et d'al Andalus*. Centre European de Recherche pour l'Interpretation des Musiques Medievales. Royaumont: CERIMM, Foundation, France.
- Chopyak, J.D. 1986. "Music in Modern Malaysia: A Surveyor of the Music Affecting the Development of Malaysian Popular Music." *Asian Music Journal* 17 (1): 111-138.
- _____. 1987. "Role of Music in Mass Media, Public Education and Formation of a National Culture." *Journal of the Society of Ethnomusicology* 431-454.
- Coope A.E. 1992. *Malay-English/English-Malay Dictionary*. Revised Edition. Malaysia: Macmillan Publication.
- Dobbs, J.P. 1972. Music and Dance in the Multi-racial Society of West Malaysia. M.Phil. Thesis, University of London.
- Ef, Yusnor. 2000. *P. Ramlee Yang Saya Kenal*. Malaysia :Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd.
- Farmer, H. George. 1931a. "The Origin of the Arabian Lute and Rebec." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 91-107.
- _____. 1931b. "Meccan Musical Instruments." In *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*. First Series. London: Harold Reeves. pp. 71-87.
- _____. 1937. "Was the Arabian and Persian Lute Fretted"? *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. pp. 452-460.
- _____. 1939. "The Structure of the Arabian and Persian Lute in the Middle Ages." In *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*. Second Series. Glasgow: The Civic Press Series. pp. 88-98

1967. *A History of Arabian Music*. London: Luzac and Co Ltd.
- _____. 1970. *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influences*. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- _____. 1997. *The Science of Music in Islam*. Volumes 1 and 2. Eckhard Neubauer, ed. Frankfurt : Johann Wolfgang Goethe University.
- Frame, M.E. 1982. "The Musical Instruments of Sabah, Malaysia." *Ethnomusicology* 26(2): 247-273.
- Hajah Kaipah binte Haji Tuak, ed. 1993. "Alat Muzik Tradisional Brunei." Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka Brunei.
- Haji Aziz and W.R. Mohammad. 1994. *Muzik dan Nyanyian Tradisi Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, Sdn-Bhd.
- Hall, D.G.E. 1970. *History of South East Asia*. New York: Macmillan Publishers.
- Hamzah, Daud. 1991. *Malaysia. New Music in the Orient*. Harrison Parker, ed. Frits Knuf Publication.
- Hayashi, Ryoichi. 1975. *The Silk Road and Shoso-in*. Trans. by Robert Ricketts. New York: Weatherhill.
- Heins, Ernst. 1975. "Kronchong and Tanjidor, Two Cases of Urban Folk Music in Jakarta." *Journal of the Society of Asian Music* 7(1): 20-33
- Hilarian, Larry Francis. 1988. *Singapore: National Culture and Musical Development*. M.A. Dissertation, Queen's University of Belfast.
- _____. 2001a. "A Historical Introduction to the Malay *Gambus*." Paper read at the 36th Meeting of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). July 2-11, Brazil.
- _____. 2001b. "The Significance of *Gambus* in *Zapin*." Keynote speech in the Singapore *Zapin* Festival, November 2-4, Singapore.
- _____. 2002b. "The Migrational Route of the Malay *Gambus*." Paper read at the meeting of the International Musicology Society (IMS), August 2-8, Belgium.
- Ismail Haji, Abdul Rahman. 1998. *Sejarah Melayu*. The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Academe Arts & Printing Service Sdn. Bhd.
- Kartomi, M.J. 1984. "*Gambus*." In *The New Groves Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, Vol. 2. Stanley Sadie, ed. London: Macmillan.
1986. "Muslim Music in West Sumatran Culture." *Ethnomusicology* 23: 13-30.

