

Biography of Bapak O'ong Maryono

He was born on July 28, 1953 in Bondowoso, East Java, Indonesia. Since he was 9 years old he learned pencak silat Madura and Bawean and practiced Kuntao. When pencak silat was introduced as a competitive sport in 1973, O'ong Maryono started his carrier as "fighter" winning the regional championships in the regency of Bondowoso. In the same year he moved to Jakarta where he also trained karate, yudo, aikido, ju jitsu and tae kwon do, besides training pencak silat in the school of the Keluarga Pencak Silat Nusantara with Master Mohammad Hadimulyo. From 1979 until 1987 he won national and international competitions and was never defeated. Among his international achievements, he became twice world champion pencak silat in the free class in 1982 and 1984. He also won the first prize in the same category in the South East Asia Games XIV held in 1987 in Jakarta. In between 1982 and 1985 O'ong also dominated national Taek Won Do competitions as champion in the heavy weight class. After he concluded his carrier as athlete because of age limits, O'ong worked as instructor in Brunei Darussalam, Holland and more recently in the Philippines. O'ong also began a profession as freelance writer and researcher on martial arts. In 1998 he published a book entitled "Pencak Silat Merentang Waktu" (literally "Pencak Silat Stretched Across Time") on the socio-cultural aspects of pencak silat and its historical development which has received wide public recognition.

O'ong Maryono

42#Ponce street, San Lorenzo Village

1223 Makati City

The Philippines

Tel/Fax: 63-2-8170147

Acculturation at the Core of Pencak Silat

By O'ong Maryono

Rapid journal Vol.4 No.4

As we discussed in the previous article (O'ong Maryono 1999:38-39), Malay myths concur that pencak silat was originally developed by tribal groups in the archipelago through the observation of animal movements and other natural phenomena, in an effort to defend themselves from wild creatures and other environmental dangers. In the course of time, pencak silat eventually become instrumental in attaining social status when fighting among tribal groups, clans, communities and later kingdoms. Because of his/her skills a person could be feared and respected by the surrounding society, and secure prestige and political power:

Pencak silat as self-defense has always existed, since human beings had to fight with each other and with wild animals in order to survive. At that time, people who were strong and skilled in fighting could attain a privileged position in society, and could become heads of clans or army commanders. In the long run, fighting techniques started to be regulated, so that a comprehensive martial art form was developed which was eventually called pencak silat. (Asikin 1975:9-10)

Subjugation happened because groups of people started to fight each other to gain control of power. In an effort to expand the conquered areas, kingdoms were created. To maintain and expand the power of these kingdoms, self-defense, with or without arms, was developed. (Liem Yoe Kiong 1960:38-40)

When, where and how this process of systematization started nobody knows. What can be gathered from the scant information available is that pencak silat developed from the acculturation of various self-defense styles, which had developed locally under different names and with different characteristics. As Draeger puts it (1992:32): 'Pentjak-silat is certainly to be termed a combative form indigenous to Indonesia [and more generally to the Malay world]. But it is a synthesis product, not a purely autogenic endeavor'. The development of 'pure' local material arts, 'clean' from outside influences could only happen in communities that were isolated and did not have access to communication and transportation means as we know today. But, in later centuries, with the rise of kingdoms in the archipelago, and the development of sea and land transportation, an irreversible process of interaction and cultural exchange started among the various kingdoms as well as with the outside world, which compelled the interplay of different martial arts:

Self-defense is not a static knowledge, but it has developed in the course of time. Through acculturation, existing physical arts were enhanced and different styles shaped. Population moves, kingdoms' expansion, and migration caused the encounter of various self-defense forms and their interchange. It is also possible that the arrival of foreign people in the archipelago enriched Indonesian self-defense. (PB IPSI 1995:9)

Only after connecting with the outside world and communicating across regions and islands, cultures, including martial arts, interacted. This acculturation process not only happened between two cultures, but among many cultures. Nowadays, we cannot differentiate anymore which culture is original and which is not, since the result is one and well-integrated. (Murhananto 1993:7)

The ancient kingdoms of Indonesia have a long tradition of interaction with other ancient kingdoms in South and East Asia, especially in China and India, since the Hindu Kingdom of Kalingga during the VIIth century in East Java. Linkages were of various nature, including marriage, religious, commercial and diplomatic relationships. We know for example from the Chinese Buddhist monk I-tsing (around 671) that it was common for Chinese monks to stop in the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (Sumatra), which at the time was the most important kingdom of the Indonesian archipelago, on their way to India to study Buddhism. They would study Sanskrit there before continuing their travel and then again on their way back. This route from China to India, cutting across various Southeast Asian countries, is well known as the "silk route" (Achiadati et al 1989:12-13). I-tsing himself finished his study of ten years in Nalanda around 685 and stayed in Sriwijaya for 4 years to translate Buddhist textbooks from Sanskrit to Cantonese. He narrates that at the time more than 1000 monks from different kingdoms studied in the temples (mandala) of Sriwijaya. There, they learned local martial arts forms while sharing their own specific knowledge. The renown martial arts expert, Donn F. Draeger and many representatives of the Indonesian Pencak Silat Association (IPSI) believe that already in the VII century the population of Riau, then part of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya, already used specific, original martial arts techniques which were later disseminated to Semenanjung Tanah Melayu across Malacca and later to Java with the expansion of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya, and to other countries through the silk route. Still, it seems credible that this process of acculturation was two-ways and that Malay silat has also been influenced by other martial arts forms, considering that at that time martial arts were very developed in East Asia, especially during the dynasty Yin-en-Zhou (771-1200) in China, Emperor Suezai (688) in Japan, and the dynasty Sila (668-935) in Korea (Theeboom & Li Chang Duo 1993:12; Yen Hee Park, Yeon Hwan Park & Gerrard 1989:3). More generally, there are no strong historical references to either confirm or reject Draeger's assumption. The first reference to silat in Sumatra can be found in literary text (i.e. Tambo Alam Minangkabau) and only refers to the XIth century. Even there, silat is presented as the product of various cultures. According to this source of Minangkabau traditions and customs, the Parahiangan Kingdom's adviser, Datuk Suri Diraja (1097-1198) played a central role in developing silat. As the story goes, the Parahiangan royal family had good interaction with different kingdoms in Asia and even had various in-laws from abroad, including from the Siam Kingdom (Khmer), the Campa Kingdom (Vietnam), Cambodia and the Persian Kingdom (Iran). These in-laws had their own bodyguards who were martial arts experts. Datuk Suri Diraja would teach them silat Minangkabau while they would teach their techniques to others in the palace, creating new variations. The Tambo Minangkabau specifically tells of four bodyguards, namely Kucieng Siam from Siam, Harimau Campa from Campa; Kambieng Hitam from

Cambodia and Anjing Mualim from Persia. These names are still very popular and are used to indicate different West Sumatra techniques, i.e. jurus Harimau Campo, jurus Kambieng Hitam, etc. (Jamal 1986:6). More study is of course needed to assess the historical values of this legend. Still it clearly reflects the syncretic character of pencak silat, highlighting its long tradition of acculturation with other Asian cultures. We need to do more research to scientifically prove the interconnectedness between martial arts in the Malay world and in other Asian countries, but I have no doubts that there are strong links and a common cultural heritage. Furthermore, it is important to stress that acculturation is inherent to pencak silat. "Modern" pencak silat is the product of the combination of different techniques from different martial arts styles, and different theological and philosophical conceptualizations derived from different cultures. As a result pencak silat styles are many and varied. In Indonesia, we can observe pencak silat styles that embrace animistic elements (in Java, Kejawen) or adhere to Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, or Catholicism. Similarly, pencak silat reflects movements and techniques that are proper of the many ethnic groups and cultures in the Archipelago. Although pencak silat is a Malay cultural product it does not exclusively belong to only one particular ethnic or religious group.

References

- Achadiati, Y. et al., 1984 *Kebatinan dan Dakwah kepada Orang Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Percetakan Persatuan.
- Asikin, 1975 *Pelajaran Pencak Silat*. Bandung: Tarate.
- Draeger, D., 1992 *Weapons and Fighting Arts of Indonesia*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Publishing Co. Inc.
- Jamal, D., 1986 *Aliran Aliran Silat Minangkabau*. Padang Panjang: Tropic Bukitinggi.
- Liem Yoe Kiong, 1960 *Ilmu Silat, Sedjarah, Theorie dan Practijk*. Malang: C.V. "Penjedar".
- Murhananto, 1993 *Menyalami Pencak Silat*. Jakarta: Puspa Swara.
- O'ong Maryono, 1999 *Origin of Pencak Silat as told by Myths*. Rapid Journal 4(3):38-39.
- PB IPSI, 1995 *Sejarah dan Organisasi Pencak Silat Indonesia*. Unpublished report.
- Theeboom & Li Chang Duo, 1993 *Wushu de Chinese Vechtsporten*. Rijswijk: Elmar BV.
- Yen Hee Park, Yeon Hwan Park & Gerrard, J., 1989 *Tae kwon do*. London: World Lock Limited.

Seni Pencak Silat Bakti Negara

By O'ong Maryono

On January 31, 1955 more than 100 pendekars and gurus from all over Bali held the first pencak silat congress in Bali under the leading of Pendekar Ida Bagus Oka Dewangkara, Pendekar Ida Bagus Oka Pahadewa, Pendekar Bagus Made Rai Keplak, Pendekar Anak Agung Rai Tokir, Pendekar Anak Agung Meranggi, and Pendekar Sri Empu Dwi Tantre. The aim of this congress was to reflect on the role of Balinese pencak silat after the independence from the Dutch and to consolidate cooperation among the various pendekars. After the Congress a number of perguruan were established among others Bakti Setia Budi, Perguruan Pencak Silat Tridarma and Perguruan Pencak Silat Bakti Barat. The pendekars mentioned above and Cokorda Bagus Sayoga from the upper (aristocratic) castes founded the Persatuan Seni Pencak Silat Bakti Negara. According to Pendekar Sri Empu Dwi Tantre 'Bakti' which in common language usually means "devotion/loyalty" has a precise mystical meaning as abbreviation of: B = Bawa (aura); AK = aksara (Balinese alfabet composed of the syllabus ha, na, ca, ra, kha, da', tha, sya, wha, lha, pha, dha, dja, ja, na, ma, gha, ba, tha, ngha, symbolizing the life cycle, from life to death to life again); TI = Tunggal Ika (cosmological unity between macrocosmos and microcosmos which can be achieved by an individual through proper behavior and observance of the many taboos forbidding to kill God's creatures, to be arrogant, angry, jealous, or rebellious; to discriminate and deceive others and to gamble. This behavior in Balinese is called *yame'n niame brate'*). The same with 'Negara' which in common language means "country" but in mystical terms means "kekuasaan" or "power". In other words, Bakti Negara which can be easily translated as "Devotion/Loyalty to the Country" has also a deeper meaning of reaching unity of an individual with the macrocosmos by living according to (Balinese) Hinduist teachings. The first "ketua (chairperson) pendekar" of Bakti Negara was Anak Agung Rai Tokir, who died in 1967 and was replaced by Bagus Made Rai Keplak, who died in 1977. From then until now his son, Dewa Bagus Alit Dira, has been the "ketua pendekar" . He improved the organization and established a hierarchy of belt levels, starting from red (with one, two or three stripes), blue (with one, two or three stripes), yellow, purple, black, and ending with white (all these colours have also symbolic meanings, too complex to explain here). In 1982, Dewa Bagus Alit Dira was successful in integrating the various techniques used in Bakti Negara, namely Cimande, Cikalong, Cikaret, Melayu and Bugis in various series of movements which followed Balinese music and were given Balinese names. This collection of "jurus", called kumpulan jurus Maya Buana, has become the standard technique of Bakti Negara. For those of you that understand Indonesian, below you can find some of the most common techniques:

Teknik Jangkar: kuda, kodok, kendung, silang, kembang, tunggal.

Posisi: jujur, seliwah

Jurus Batu: jujur, menghadang jalan, pohon tumbang, memaku jagad, genta mengalun, tundukan, sodokan, patukan, paduan hati, guntingan.

Jurus tapak: tapak mendatar, terbang, tebasan, gibas, cucut, memetik buah, dua jari, menyembah Syiwa, bendungan, jepitan kepiting, teratai mengembang, teratai tertutup. Through this standardization process Bakti Negara can easily expand in society within the typical Balinese system of banjar (hamlet/neighborhood): "The Banjar is closely involved in most aspects of a person's life, virtually from the time of birth until his spirit finally departs from this earth" (Kim Streatfield, *Fertility Decline in a Traditional Society; The Case of Bali*, 1986:17). In almost every banjar in Bali there is a Bakti Negara branch which is supported with contribution from the hamlet's funds. Because of this interconnection with the Banjar system, and his closeness to Hinduism and Balinese tradition, Bakti Negara is firmly rooted in Balinese society. The Balinese acknowledge pencak silat Bakti Negara as part of their local culture. This feeling of "communal property" has fostered the development of Bakti Negara. Bakti Negara athletes have often become national and international champions, among others I Wayan Mudra, I Wayan Wirawan, I Made Wahyuni, and Kadek Sudane. Bakti Negara nowadays is one of the richest perguruan in Indonesia, with its own padepokan (Padepokan Niyala Mandala Bakti Negara in the banjar Batu Makaem, Ubung Kajen, Denpasar) and temples, permanent financial resources from the Bakti Negara Foundation and through an extended network of Balinese aristocrats, and political support from the provincial government.

Motto: "Hindu agamaku, Bakti Negara pencak silatku" ("Hinduism is my religion and Bakti Negara is my pencak silat")

Pencak Silat as Humanistic Discipline

By O'ong Maryono

Changes in the function of pencak silat came about in line with the gradual transformation of its surrounding society, and was initiated in the two key loci (locations) of silat study: the keraton (royal palace) and the mandala. As explained in the previous article, initially in the keraton the art of pen-cak silat self-defense was exclusively for members of the royal family to prepare themselves as defenders of the empire. However, with the changes in the role of the keraton due to the decline of the Maja-pahit Empire, pencak silat was enriched by a new concept which explicitly linked technical expertise in self-defense with humanistic growth in one comprehensive cosmology. Pencak silat could no longer be characterized as a vocation, or a mere skill, but focused instead on molding individual, human qualities. During this transition, the spiritual aspect that had always been implicit in pencak silat, came to the forefront and ultimately dominated the self-defense aspect. In the Javanese keraton for instance, the connection between pen-cak si-lat and the cosmological concept of manunggaling kawula Gusti (the unity of humanity and God) developed systematically. Spiritual study to acquire supernatural powers from objects, mantras, and even individual inner power was undertaken and developed, although the goal of this underwent a significant transformation. Although it was still utilized for practical purposes to enhance physical skills in battle, the spiritual aspect began to be emphasized as a means for humans to unite themselves with God.

As a result, the appreciation Javanese felt towards the pesilat (pencak silat practitioner) also changed, as the consensus arose that not only should they have expertise in facing the enemy, but also a level-headedness and ability to actualize the principals of harmony and etiquette according to ancestral values. A pesilat moreover a master must safeguard, preserve and defend the basic cultural values of perseverance, patience, honesty, heroism, obedience and devotion, and provide a model to the population for what may and may not be done. Besides mastering its techniques and physical skills, a pesilat is also expected to develop one's inner self, a process which involves learning about strengthening one's soul, the faithfulness of one's heart and controlling one's emotions. Since this time, pencak silat started to be seen as a form of humanistic endeavor. It requires that any practitioner of pencak silat has a strong sense of humanity, honesty and goodness, and will not be led astray by feelings of self importance, but will, instead, be sensitive to the suffering of others, striving to alleviate it. This element of emotions' control is also symbolized in many of the movements. Thus, for instance, blocking with the hand in front of the face symbolizes the resisting of negative influences as seen by the eyes, heard by the ears or spoken by mouth. Certain hand movements in front of the chest signify that one is patient, calm and able to maintain one's sense of balance (or, in Javanese: tepa selira). Only when one has mastered all these elements, is able to apply them and put them into practice can a practitioner of pencak silat be called a true 'master'.