1990. *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instrument*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago.
- Kornhauser, Bronia. 1978. "Studies in Indonesian Music: In Defence of Kronchong." In *Papers on Southeast Asia* 7: 104-183. Monash University.
- Kunst, J. 1968. *Hindu - Javanese Musical Instruments*. Second Revision and Enlarged Edition. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- _____. 1994. *Indonesian Music and Dance: Traditional Music and its interaction with the West*. A compilation of articles (1934-1952) originally published in Dutch, with biographical essays by Ernest Heins, Elisabeth den Otter, and Felix van Lamsweerde. Royal Tropical Institute: University of Amsterdam.
- Lambert, Jean. 1997. *La medecine de l'ame, Hommes et Musiques*. Paris: Societe d'ethnologie, France.
- Lockard, C. 1991. "Modern Malaysian Music." In *Crossroads: An interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 6(1). Center for Southeast Asian Studies: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Maceda, J.M. 1963. *The Music of the Magindanao in the Philippines*. Vols 1 & 2. PhD dissertation, UCLA.
- Malm, P. William. 1979. "Music in Malaysia." *The World of Music* 21: 6-17.
- Matusky, Patricia. 1985. "An Introduction to the Major Instruments and Forms of Traditional Malay Music." *Journal of the Society of Asian Music* VXI (2): 121-182.
- _____. 1993. *Malaysian Shadow Play and Music: Continuity of an Oral Tradition*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Merriam, P.A. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Mohd N, Md Anis. 1993. *Zapin, Folk Dance of the Malay World*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- _____, ed. 2000a. *Asian Dance*. Kuala Lumpur: Asia Pacific Dance Research Society Cultural Centre, University of Malaya.
- _____, ed. 2000b. *Zapin Melayu Nusantara*. Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Asni Sdn. Bhd.
- Mohd. Ghazali, Abdullah. 1995. *Teater Traditional Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia.
- Mohd. Taib Osman, ed. 1974. *Traditional Drama and Music of Southeast Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia.

1988. *Bunga Rampai: Aspect of Malay Culture*. Kuala Lumpur : Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia.
- Anonymous. 1991. *The Silk Road Treasures of Tang China*. Publication. The Empress Place, Historical, and Cultural Exhibition Private Ltd.
- Anonymous. 1999. *Bahagian Warisan Persuratan Permainan Ghazal Melayu Johor, dan Sejarah Yayasan Warison Johor*. Photocopied notes. Malaysia.
- Anonymous. 1999. "Gambus". Belia Dan Sukan Bandar Seri Brunei Darussalem.
- Nadarajah, Nesamalar. 2000. *Johore and the Origins of British Control 1895-1914*. Kuala Lumpur: Arenabuku Sdn. Bhd.
- Nasuruiddin, M.G. 1989. *Muzik Melayu Tradisi*. Kuala.Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kemendian Pendidikan.
- _____. 1995. *The Malay Dance*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Nettl, Bruno. 1964. *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*. The Free Press Glencoe.
- Nicholas, Collin. 2000. *The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources*. Iwgia Document 95.
- Nik Mustapha Nik M.S. n.d. *Alat Muzik Tradisional Dalam Masyarakat, Melayu di Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian Dan Pelancongan, Malaysia.
- Page, Christopher. 1997. *Music and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Studies on texts and Performance*. Great Britain: Variorum Publication.
- Picken, Laurence. 1955. "The Origin of the Short Lute." *Galpin Society Journal* 8: 32-42.
- _____. 1975. *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Poche, Christian. 1994. *Musiques Du Monde Arabe, Ecoute et decouverte*. Paris : Institut Du Monde Arabe.
- Puteh, Abang Yusuf. 1996. *The Malay Mind*. Sarawak: Wong Brother's Printing.
- Rault Christian. 1999. *Instruments A Cordes Du Moyen Age*. Paris: Editions Creaphis.
- Reid, Anthony, ed. 1993. *Southeast Asia in Modern Era*. Cornell University Press.
- Ros, R. Paula. 1999. *Biographies of Florence musical instruments and their collectors*. Bulletin 347. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute Press.

- Roseman, Marina. 1993. *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest*. Berkeley-Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Sachs, C. 1940. *The History of Musical Instruments*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- _____. 1943. *The Rise of the Ancient World East and West*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- _____. 1962. *The Well Springs of Music*. Jaap Kunst, ed. Reprint. New York: Da Capo Press, Inc.
- Sal el Shawan Castelo-Branco. 1997. *Portugal and the World of the Encounter of Cultures in Music*. Lisboa: Publicacoes Dom Quixote.
- Santos, P.R., ed. 1995. *The Music of ASEAN*. Manila: ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information.
- Sarkissian, Margaret. 2000. *D' Albuquerque's Children*. Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press.
- Sheppard, Mubin. 1973. "Ma'yong, The Malay Dance Drama." *The World of Music* 3: 21-33.
- _____. 1975. "Traditional Musical Instruments of Malaysia." *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 11 (2): 171-179.
- _____. 1980. *Taman Indera (A Royal Pleasure Ground)*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Shiloah, Amnon, ed. 1979. *Theory of Music in Arabic Writings c.900-1900*. RISM Muchen: G.Henle Verlag
- _____. 1995. *Music in the World of Islam*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Siagian, Rizaldi. 2001. "Alam dan Ilmu Gambus." Paper read at the *Festival dan Seminar Kesenian Melayu Sedunia*. October 4-7, Johor.
- Siti Hajar, Hj. Abdul Aziz. 1996. *Tatabahasa Melayu (Perkataan)*. Kuala Lumpur: Kumpulan Budiman Sdn Bhd.
- Spector, J. 1970. "Classical 'Ud Music in Egypt with Special Reference to Maqamat." *Ethnomusicology* 14: 243-257.
- Sadie, Stanley, ed. 1980. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- _____, ed. 1984. *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- _____, ed. 2001. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- Sukaimi, Sudami, ed. 1988. "Warisan." Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia Dan Sukan Negara Brunei Darussalam.
- Tan, Sooi Beng. 1993. *Bangsawan, A Social Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

- Tan, Sooi Beng and Matursky. 1997. *Muzik Malaysia: Tradisi Klasik, Rakyat dan Sinkretik*. Kuala Lumpur: The Asian Centre.
- _____. 1998. *Pengantar Muzik Malaysia Buku 1*. Kuala Lumpur: The Asian Centre.
- Turnbull, Harvey. 1972. "The Origin of the Long-Neck Lute." *Galpin Society Journal* 25: 58-65.
- _____. 1977. "The Genesis of Carvel-built lute." *Musical Asiatica* 1: 75-84. Edited by L. Picken. Oxford University Press.
- Wee, Vivienne. 1985. *Melayu: Hierarchies of Being in Riau*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Australian National University.
- Winstedt, R.O. 1991. "History of Malay Literature." With Introduction by W.A. Talib. *Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- _____. 1993. *The Malay Magician*. Third Impression. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Wolters, O.W. 1982. *History, Culture and Region in South East Asian Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of South East Asian Studies Publication.
- Wong, A. A. & S. Mansor. 1995. *Engkerurai, Alat Muzik Masyarakat Iban Sarawak*. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan.
- Yusof, Ghulam-Sarwar. 1997. *The Malay Shadow Play: An Introduction*. Kuala Lumpur: The Asian Centre.

Notes

1. The Indonesian kingdoms of Sailendro (6th century), Sri Vijaya (7th-11th century) and Majapahit Empire (13th-15th century) ruled many parts of South East Asia.
2. It is important to note the differences between the Malay Archipelago and *alam Melayu* (the Malay world) which shown in Map 2.
3. Malay music "theory" is not within the scope of this paper.
4. See Mohd. Nor Md. Anis *Zapin of the Malay World* (1993).
5. Sachs was probably the first European scholar to have used the word "gambus" in his 1913 German publication of "*Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*" (p.152) Georg Olm Verlagsbuchandlung Hildesheim 1964 Nachdruck der Ausgabe, Berlin 1913 mit Genehmigung des Verlag Max Hesse, Berlin. Kunst used the word "gambus" in an article in 1934, describing the *gambus* as a plucked pear-shaped lute. He concluded that the *gambus* is fairly