Let me expand a little bit on this. According to our elders, training pencak silat is like opening a coconut. First, you must learn to open the skin, then proceed to open the coconut fiber, then

again the coconut shell and finally open the coconut to be able to drink the coconut milk. This is a metaphor for pencak silat: If you can attain the first level (open the skin) you will be able to practice pencak silat self-defense and sport (beladiri dan olahraga). If you can attain the second level (open the coconut fiber), you will be able to master pencak silat art (seni) and reach inner calm/tranquility. If you can attain the third level (open the coconut shell) you will start to understand the spiritual aspect (bathin) of pencak silat through meditation and introspection. Finally, if you attain the fourth and last level (open the coconut) you will become one with God (manunggaling kawula Gusti). Back to our historical account, in its new form as a humanistic teaching, pencak silat no longer needed to be concealed from other keraton workers. Although it had yet to extend to the general public, pencak silat skills of self-defense along with their spiritual aspects began to be taught at the keraton to abdi dalem (domestic servants) and kawula (those who follow orders) according to their respective position within the hierarchy. (Candra Gautama 1995:70). The resoluteness of the spiritual aspect of pencak silat, along with its extension outside the circle of nobility, was also influenced by the spread of Islam within the islands of the archipelago by Muslim traders from Gujarat, Arabia and, perhaps, from China. These people inhabited coastal regions and lived alongside Hindus, Buddhists and animists. Initially, areas affected were in the north of Sumatra, which during the XIII century consisted of kingdoms Islamic in nature, such as Samudra and Pasai. From there, the Arab culture and the religion of Islam spread far and wide on the island of Sumatra and helped to mould the local society's way of thinking thanks to the devotees who broadcast Islam in a number of ways at that time. Among others, they fostered public interest by providing lessons in self-defense and kanuragan. The people of Minangkabau still remember that Paninjau Jantan and Betina silat were brought to Padang Pariaman by an ulama from Aceh, Syech Burhanuddin, who brought Islam to the area in the middle of the XV century. He used the art of silat of Syech Abdul Rauf, as an instrument to promote Islam by pointing out its many advantages. Due to his spirit of devotion, Syech Burhanuddin was sanctified by the people, and was even buried in Ulakan Pariaman, which is still visited by many pilgrims today. (Sartuni Nutir 1976:18-19).

Thus, pencak silat played a role within the process of the Islamization on the island of Java. This development occurred only with the fall of the Majapahit Empire, and the rise of the Demak empire on the north coast of Java in the XV century, which was followed by the rise of the Muslim Mataram empire in the inland region of south Central Java in the XVI century. Religious leaders or great holy men were the first carriers and disseminators of Islamic religion. The Chronicle of Java and the Chronicle of Pasundan, as well as oral accounts among common people, tell of nine religious leaders who purportedly possessed great martial skills and supernatural powers. These were Sunan Ampel, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria and Sunan Gunung Jati or Faletehan. They pioneered Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Java by perpetuating the mandala tradition of preceding religions. (Kafanjani 1997:14-16). These Islamic educational centres were usually erected on vacant, no-man's land far from the bustle of the world, to ensure scholars and students peace and quiet in their pursuit of spiritual knowledge. According

to French historian, De-nys Lombard (1996(2):131), the founders of these past Islamic schools were pioneers. They accessed the jungles in the outer edges of an inhabited world, Islamized the local non-believers, managed newly cleared settlements [and] created... a peaceful safe-haven that was self-supporting and formed a micro-cosmos. The success of these pioneers was due to their bravery and faith supported by great skill in the art of self-defense. Through their proficiency in pencak silat, they were able to reside in remote areas that were less than safe, and were able to withstand both natural menaces and human interference. As well as being thought as a defense tool, at these Islamic schools, pencak si-lat was an integral part of religious teachings. Within an educational process that demands its pupils' subservience to Almighty God, the art of pencak silat was combined with a spiritual strength which came from and was sought from professions of faith in the Koran, a tradition still in existence to this day. In particular, pencak silat is used for amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar which means inviting someone on the path of the righteous and preventing them from straying.

According to this concept, Muslims who are strong both physically and spiritually are loved more by Allah than Muslims who are weak, as quoted in Hadis: Al mu'minul qawiyyu ahabba ilallahi minal mu'mi-nidh dhaifi (Hadis Ri-wayat). In the beginning, pencak silat was taught in the Islamic schools by a group of noblemen, who adhered to Islamic teachings. But gradually they too lost their hold over pen-cak silat, because their students came from a number of socio-economic classes. This process of popularization started after trainee preachers completed their education and began preaching throughout the archipelago. Along with Islam, pen-cak silat spread throughout society. In addition to preachers, traders also played a role in the spread of Islam and in the geographical expansion of pen-cak silat. This is also emphasized in a legend on the origins of pencak silat in Dombu and Bima. It is said that pencak silat was brought by two Arab traders named Huma and Banta who brought Islam to these two areas. Prior to this, they lived in a several different regions of the archipelago, including Makassar. From that city, Huma and Ban-ta brought the Bugis pencak silat style, akmencaak, a name which the local people changed to mpaa Sila (Department of Education and Culture 1982:223). The influence of Islam on the expansion of pencak silat was not limited to scope, but is also evident in its artistic aspects. With the emergence of Islamic- flavored traditions and ceremonies, alongside ancestral ones, pen-cak silat as an art was augmented in a variety of ways. In particular, pencak silat as an art acquired an important role in circumcision ceremonies in a number of regions across Indonesia, including West Java.

At circumcision parties in the past, frequently there was beat of the penca drum, accompanying the siram kembang (flower bath). The male child to be circumcised was escorted by the beat of the penca drum to the river to be bathed before the circumcision. Only after the circumcision came the first vows. The dancing pencak silat movements were in rhythm with the one-two of the drum.... The pencak silat performance could be in the morning, or at night; after Isa' prayers until around midnight. At the party old, young, men, women, grandfathers, grandmothers, all wanted to join in the silat festivities. All would dance the movements of pencak silat for hours. To the point where many were queuing up... (Saleh 1989:3)

In short, it can be said that the spread of Islam in the islands of the archipelago helped boost the expansion of pen-cak silat. Nevertheless, the growth of pencak silat was still limited and only began to be systematically perpetuated with the emergence of formal pencak silat training schools (perguruan), in addition to the keraton and Islamic schools, during the period of Dutch colonization in our archipelago, as we will see in the next article.

Reference:

1. Chandra Gautama, Mencari Keindahan Tenaga Dalam. Matra, Jakarta: 1995.
2. Dennis Lombard, Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya; Batas-batas Pembaratan. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama. Part I, 1996.
3. Depdikbud, Permainan Rakyat Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dukumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah, Jakarta, 1982.
4. Kafanjani, Menyingkap kisah Keteladanan Perjuangan Wali Songo, Surabaya: Anugerah, 199?
5. Saleh, Riwayat Himpunan Pencak Silat Panglipur. Unpublished paper, 1989.
6. Sartuni Nutir, Hasil penelitian Olahraga Tradisional (Pencak Silat) Sumatera Barat . Research report Sekolah Tinggi Olahraga, Padang: 1976

Pencak Silat as a Liberating Force in the Independence Struggle

By O'ong Maryono

The reputation of pencak silat began to improve in the early 20th century with the emergence of the Etische Politiek or Ethical Policy, which aimed to raise the welfare of the indigenous people through various programs, including public health and education. This new policy led to greater intervention by the Dutch government in village affairs, security included. With the formation of police units in rural areas and the disappearance of forced labour, the role of the jago in sustaining the colonial economic system began to wane. This alone led to the decline of pencak silat as an instrument of social control over coolies and farming communities.

At the same time, the perguruan were undergoing a significant transformation. With the appearance of public education and the establishment of *desascholen* or 'public schools' between 1910 and 1919, the focus of the perguruan narrowed since they no longer provided humanistic education in the broadest sense. Furthermore, some perguruan particularly those in urban areas began to develop from informal associations into structured organisations with oral or written regulations. This transformation resulted from an expansion of the fraternities as the students' number rose, and from changes in the relationship between disciples and their teachers. The closeness between teachers and students almost vanished because they no longer lived under one roof, meeting only at training sessions.

The structure of the perguruan became increasingly hierarchical, with students grouped by seniority and levels of knowledge. Students would normally begin by practising basic pencak silat moves and physical techniques, before moving on to study the spiritual aspect. Junior students were not permitted to observe or train with their seniors and had to show them respect. When a senior student achieved the highest level of study he was allowed to open a school separate from his teacher's. Such expansion in other areas was meant to occur in a spirit of fraternity so that the pledge of loyalty to the main perguruan would be reaffirmed.

To preserve the unity of the perguruan and to prevent the misuse of pencak silat in the community, masters began to draw up rules to regulate the behaviour of the disciples both inside and outside the school. Several teachers also devised a code of ethics to guide their students through life. Discipline was intensified and old regulations, such as the prohibition to study at other perguruan or teach outsiders, were reinforced. Those who broke the perguruan commandments would be punished by their teacher.

The colonial government viewed the growth of these 'new' perguruan with suspicion, since it realised that organised pesilat could not be manipulated as easily as jago, who acted individually. They were concerned that the perguruan might become effective instruments in disseminating nationalist ideas advocating civic resurgence and resistance to the Dutch colonialists.