common throughout the entire archipelago in strict Islamic areas. Kunst described it as having seven strings: three double strung pairs and one low single string (1934). In another article by Kunst it was also mentioned that its (*gambus*) country of origin was the Hadhramaut region of Yemen where it is known as *quopuz*. This article appeared in "Two Thousand Years of South Sumatra Reflected in its Music" (1952). Both reprints also appeared in Indonesian Music & Dance published by Royal Tropical Institute/Tropenmuseum University of Amsterdam/Ethnomusicology Centre "Jaap Kunst", (1994:170; 237).

6. Sachs also claimed that the Persian lute (*barbat*) reappeared in the Islamic Near-East many centuries later. Its peg-box was bent backwards in a sickle shape and contained lateral pegs. The string holder was not frontal but at the lower end of the body and skin covered soundboard. This description is closely aligned to the *gambus Melayu* type instruments found in *alam Melayu* (Malay world). The migration could have carried this lute eastwards from Persia to Celebes ([sic.Sulawesi]) in Indonesia (*gambusu*), and also to Zanzibar (*gambusi*) and Madagascar (*kabosa*). He concludes that it was also introduced to Egypt around 1200A.D. Today this lute is extinct in the Near-East (1940: 251-252). *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, also briefly mentioned that contact with early spice trade brought many influences from Arabic-Persian sources. The 7 stringed *gambus* was mentioned as one of them (Mantle Hood: 1980:215:No 9).
7. Kunst described Sumatra and the surrounding islands as being strongly influenced by Islam and the Persian-Arabic culture. He mentioned *gambus* of the 7 stringed type lute as characteristic of coming from Persia and Arabian Peninsula (1994:175). This fact further supports one of my hypotheses that the *gambus Melayu* may probably be of Persian origin.
8. Summary of papers on "Hadhrami Diaspora" were discussions in the conference at Alwehdah (Singapore Arabs Association) on the 20th August 1995. Speakers were: Dr. Farid Alatas, Alwiyah Abdul Aziz, Harasha bte. Khalid Banafa and Heikel bin Khalid Banafa. Also see Muslim World 75 nos.3-4, (Alatas: 1985:163).
9. Dr. Alatas mentioned in an article, "Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago" that the

writings of Arab historians and geographers of the 9th century knew of the existence of Srivijaya Empire (Indonesia) that included large parts of the Malay Archipelago. Ya'quibi, for example writes of the trading connections between Kalah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and Aden (Yemen). Another writer, Ibn al-Faqih (902) mentioned about the cosmopolitanism of Kalah. Abu Zayd of Siraf (d.916) said Kalah lies half-way between China and Arabia and mentioned Kalah as a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims from India and Persia. Another 10th century source by Ismail b. Hasan mentioned in a condensed nautical treatise, as a work based in part on travels in the Malay Archipelago (Muslim World 75: nos: 3-4: 1985:163-4). However, historian Andaya describes Muslim trading colony Kalah as being in the northern part of the Malay peninsular (1982:51). All these facts support the evidence of Muslims from Persia, Arabia and India, inhabiting some of the important ports in the Malay Archipelago.

10. Shiloah mentioned in his writing that the 'ud was invented by a Persian philosopher Ibn Hidjdja (b.1366-d.1434) who called it *barbat* (1979:180).
11. The description given by Jean During in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* closely identifies the *barbat* with *gambus Melayu*. However, During did not say where the *barbat* came from but he did say: "*The barbat had four silk strings, sometimes doubled, tuned in 4ths and plucked with a plectrum...At an early date it was exported to Arabia via Ai-Hira on the Euphrates. The North African kwitra and Arab 'ud can be considered descendants of the barbat as can the Chinese pipa and Japanese biwa*" (1984:156: No.1).
12. Jean Lambert described in his book *La Medecine de l'ame* that the *qanbus* from Yemen has three double course strings tuned progressively in 4ths except for the low single string which is tuned an octave lower to the high double course strings (1997:90). The tuning in 4ths is similar to most *gambus* of *alam Melayu*.
13. Shiloah mentioned to me that most, if not all, references in Arabic sources seem to identify the *barbat* with the 'ud either as one out of the five names of the 'ud, or as a close variant of it (Date:26th March:2000). This makes the issue of these two types of lute instrument more problematic as the word *barbat* or 'ud