In the beginning, this concern seemed excessive since the majority of perguruan were also open to members of society close to the colonial government, such as the upper-classes, ambtenaren (civil servants), KNIL military (Koningklijk Nederlandsh Indisch Leger) and korpsen soldiers (Saleh 1991:20). The Dutch marechausse were also trained in pencak silat techniques. It should also be noted that many of the teachers that set up 'modern' perguruan in cities were from the upper-classes and were employed as civil servants. Not infrequently, pencak silat masters would receive awards for their services on Queen Juliana's birthday, 'Koninginne Dag'.

However, nationalist ideas gradually began to permeate the world of pencak silat, and some perguruan started questioning who had the right to learn pencak silat: should pencak silat be taught to the nobility, the educated and the Dutch ambtenaren; or should it be solely for the indigenous population? In the ensuing decade, the government decision to allow indigenous political organisations and the subsequent emergence of associations and parties of differing ideological backgrounds including nationalism, socialism, communism, and Islam also sparked debate on whether the perguruan should remain neutral. If not, with which groups should the perguruan align themselves? These dilemmas could not be unanimously solved, and members of differing opinions often broke away and set up new pencak silat groups.

The growing spirit of nationalism within pencak silat circles echoed the intensification of efforts to realise 'One Country, one Nation, one Language' in the archipelago. Following several incidents of mass uprising in the 1920's and the declaration of the Youth Pledge on October 10, 1928 in Batavia, the colonial government tightened and expanded its control over youth activities, pencak silat included. The colonial intelligence apparatus (PID) kept a close eye on all activities and organisations considered to be potentially in opposition to Dutch control. Training in pencak silat provided youths the strength, confidence and courage needed to resist the Dutch colonialists. Therefore pencak silat self-defence activities were closely scrutinised as they were suspected to be the front for political activities, and had to go underground. Training was done in private houses, in small groups of no more than five persons. At the end of the training, the pesilat had to leave one by one without attracting the neighbours attention. At times, training would be carried out in secret locations in the middle of the night from midnight to morning prayers to avoid the scrutiny of the Dutch. Pencak silat teachers often made use of eerie locations such as graveyards, since even the police would be scared to go there, and they could be protected and safeguarded by the spirits of their ancestors.

Pencak silat matches too began to disappear from public eye following their prohibition by the colonial government in the 1930's. What is more, many pesilat, who were also political figures, met with bitter fate and had to live in prisons or isolated camps for several years. Pencak silat epics abound with stories of masters who 'were branded as extremists and forced to move around to avoid arrest', or who were punished for having opposed Dutch authority by using their pencak silat skills, both physical and spiritual. Although we cannot generalise and assume that all pencak silat teachers and schools opposed the colonial government, from the above it clearly appears that pencak silat played an important role in the struggle for independence.

The Institutionalization of Pencak Silat Education in the Perguruan

By O'ong Maryono

Beginning in 1598, Dutch traders came to the islands of the archipelago and tried to gain control of the spice trade, competing with local authorities and the Portuguese traders who had arrived earlier in the archipelago. After taking hold of the spice production in Central Moluccas, Ambon and Banda, the co-ordinating institution of Dutch traders or United East India Company (VOC: Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) affirmed its position on the north coast of Java with the construction of the fortress of Batavia (formerly known as Jayakarta, and now as Jakarta) in 1621 (Koentjaraning-rat 1994:62-63). The presence of the VOC in Batavia posed a serious threat to the maritime kingdom of Banten, and to the inland kingdoms of Java. In particular, Sultan Agung (1613-1645), the third king of the Mataram Empire, was extremely concerned about this foreign expansion, and on various occasions clashed with the VOC. However, subsequent kings became increasingly dependent on the Netherlands, as the VOC supplied them with weapons and ammunitions in exchange for valuables and land. Such military provisions were needed to quash local rebellions and attempts to seize the throne (Ibid: 63-64). These 'modern' arms in the form of cannons and guns were extremely effective and practical in use compared to traditional weapons, prompting the reform of the defence system of the keraton. Consequently, the role of pencak silat as an instrument of war slowly declined. After their heyday came a bleak time for pencak silat masters, who lost their place in the keraton structure, and faced political and socio-cultural changes at odds with the moral principles dear to them. The situation at the beginning of the 17th century, wherein kingdoms were waging civil war and the keraton lost political significance, forced pencak silat masters to seek out new ways of life. Many eventually left the keraton and chose to become ordinary citizens in rural villages.

Outside of the keraton they continued to teach pencak silat, sharing their knowledge and attracting followers wherever they lived. Following the keraton tradition, pencak silat was taught not only as a self-defence method, but also as a form of spiritual knowledge necessary to attain supernatural powers. In doing so, the masters preserved the humanistic values in which they believed, disseminating among the people the doctrine of manung-galing kawula Gusti , thus becoming guardians of Javanese royal culture outside of the palace (Candra Gautama 1995:70). In due course, many informal teaching groups emerged in the rural areas of Java, allowing pencak silat to prosper, and be handed down to future generations. For the first time, the study of pencak silat was institutionalised within a traditional educational system, one that retained the pencak silat teacher as a guide and source of knowledge, as reflected in the term 'perguruan' (pencak silat school) which is derived from the word 'guru' or 'teacher'. The perguruan became one educational option for the youth on the road to adulthood, as alternative to undertaking an ascetic search under the guidance of a spiritual teacher (orang pinter), or entering a pesantren to absorb Islamic teachings (Anderson 1972:5).

The classic, literary image of the perguruan portrays 'a teacher of an advanced age, but still young at heart, ...teaching pencak silat jurus (series of movements) to a small group of students who wish to learn how to restrain themselves and attain invulnerability (ilmu kebal)' (Lombard 1996(2):332). Usually, the students lived under one roof with their teacher, and received food and clothing. In exchange, they assisted their teacher in his work on the land, planting or helping with the harvest (Anderson 1972:5). The teacher imparted his knowledge and skill of pencak silat in stages, over an unlimited period of time, according to the individual ability of the student. Because teachers kept their own techniques secret from one another, pencak silat disappeared from the surface, yet grew in the perguruan 'like a snake in the grass'. In accordance with tradition, only students who underwent an initiation ceremony were accepted into the perguruan and allowed to receive pencak silat education. During this ceremony, the aspirant students swore allegiance to the school, and affirmed the existence of a moral and existential binding between them and their teacher, and with their peers at the perguruan.¹⁴ Students were thus united and found strength in feelings of mutual respect. At the time when the perguruan based on this fraternity principle (perguruan persaudaraan) began to expand on the islands of Java, schools meant exclusively for family members still dominated in Sumatra. These family schools (perguruan kekeluargaan) were more firm in their allegiance to secrecy, since they aspired to preserve intact their family culture. The teacher kept his knowledge confidential, and refused to impart it to those who had neither biological nor customary ties to the family. Access to outsiders was made possible only to persons who were considered part of the family, or were adopted as such. For example, in West Sumatra if one wished to become a student, he had to undergo a ceremony to become anak sasian (nephew/niece), which involved making offerings of materials with a symbolic meaning:

A quart of rice and a rooster would be used for the initiation ritual.... to unify in a spiritual relationship the anak sasian and the teacher.... The rooster was used to signify that the members of the school should be 'seciok bak ayam' (singing in unison as the roosters), meaning that they should be living harmoniously; a bundle of betel leaves to declare unity of the members in an equal spiritual-material bond; a white cloth as a symbol of the purity of heart of each member in their purpose to live in a friendly way, defend one other, and let go all negative prejudices about their peers; and a knife blade representing the quality of their unity, 'sedencing bak besi' or 'strong as iron'. (Department of Education and Culture 1982:12-13; see also Winsnoe Wardhana 1976:19)

Teachers were also not to impart their entire knowledge to their students, or in the language of Minangkabau 'sepinjik tetap dipegang' (withholding a little). A number of jurus had to be kept secret, because of concern that one day the student would challenge the teacher with what he had learned (Olahraga 1957:12). The caution of these teachers is also reflected in the adage: 'if it is sweet, don't swallow it straight away; if it is bitter don't retch it straight away'. Clearly, had all these cultural rules been followed to the letter, the schools would have expanded in isolation, without ever integrating with other schools. Also, pencak silat would not have been touched by any new, external influence, thus remaining static, or beginning to disappear

altogether. Fortunately, this was not the case. During the 18th and 19th century, the development of pencak silat remained very dynamic and continued to be shaped by a process of acculturation among perguruan. In disregard of customary norms, the fraternal cord was oftentimes cut by students, making way for new and varied schools. It also frequently happened that people outside the boundaries of family or ethnic groups were accepted as students. There were teachers who taught those who were not related to the school, no matter the inevitable social castigation. Actually, many young masters wandered to other areas to learn from other teachers in order to enhance their pencak silat skills. In this way, interaction occurred among disparate regional styles, leading to the emergence of hundreds of new pencak silat schools. Although these new schools often sprung from the same source, they exhibited different characteristics. Through this simultaneous process of acculturation and expansion, as the next article will show, pencak silat will reach its zenith after the VOC lost its domination over the Indonesian archipelago in 1799 and the Dutch colonial government was installed.

References:

Koentjaraningrat, "Kebudayaan, Balai Pustaka", Jakarta: 1994.

Chandra Gautama, "Mencari Keindahan Tenaga Dalam", Matra, Jakarta:1995.

Anderson, B, "Java in a time of Revolution; Occupation and Resistance", 1944 - 1946. Ithaca & London : Cornell, University Press. 1972.

Lombart, D, "Nusa Jawa :Silang Budaya ; Jaringan Asia", Gramedia Pustaka Utama .Bagian 2. Jakarta 1996.

Department of Education and Culture, "Perkembangan Seni Bela Diri tradisional di Daerah Sumatera Barat", Depdikbud Jakarta 1982.

See also Winsnoe Wardhana, "Pembudayaan Pencak Silat Indonesia", Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Jakarta.1976.

Olahraga, "Apakah Pentjak Satu Saat Akan Kandas", Jakarta 1957

About The Indonesian Pencak Silat Organization (IPSI)

and the International Pencak Silat Federation (PERSILAT)

by O'long Maryono

What is IPSI and how it was started?

The Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia (IPSI) or Indonesian Pencak Silat Organization is a national umbrella organization for Indonesian pencak silat schools. It was founded in 1948 after Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch colonialists to foster the development of pencak silat in the new country as part of a broader effort to promote cultural unity. More exactly on May 18, 1948, a meeting found place in Solo (Central Java) which established a national pencak silat committee chaired by Mr. Wongsonegoro (chairman), and composed of Soeria Atmadja (vice chairman), Marijoen Soedirohadiprodjo (secretary), and Soeratno Sastroamidjojo (treasurer), which was eventually formalized into the Ikatan Pencak Seloeroeh Indonesia (IPSI: Association of Pencak from the Entire Indonesia). Only in 1973 the official name was changed into Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia (IPSI), to include 'pencak' as well as 'silat' schools and practitioners. Mr. Wongsonegoro was IPSI first chairman from 1948 until 1973, when it was followed by Tjokropranolo (1973-1978) and Eddie M. Nalapraya (1978 until today). The members of IPSI are independent pencak silat perguruan spread all over the country. It is said (but official statistics are lacking) that IPSI counts more than 800 pencak silat perguruan from 26 provinces as its members. The structure and organization of IPSI is based on a set of written statutes and rules approved by all the members, which among others define the relationship between the various perguruan and their national organization. IPSI's three main aims are:

- 1- To develop its members and to look after unity
- 2- To coordinate and lead its members dealing with its efforts to perpetuate, develop and socialize pencak silat and its values.
- 3- To use pencak silat and its values as means to build up good quality humankind, in a mental, spiritual and physical sense. The Indonesian government recognizes IPSI as the only official pencak silat organization, which has the legal right to deal with all matters concerning pencak silat nationally. The national offices of IPSI are located in Jakarta, at the Padepokan Nasional Pencak Silat Indonesia, Jalan Raya Taman Mini Indonesia Indah no.1, phone 021- 8413815. From there, IPSI supervises its regional administrative units at provincial level, 2nd regional administrative units at district level, and subdistrict administrative units.

What is Persatuan Pencak Silat Indonesia (PPSI; Indonesian Pencak Silat Association)?

Many people abroad often confuse IPSI with PPSI since their names are very similar. However their nature is very different. PPSI is not recognized as a national organization by the government and its members only include West Java (Sundanese) styles, mostly located in Bandung and surroundings.

PPSI was founded by Pak Kosasih in Bandung, West Java on August 1957 with the support of various pencak silat masters such as H. Suhari Sapari (Perguron Sekar Pakuan), Nunung Hudaya (Perguron Riksa Diri), Uca (Perguron Panglipur) and Soekedja (Perguron Raksa Warga). After a period of competition with IPSI, PPSI withdraw to a local role and is today recognized as one of the 10 'Top organizations' in the history of Indonesian pencak silat. The complete list is as follows:

1. Persaudaraan Pencak Silat Setia Hati in Jakarta
2. Persaudaraan Pencak Silat Setia Hati Teratai in Madiun, East Java
3. Perpi Harimurti in Yogyakarta, Central Java
4. Pasyadja Mataram in Yogyakarta, Central Java
5. Tapak Suci Putra Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, Central Java
6. Persaudaraan Pencak Silat Perisai Putih in Surabaya, East Java
7. Keluarga Silat Nasional Perisai Diri in Surabaya, East Java
8. Keluarga Pencak Silat Nusantara in Jakarta
9. Pencak Silat Putra Betawi in Jakarta
10. PPSI in Bandung, West Java

What is PERSILAT?

PERSILAT is the acronym of Persekutuan Pencak Silat Antar Bangsa (The International Pencak Silat Federation), the only official international organization of pencak silat. This organization was founded on March, 11, 1980 in Jakarta. PERSILAT is composed by national organizations of pencak silat. Basically every national organization of pencak silat, whether it has been already recognized or not by the respective national sport authorities, can become a member of PERSILAT as long as it is accepted by the other members. As a member of PERSILAT, each national organization represents its own country. PERSILAT recognize 3 kinds of membership, that is Anggota Pendiri (founding members) Anggota Gabungan (associated members) and Anggota Bersekutu (affiliated members). Anggota Pendiri are the national pencak silat organizations which founded PERSILAT, namely: IPSI (Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia), PESAKA (Persekutuan Silat Kebangsaan Malaysia), PERSISI (Persekutuan Silat Singapore), and PERSIB (Persekutuan Silat Kebangsaan Brunei Darussalam) The Anggota Gabungan are national pencak silat organizations already recognized by their respective national authorities, while the Anggota Bersekutu have still to be recognized, but are considered worthy by PERSILAT to become members. The objectives of PERSILAT are to monitor and coordinate the efforts of perpetuating, developing and spreading pencak silat all over the world, and to employ pencak silat to foster international friendship and world peace. PERSILAT can assist regional or

national activities if it is asked by the concerned members. In 1994 PERSILAT counted 21 national organizations, among others: PERSISI (Singapore), PESAKA (Malaysia), IPSI (Indonesia), PERSIB (Brunei Darussalam), PSAT (Thailand), PHILSILAT (Philippines), PSAMY (Myanmar), ISAVI (Vietnam), PSAS (Spain), PSAF (France), PSVO (Austria), DPSU (Germany), PSUB (Belgium), NPSB (the Netherlands), SPSA (Suriname), PSAA(Australia), PSAT (Turkey), PSAS (Swiss), PSAE (England), PSAL (Laos), PSAMR (Marocco). More recent information is not available. In accordance with the decision of the Anggota Pendiri, the positions of Secretary General and Department Chairpersons of PERSILAT should be occupied by functionaries from the same national organization as the president. Related to this, since from 1985 until today the president of IPSI has also been chosen as the president of PERSILAT, the head office of PERSILAT is located in Jakarta.

To avoid misunderstanding, I should state here that what I have exposed is just the formal organizational structure of IPSI and PERSILAT. A lot can still be said about the problems encountered by these two organizations in the implementation of their programs and the challenges waiting ahead.

Resources:

Most of the information has been derived from:

Notosoejitno, 1997 The treasury of pencak silat. Jakarta: Informedika

O'ong Maryono, 1999 Pencak silat merentang waktu. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar

Kuntao in Indonesia

By O'ong Maryono

"Kuntao is not self-defense". This sentence may sound strange to us, but according to Liem Yoe Kiong (1960:215) it has some value if the name "kuntao" is taken literally. In his book "Ilmu Silat" he explains that the word "kuntao" in Hokkian dialect when translated into the Chinese official language or Kou Yu becomes "Djuen Tho" which means, "punch". Self-defense was instead "Djuen Su" since "Su" means "knowledge" (thus knowledge of the punch). However, in Indonesia the Chinese community mostly used the Hokkian dialect since the first and most numerous generation of Chinese migrants came from the South of China where the Hokkian dialect is spoken. Therefore, the name "kuntao" in its broader albeit mistaken, meaning of self-defense became common also in Indonesia and it was soon used as synonym for silat.