can be used to describe either instrument. Poche pointed out that the shape of the Yemeni *qanbus* is closely related to the early Islamic 'ud. In comparison between the 'ud and the Yemeni *qanbus*, the *qanbus* has reciprocal influences and continuous interaction with the Arabian classical 'ud. However the *qanbus* is covered with lambskin painted in green as the colour of Islam and it has seven strings, three double strung and a single low string. Poche mentioned that at Sa'na in Yemen the *qanbus* is called the 'ud of Sa'na or the 'ud with four strings to distinguish it from the classical Arabian 'ud in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (1984:168).

14. By the 5th century, the *barbat* was used by Byzantine and Persian singing girls, although the Arabic 'ud appeared in Mecca in the 6th century (Marcuse: 1975: 413).
15. Farmer concludes that the old pear-shaped *barbat* type lute, without a definite neck continued to exist side by side with the 'ud in the *Castigas de Santa Maria* (The Origin of Arabian Lute and Rebec: p.98). Sachs also describes a type of Moorish guitar of the 14th century '*la guitarra morisca*' used by the Spaniards, was more and more influenced by the lute today which descended from the 'ud (1940:252). Malay sources also claimed to quote Mustapha Nik Mohd.Salleh: "Spanish 'ud is known as "*aloot*" or lutes in English are closely related to lute-type instruments" (1998:155). John M. Schechter in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* describes the "laud" as a Spanish term for the Arabian 'ud and that it was introduced into Spain by the Arabs in the 13th century (1984:508). Anthony Baines in *The Oxford Companion to Musical Instruments* also mentioned the "laud" with flat-back, oval or wavy sided body often with wavy sound holes and metal strings from Spain. It is tuned to six double courses and tuned progressively downwards in fourths (1992:19-20). This is what, as can be seen from the description closely related to the Arabian 'ud (*gambus Hadhramaut*)
16. We know from Marco Polo that the port of Perlak in North Sumatra was converted to Islam in 1291-1292 A.D. Another scholar, Van Leur pointed out that by the end of the 13th century, rulers of some newly arisen coastal states in Northern Sumatra adopted Islam through Indonesian trade (Van Leur: p.112).

17. There are two problems here as Picken quoted this information from Sachs. Firstly, *kopuz* (*qopuz*, *qupuz*) is a long-necked lute dating from the 11th century used by some Turkish tribes of south central Asia. This instrument is similar to the *baglama* and *saz*. Sachs may have erroneously used the term *kopuz* to mean *qanbus*, *qabus* or *barbat*, which are structurally similar to the *gambus Melayu*. Secondly, the term “Indian Archipelago” described in the quotation is confusing. It may be helpful to refine its geographical terminology to mean “Malay Archipelago”. I suspect the term “Indian Archipelago” could be referring to the “spice islands”, which were commonly referred to as “Indian” by early European explorers to mean the “Malay Archipelago” during the 16th century exploration of the spice islands by the Europeans. The regional name “East Indies” is sometimes used as synonym for the “Malay Archipelago”. This term was confirmed by Dr. Karl Anthony Hack, a specialist on South East Asian History, Division of History, NTU/NIE. (Personal communication: 28th October 1999).
18. The Northern states of Sumatra have been influenced by Islam and the earliest gravestone of a Moslem prince was recorded in 1297 in Perlak and Samudra as mentioned by Tome Pires. The presence of some Muslim communities in Northern Sumatra was also reported by Marco Polo through his travels to this region in 1292.
19. Alatas mentioned that many Sufi teachers and scholars introduced Greek philosophical thought besides Sufi theology to the Malay Archipelago (*Muslim World* 75 no3-4 (1985:173).
20. Kunst mentioned that the contribution of the Muslim i.e. Persian and Arabic realm in the field of music consists of several instruments commonly used in Islamic societies in the Malay Archipelago. He mentioned for example the *gambus*, *marwas* and *rebana* as well as the structure of a number of melodies found in the Malay world have come from Persia and the Arab world (1994: 237).
21. Melaka has recently been declared a World Heritage site by the United Nations.
22. The Portuguese commander D’Albuquerque who invaded Melaka had 800 Portuguese and between 200-600 “others” as native sailors, soldiers and slaves. See Cortesao.