To people in Java, Bali, Madura, and Sulawesi, Kuntao seemed very similar to the Sumatrese Silat since it did not use music as background as gendang penca in West Java and ketepongan in the island of Madura. A major linguistic change happened in the 1950s with the popularization of the term "silat" and the gradual disappearance of the term "kuntao". This was due to Ko Phing Ho from Surakarta who wrote more than 300 serials of Chinese martial arts stories in newspapers, magazines and books, using the word "silat" to refer to Chinese martial arts or "kuntao". This trends was further developed in the 1960s with the developments of comics by Yan Mintaraga and Ganes TH to promote local legends and hero such as "Si Buta dari Gua Hantu" ("The blind man from the ghost cave") and "Panji Tenggorak (The standard with skull). Again "silat" was used to indicate to this time local martial arts. These books and comics became very popular among the people because at the time there was no television and imported literature was limited because of political restrictions. Consequently, the term "silat" became embedded in people's culture and substituted the use of "kuntao".

Political pressure and discriminative policies to abolish the use of Chinese languages in the Suharto's era further strengthened this trend. In the 1970s, when Hongkong kung-fu movies with David Chiang, Ti Lung and Bruce Lee became popular and local silat movies started to be produced, people distinguished between "silat Cina" of the Kungfu movies from Hongkong and "silat Melayu" of the local action movies. The dismissal of the term "kuntao" for both political and cultural reasons is clearly reflected by the fact that also perguruan that use "kuntao" techniques are not willing to admit it formally. For example to an observer like me, at least 80% of the techniques of Perisai Diri derives from Kuntao, while 10% is composed of Betawi, Kuningan and Cimande techniques and 10% derives from silat Minangkabau. This dominance of kuntao techniques is not surprising since the Master of Perisai Diri, R.M. Soebandiman Dirdjoatmodjo trained with the Kuntao teacher, or Suhu, Yap Kie San in Parakan, Banyumas Regency for 14 years after studying many other silat and pencak forms. When he finished to study kuntao he established in 1953 his perguruan, which is today, called "Keluarga Silat Nasional Indonesia Perisai Diri". As the name shows, "silat" is the preferred term!

Pencak Silat in the Indonesian archipelago

page 12-13, by O'ong Maryono

English edition 2002

Select Books, www.selectbooks.com.sg

The style of pencak silat in the capital (Jakarta), silat Betawi, is much influenced by the Chinese martial art kuntao. Betawi offshoots such as Serak, Beksi, Rahmat, Mustika Kwitang, Made, Kare and Gerak Rasa involve powerful moves, which are not particularly beautiful in a conventional aesthetic sense. The initial kuda-kuda is low and braced, with the body's vulnerable points closely guarded. The offensive often involves punching with both hands. The defensive focuses on moves to dodge and baffle, with the aim of hurting but not injuring the opponent. The catch, lock and block ward off the opponent's attack without moving from the initial stance.

Pencak Silat from the surrounding province of West Java is similar to silat Betawi, in its low and braced kuda-kuda, close guard, and prominent use of the hands to attack. But unlike silat Betawi, West Java styles - including Cimande, Cikalong, Cikaret, Madi, Kare, Sahbandar, Timbangan and Makao - involve very beautiful moves combining local artistic elements. Each harmonious and smooth pattern of movements is accompanied by the characteristic music of the pencak drum.

Pencak Silat as an Instrument of Social Control in the Dutch East Indies

By Oong Maryono

From Rapid Journal VII

At the beginning of the colonial period, pencak silat continued to expand to all outlying areas of the archipelago, as a result of greater, large-scale mobility of the people. These migrations frequently involved an element of force, such as the exile of Kiai Maja a bodyguard to Prince Diponegoro from Java to Tondano, North Sulawesi, after the Dutch government put a stop to the bloody war in Central Java between 1825 and 1830. Kiai Maja and his followers lived in Tondano, until their deaths. Some of them married local women, giving rise to a particular ethnic group known as Jaton (Java Tondano). It is said that Kiai Maja left behind a specific brand of self-defence, which is today known as pencak silat Tondano. One school in Sulawesi still uses the name of its forebear: 'Perguruan Satria Kiai Maja'. Migration induced by war was however incidental during the first century of Dutch colonial rule, hence it did not have the greatest influence on the spread of pencak silat. Of far greater significance was the migration resulting from the construction of transportation infrastructures and related changes in the agrarian economy. In 1808, hundreds of thousands of farmers from the north coast of Java were forcibly mobilised to build a road from Anyer to Panarukan, the so-called Grote Postweg. In their spare time, coolies from different regions entertained themselves by practising and showing off their pencak silat skills. Their expertise in self-defence was also useful when facing conflict with other coolies or with their oppressors. Once again, a synergy of different pencak silat styles in this case different Javanese styles took place, producing new brands of pencak silat.

The opening of the Java highway enabled the rural population to move, leading to intermingling of rural populations of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. At the end of the 18th century, it was difficult to penetrate the hinterland of Java due to the dreadful conditions of the roads. Trade was mainly conducted by sea, all along the north coast or along the Solo River and the Brantas River. Thanks to the successful completion of the Grote Postweg which would be followed by the construction of the railroad network at the end of the 19th century not only did land trade intensify, but also farming communities moved to virgin lands (Lombard 1996(1):134-139). Because these migratory communities also brought with them their culture, including self-defence mastery, the diffusion of pencak silat on Java became irreversible. The Java highway also created a single economic zone between Pasundan (West Java) and the rest of Java and paved the way for the commercialisation of colonial products. These economic changes were also linked to the *kultuurstelsel* ('cultivation system', or in the language of the people 'forced cropping system') imposed by the colonial government to overcome the severe economic crisis in the 1830's. The system required farmers to plant certain types of crops intended for export, such as sugar cane, indigo, coffee, tea and pepper, on one-third of their land, or work on a government plantation 66 days out of the year (Koentjaraningrat 1994:67). This economic structure employed pencak silat as an instrument of social control to govern coolies and rural communities. In particular, the Dutch colonial government used pencak silat

experts as 'opas' (from the old Dutch term 'oppasser', meaning guard) or 'kontroleur' (controller), to supervise the work of the coolies. These supervisors were selected from among those people who were already known and trusted by the colonisers.

Since the government plantations opened first in Tangerang and later expanded to Bogor, Sukabumi, Puncak and Bandung, experienced kontroleurs were selected from these locations and then transferred to areas where new plantations were being cleared. Most of them practised maempok, as at that time physical strength and martial arts skills were the main asset in supervising labourers. The supervisors frequently married local women and settled in the new plantation areas. Little by little they passed on their pencak silat skills derived particularly from the Cimande, Cikalong and Cikaret styles to the local population. After gaining a sufficient number of students, they started to teach maempok according to their cultural tradition, requiring jurus performances to be always accompanied by gendang (drum) pencak music played on two large drums (indung), two small ones (kulantir), one small gong and one trumpet. However, since West Javanese musical instruments were not always available in the new settlements, they had to be replaced with local ones. For example, in the plantations of East Java, the supervisors adopted musical instruments brought by migrants from Madura and Bawean (since they comprised the majority of settlers), consisting of six short drums, trumpets and brass instruments (jidur).²² In the former plantation area of the Besuki Residency,²³ present day performances of West Javanese styles clearly show cultural Madurese elements assimilated from colonial times. Assimilation also occurred among martial arts of different countries. In many coastal towns in Java, such as Cirebon, Semarang and Surabaya, where there was a concentration of Chinese traders, kuntao and pencak silat influenced one another. The influence of kuntao was strongest in Batavia, because of its longstanding Chinese colony. Many Chinese who lived in Banten were brought to Batavia in 1619 to build the city in a marshland area. They worked as stonemasons, canal builders, gamblers, merchants, medicine traders and wayang orang performers. Amongst them there were kuntao experts who had lost their positions in China, as king's sentinels or as soldiers, when weapons were first discovered. These masters passed down their knowledge to family members as a legacy of their ancestors, to be kept hidden and used for self-defence only if absolutely necessary. In the beginning, the Chinese settlers lived in Chinese-style houses spread out throughout the city. But following the mass killings of 1740, the newly arrived Chinese were prohibited by the Dutch from living inside the city walls and were placed in new settlements named 'pecinan' (Chinese hamlets) such as Glodok and Kramat Bunder Senen. There, kuntao was practised in the many Chinese associations, and existing pencak silat styles eventually absorbed Chinese martial arts elements (de Vries 1989:61-64).

Going again back in time, if during the kultuurstensel period, the acculturation of pencak silat occurred primarily in Java, from 1870 onwards with the liberalisation of the economy and the expansion of private plantations it crossed over to other islands. New areas, including the eastern coast of Sumatra, were opened up to establish tobacco and palm oil plantations. There was great demand for coolies and plantation supervisors from Java and Madura to work on the

private plantations in Sumatra. On these plantations, far from the hustle and bustle of the cities, with no entertainment, migrants from different ethnic groups and cultures exchanged self-defence techniques. Again, interaction also occurred with martial arts from other countries, as the Dutch colonialists brought coolies from China to expand exploitation of tin mines in Bangka, Singkep and Belitung (de Vries 1989:68-69). The mingling of Chinese migrants and indigenous people renewed the exchange between pencak silat and Chinese martial arts, especially kuntao. Furthermore, the expansion of private plantations allowed pencak silat styles to trespass the borders of the archipelago. By the end of the 19th century, pencak silat had already reached other countries then ruled by the colonial Dutch government. One such country where pencak silat took hold was Suriname. From 1890 to 1932, more than 30,000 Javanese were moved to Suriname, bringing along their own customs and culture. Even today, Javanese-Surinamese people study the art of kanuragan and pencak silat as a part of their humanistic education. (Parsudi Suparlan 1995:212-217). In general, it can be said that wherever Javanese worked, either contractually or forcibly, styles of pencak silat that exhibit specifically Javanese features can be found. The development of pencak silat is intrinsically related to the colonial system in many other ways, as the description of the 'jago' a pencak silat expert possessing magical power to boost his self-confidence in fighting in the next article will clearly illustrate

References

Koentjaraningrat, 1994 *Kebudayaan Jawa*. 2nd Edition. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka

Lombard, D., 1996 *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya; Batas-batas Pembaratan*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama. Bagian 1

Parsudi Suparlan, 1995 *The Javanese in Suriname; Ethnicity in an Ethnically Plural Society*. Tempe: Arizona State University

Vries, de J., 1972 *Jakarta Tempo Doeloe*. Jakarta: Antar Kota

The Different Stages of Pencak Silat

by O'long Maryono

The Javanese ethnic group originally lived in East and Central Java. Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia and today are spread all over the archipelago. It is estimated that they are about 130.000.000. They have their own culture and their own philosophy of life or cosmology, which is called *kejawen*. The *kejawen's* cosmology/philosophy is meant to shape the entire human personality during its complete life cycle since conception until death. Therefore it influences also the educational system of *pencak silat* (Mulder 1996:17). The *mahaguru*, *guru*, *pendekar*, *pesilat* are expected to transmit Javanese cultural values to their *murid* (students). Since the Javanese are the largest in number, the majority of *pencak silat* schools in Indonesia also derives from Java and has adopted the *kejawen* philosophy. In Javanese cosmology, the macrocosm (*jagad gede*) stands as paradigm for the microcosm (*jagad cilik*). The macrocosm --and its reflection, the microcosm-- consists of four elements, the sun, the earth, the water and the wind.

Furthermore, the macrocosm is conceived as a continuous fight between the forces of chaos and the forces of order. In human beings, the forces of chaos are symbolized by their outward and corporeal nature (*lahir*), that ties them to the phenomenal world through emotions, passions and worldly rationality, while their inner nature (*bathin*) relates them to the ultimate cosmic meaning and morality. In life, people have to try to overcome their *lahir* nature and become one with their inner/*bathin* nature. More in particular, human beings' *lahir/corporeal* nature consists of four kinds of passions/desires (*nafsu patang parkara*) *Amarah* = emotional/angry *Luamah* = like to eat *Supiyah* = sexual desire *Mutmainah* = secular rationality These passions are very difficult to control, especially at an early age. In Indonesia, people start to study *pencak silat* when they are very young. They are still full of emotions, passions and desires. They want to fight; they want to win; they want to become famous, etc. All these are *lahir* passions. Physical fighting itself is by definition considered a corporeal activity. This is why, *pencak silat* training for self-defense or sport is considered a lowest/stage of *ilmu*. Although it is done to control emotions/passions and such, it is still a part of our corporeal reality. It is important to stress that for the Javanese all kinds of corporeal instincts have to be mastered. By engaging in mystical endeavors -- for example praying, meditation (*semedhi*), fasting (*puasa*), and retreating to mountains and into caves (*tapa brata*)-- humans make an effort to overcome their corporeal nature in order to free their inner-self in their quest for reunification with the macrocosm, establishing ultimate order.

Order in its deepest sense means unity, the oneness of the all, of creator and created, of servant and master, of origin and destiny (*sangkan paran*). Javanese mystics refer to this principle of ultimate unity as "God" or The One (*Sang Hyang*), The Sacred (*Hyang kesaktian*), That -Which- Is - Almighty (*Yang Maha Kuasa*), and The Ultimate Oneness (*Yang Maha Esa*). The attainment of unity between microcosm and macrocosm is what I described as the aim of the fourth and highest stage of *ilmu*. At this stage, *pencak silat* practitioners have already

abandoned lahir passions and needs and have taken upon them the moral task of becoming one with God and the cosmos through the practice of mysticism. In between there are the two stages of pencak silat as art (second stage) and the study of ilmu which enables us to help others, like to provide treatment to sick people (third stage).

(Consulted sources: Mulder, N., *Mysticism & Everyday Life in Contemporary Java*, 1983, Singapore University Press)

Various Indonesian Arts

By O'long Maryono

Among the regional faces of pencak silat, the author feels for a number of reasons that three regions are most dominant: Sumatra, Java, and Bali. Pencak silat in Sumatra and Java--West Sumatra and West Java in particular--besides having very specific moves, pioneered the growth of this form of self defence in Indonesia by influencing pencak silat styles in other regions. Balinese pencak silat holds a special place in the national configuration of pencak silat this century, owing to its integrated sports movement with its highly innovative and effective elements of regional art, high level of activity, and many branches and sub-branches scattered throughout the community.

As an initial introduction, the styles of movement particular to these three regions are briefly described here, beginning with Jakarta. The style of pencak silat in the capital, silat Betawi, is much influenced by the Chinese martial art kung fu . Betawi offshoots, such as Serak, Beksi, Rahmat, Mustika Kwitang, Madi, Kare, and Gerak Rasa, involve powerful moves, which are not particularly 'beautiful' in the conventional aesthetic sense. The initial stance is low and braced, with the body's vulnerable points closely guarded. The offensive often involves punching with both hands. The defence focuses on moves to dodge and baffle, with the aim of hurting but not injuring the opponent. The hold, lock and block check the opponent's attack while protecting the body. Pencak silat from the surrounding region of West Java is similar to silat Betawi, in its low and braced initial stance, close guard, and prominent use of the hands to attack.

But unlike silat Betawi, West Java styles--including Cimande, Cikalong, Cikaret, Madi, Kare, Sahbandar, Timbangan and Makao--involve very beautiful moves combined with a regional artistic element. Each harmonious and smooth pattern of movement is accompanied by the special music of the pencak drum. Graceful movement resembling aspects of regional dance, is also a distinguishing feature of the pencak silat that has grown and developed in Central Java. The difference is that Central Javanese styles, such as Gusti Harimurti, Banjaran, and Bojonegaran, are not accompanied by special music. The basic techniques differ too. The initial stance is high and flowing, with an open guard. In the counter-offensive, much use is made of the arms and legs. The defence involves the use of the palms and dodging the opponent. In provinces in the eastern part of Java, pencak silat styles fall into two groups. In southern inland areas, pencak silat closely resembles the pencak silat style of neighbouring Central Java. The Setia Hati school and its offshoots, such as Pencak Organisasi, Setia Hati Terati, and Setia Hati Winongo Tundas Muda, feature graceful and practical moves, although these are not set to special music. Like the Central Javanese styles, the initial stance is high and flowing, with an open guard inviting attack; and in the counter-offensive much use is made of the arms and legs, dodging to and fro.