23. Presumably the Portuguese sailors introduced a small guitar or lute-type instrument called *kroncong* that resembles the ukulele or the Portuguese cavaquinho (also known as machete). It is also assumed that the *kroncong* musical genre takes its name from *kroncong* lute. (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*: 2001:vol.12: 363).
24. The “*Portugis*” music in the 16th century included not only Portuguese characteristics but also African, Indian and Southeast Asian stylistic traits. The “*Portugis*” consisted of *mesticos* (Portuguese –Indonesian Christians), converted locals and *mardijkers* (freed African, Indian or Malay slaves of the Portuguese converts. These “*Portugis*” also adopted Portuguese names and are proud of their “European” status and distinctive identity. At the same time the Portuguese culture was maintained through “descendants”, mixed marriages and free slaves who adopted Christianity and preserved distinct cultural identities. See Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (1997) and Kornhauser (1978)
25. See Salwa el-Shawan Castelo-Branco (1997).
26. According to Sarkissian the term *kampong Serani* was used to mean Christian settlement in Melaka, *Serani* to mean “Nazarene” is an old synonym for Christians (2000).
27. *Kronchong*, *joget*, *ronggang* and *dondang sayang* are Malay music genres.
28. This fact was recorded by Pinto. See *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernard Mendez Pinto*. Trans. H.Logan, London: Dawsons of Pall Mall. Also see *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires by Armando Cortesao.
29. The Portuguese under the command of Alfonso d’ Albuquerque dominated the key points in the Moslem trading network through which Asian spices trade reached Europe by seizure of Goa (India) in 1510, Melaka in 1511 and Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf in 1515. (Andaya: 1982).
30. See Anis Md Nor, *Zapin the Folk Dance of the Malay World* (1993).
31. I am grateful to Professor Michael Gilsenan from the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, New York University for his helpful comments on the Hadhrami community from *alam Melayu* (personal communication: 10th-15th August 2000).

32. Dr. Farid Alatas describes this as Hadhrami consciousness and identity. He pointed out that for centuries "Hadhramis married into Malay-Indonesian communities and retained their cultural identities without losing their sense of Hadhrami identity because such identity is not national or ethnic but kinship-based" (Personal communication: 12th July 1999). Also see Alatas (1996:10).
33. In Chinese records of the History of Sung Dynasty, the author, Chua-Ju-Kua refers to a Muslim diplomat from Borneo who travelled to China as early as A.D.977. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chua-Ju-Kua. His work on Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, is entitled "Chu-fan-chi" (1966:157).
34. The musicians and scholars I spoke to in Indonesia, (S.Berrain), Malaysia, (Professor. Anis) and Brunei, (Haji Nayan bin Apong) seem to agree that *gambus Melayu* originated from *alam Melayu* (Malay world).
35. This astonishing fact was confirmed to me in a letter by Dr. Jean Lambert on the 27th December 1999. Dr. Lambert is an authority on the music of Yemen. His work on the *qanbus* and *'ud* from Yemen is discussed in *La medecine de l ame. Le chant de Sana dans la société Yemenite*. Nanterre, Societe d' ethnologie, 1997.