Conversely, in coastal areas and the neighbouring islands of Madura, Poday, Tlango, Bawean, and the Raas islands, pencak silat features efficient, swift and powerful moves. Permainan

Pamur and Keraton Sumenep in Madura, and other schools using regional names, such as pencak Poday, pencak Bawean, and pencak Tlango, are hard and aggressive self defence tools but still maintain an artistic element. When performed at social events, they are set to special tabuan mencak music, which differs from island to island. The counter-offensive generally involves sharp weapons and employs locking techniques. As in the Central Javanese style, the initial stance is flowing, but is rather different in that the position is lower. The defence features a close and wide guard, with a block that makes use of the palms and the feet, while attack is warded off by sticking close to the opponent's body.

Crossing over to the island of Bali, the basic East Javanese and West Javanese pencak silat styles are still evident--the Cimande, Cikalong, and Cikaret styles in particular, which have been unified with elements of regional culture into a new and unique style. The initial stance in Balinese pencak silat varies greatly, combining high and low moves and both open and closed guards. Fast, strong and powerful punching and kicking is combined with long and graceful steps and moves. Arm and body movements resemble Balinese dance moves, as do the very eloquent facial expressions characterised by glinting eyes. Regional cultural elements are also very evident in Sumatran pencak silat, an extremely rich and graceful style. Like the East Javanese style, Sumatran pencak silat can be divided into two groups according to initial stance. In coastal areas, the initial stance is very low, almost touching the ground; and in the offensive, much greater use is made of the arms. By contrast, in inland areas the legs are used a great deal in the offensive and the initial stance is high, marked by suspending one leg in the air and repeatedly clapping the hands on the chest. Both coastal and inland styles, including Pauh, Starlak, Lintau, Kumangau, and Silek Tuo, feature an open but at the same time, closed, guard-soft but efficient. A contact block is seldom used, and an opponent's attack is warded off with a combination of footwork and counterattack. The distinguishing feature of pencak silat from Sumatra is its wide range of locking and unlocking techniques. Each offensive is concluded with a hold and a break lock. For each offensive there is a lock, and for each lock there is an unlocking technique. In the words of the master of the Beringin Sakti school, Erizal Cal Chaniago: 'Counting the number of locks in Minang silat is like counting sarongs. The twisting and turning is never ending'. Since pencak silat styles on other islands are greatly influenced by the styles originating from Sumatra and Java, the moves and techniques used are very similar. The differences are usually subtle, not fundamental and not particularly noticeable. For this reason, these styles are not discussed in detail here and will be touched on only lightly on subsequent pages. However, it must be stressed that wherever they originate from, styles and schools of pencak silat have grown up and taken root in all corners of Indonesia, and are a part of people's lives 'from Sabang to Merauke'. More information look on "Pencak SilatMerentang Waktu"

Women Warriors and Pencak Silat

By O'ong Maryono

In Indonesia, the adventures of women warriors are often depicted in traditional theater forms, such as the wayang kulit (leather puppets) and wayang orang (human puppets). In the story of Mahabarata, Srikandi is a women warrior who uses her arrow and piles to kill various giants symbolizing wickedness. This story from the Hindu epics serves as guidance to the Javanese people and symbolizes that from time to time 'Srikandi' will be born to defend the country. And indeed, Javanese history is full of examples of women warriors. Since the Hindu times, women in Java and Bali fulfilled leading roles. For example, after leading many battles, Queen Sima reigned the Kalingga (842 ca) and Queen Rakryan Binihaji Parameswari Dyah Kebi ruled the Singasari Kingdom (1015 ca). In more recent times, during the Java War against the Dutch (1825-1830) Prince (Pangeran) Diponogoro employed two women as commanders, while during the Aceh War (1873 -1892) one of the most famous leader was Cut Nya'din who with her rencong (Acehese kris: double -bladed dagger) courageously fought against the Dutch colonialists. The combative role of women is also reflected in the developments of pencak silat. We cannot forget that women have contributed to the origin of pencak silat, at least according to various legends and myths. In Indonesia people believe that pencak silat was first practiced by a women who imitated the movements of animals she had seen fighting to defend herself from her angry husband. For example, in the small island of Bawean on the North coast of Java, the dominant legend claims that a woman was the pioneer of pencak silat learning her techniques from some monkeys:

Rama Sukana went to the river to do the wash. Suddenly, she saw on the side of the river a pair of monkeys fighting. One of the monkeys repeatedly attacked the other one with a tree's tack while the other monkey was jumping and moving aside to avoid the blows. Rama Sukana stopped her activities and took notice of the monkeys' fighting techniques. She was so enthusiast that she did not finish her works and arrived late at home. The husband, Rama Isruna who had been waiting, become hungry and tried to beat her but she used the techniques she had just learned from the monkeys to avoid the husband's attack. In the end, Rama Istruna became tired and asked his wife where she had learned such fantastic techniques. After Rama Sukama explained to him her experience, the husband asked her to train him. Now these techniques are known as pencak Bawean.

Similar stories are also told in other Indonesian provinces. In West Java, the Cimande style is said to derive from the wife of Aba Kaher who learned her techniques from a tiger fighting with a monkey. Also in neighboring Malaysia, such stories are popular:

One day in a village, a housewife who was carrying food in a basket above her head was attacked by a group of birds that tried to steal her food. The housewife tried to move from the right to the left and from the left to the right to avoid the attack of the birds. She also kept moving forward and back, trying to skim them with the hands. Doing so, she lost time and

arrived late at home. She tried to explain to her furious husband what had happened, but he would not accept it. He attacked her and she had to defend herself with the same movements she had just practiced with the birds. The husband was unable to touch her, eventually got tired, and finally asked her to teach him the techniques she had just employed. With dedication, he practiced with his wife and developed what is now known as seni silat. (Tuan Ismail Tuan Soh 1991:36-37)

Women are not only present in the myths, but actively practice and teach pencak silat. Some of them are also widely recognized for their knowledge and skills. The most famous today are Ibu Soekedja, pendekar of the Perguruan Pencak Silat Reksa Diri, Bandung and Ibu Enny Rukmini Sekarningrat, Guru Besar Himpunan Pencak Silat Panglipur West Java, the largest and one of the most respected perguruan in West Java with branches in The Netherlands, Japan, and Vietnam. In her persona she combines pencak silat and combative skills as the following case of her life shows:

On March 1949, when the Dutch colonialists came back again to bomb Yogyakarta, Enny Rukmini joined the battalion Pangeran Papak and fought against the Dutch in the districts of Wanaraja and Garut. To defend the capital city of Yogyakarta she joined the long march from Garut to Yogyakarta (about 400 km.) with the Batalyon Major Rukman. Since guns were limited and anyway she did not know how to use them, she was satisfied with using the sword (golok) in combination with jurus pencak silat and ilmu kebal as her weapons in the battlefield. After the war was over, she came back home in Garut and took over from her father the perguruan pencak silat Panglipur. She then went to Bandung to bring together the students of her father and start to train pencak silat together. The first training was in her house, in a small street still called Gang Panglipur in honor of this important pencak silat school. From that time on Ibu Enny Rukmini Sekarningrat rebuild the Perguron Pencak Silat Panglipur and more generally pencak silat in West Java together with other pendekar such as Pak Uca, Pak Uho, Hadji Sapari, and M. Saleh. She was instrumental in promoting pencak silat in schools and university and greatly advanced pencak silat seni (art). She was the first to drastically reform pencak silat seni and to use it as a form of performance, by changing the black pencak silat custom with glamorous uniforms of bright colors. Her innovative ideas often provoked critics from more conservative groups, but finally received official recognition in 1953 when her group performed at the 1st Asian-Africa Conference in Bandung. Ibu Enny was also the first to support IPSI in developing competitions of pencak silat seni. At the moment, she is one of the 'elders' (sesepuh) of IPSI and recognized as the leading pendekar or Guru Besar of the renamed Himpunan Pencak Silat Panglipur, the biggest pencak silat school in West Java. At 85 years she is still totally devoted to the development of pencak silat in West Java and more generally the world.

It would seem then that women have played a great role in the development of pencak silat from the beginning up to today. Their contribution should be treasured and highlighted in an

effort to make present-day pencak silat more accessible to women and enhance their position in institutionalized pencak silat organizations, such as IPSI and PERSILAT.

References:

Hall, D., 1988 Sejarah Asia Tenggara. Surabaya: Usaha Nasional 1988

O'ong Maryono, 1998 Pencak silat Merentang Waktu. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar

Tuan Ismail Tuan Soh, 1991 Silat Sekebun. Seni Silat Melayu Dengan Tumpuan Kepada Seni.

Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementrian Pendidikan Malaysia