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Los Angeles

From *Tradisi* to *Inovasi*:

Authority, Music, and Change in Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Meghan Elizabeth Hynson

2015

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

From *Tradisi* to *Inovasi*:

Authority, Music, and Change in Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater

by

Meghan Elizabeth Hynson

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Helen M. Rees, Chair

Through ethnographic fieldwork and archival research, this dissertation examines development and change in Balinese *wayang*, or shadow puppet theater. As one of the oldest and most important elements in the Hindu-inflected cultural and religious life of the Balinese, wayang and its development are particularly well suited for observing how music and the arts shape and reflect society, and lend credence to assertions that changes in artistic convention and tradition are evidence of social change. To demonstrate this, this dissertation examines two very specific and seldom documented examples of shadow puppet theater, the *wayang sapuh leger* (a traditional [*tradisi*] purificatory kind of shadow puppet ritual) and the *wayang cenk blonk* (an innovative [*inovasi*] form with roots in the Balinese arts institution). By focusing on these two forms, aspects of power and authority come to the fore and are analyzed to not only uncover a more subtle understanding of Balinese arts and religion, but also shed light on ideological,

political, and economic trends reflected in the context of ritual change. In addition, this dissertation addresses a number of issues that have arisen as wayang has continued to develop in recent decades, for example, the changing role of the Balinese shadow puppeteer (*dalang*); institutionalization of wayang kulit and standardization of Balinese *gendér wayang* music (the music that accompanies shadow puppet theater); wayang innovation in relation to globalization and modernization; and the shifting meaning of the Balinese concept of *taksu*, or spiritual power, within changes and developments in the performing arts.

Theoretically, this dissertation draws on Max Weber's three-fold classification of authority (traditional authority, legal authority, and charismatic authority); Paul Ricoeur and Hans Gadamer's work on tradition, authority, and ideology; and various aspects of ritual theory. The issues examined include: 1) the problematic nature of the terms "tradition" and "innovation"; 2) the "crisis of legitimization" that has arisen as many have questioned the authoritative role of the dalang, and as shadow theater has begun to change in novel ways; and 3) the place of change in Balinese wayang kulit performance and how this can inform perceptions of Balinese spiritual power, or taksu.

The dissertation of Meghan Elizabeth Hynson is approved.

Daniel Neuman

George Dutton

Mark Kligman

Helen M. Rees, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

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In terms of guidance and support, my earliest debt is to Dr. Brita Heimarck, who first introduced me to Balinese gendér wayang music and helped me with my first grant applications to begin this research while I was studying for my undergraduate degree at Boston University. Her unwavering support, even after eight years, has played an enormous part in my finishing the PhD and getting my first job in ethnomusicology at Duquesne University. Special

acknowledgement must also go to Dr. Sandra Nicolucci and Dr. Stephen Prothero from Boston University, who have constantly inspired me and believed in me throughout this process. At UCLA, I have been assiduously mentored by my advisor and committee chair Dr. Helen Rees, who has spent countless hours over the past six years reading my work, sharpening my writing and research skills, and molding me into a professional. Her firm, caring, and witty personality was exactly what I needed to grow and succeed, and she remains one of the most inspiring, committed, and intelligent women I have ever met. I feel truly blessed to have worked under her and cannot express how pivotal a role she has played in my growth and success. Special thanks must also be extended to my committee members, Dr. Daniel Neuman, Dr. George Dutton, and Dr. Mark Kligman, along with the esteemed faculty at UCLA, notably: Dr. Nyoman Wenten, Dr. Juliana Wijaya, Dr. Amy Catlin Jairazbhoy, Dr. Roger Savage, Dr. Münir Beken, Dr. Ali Jihad Racy, Dr. Tim Rice, Dr. Steven Loza, and Dr. Tim Taylor. I am extremely lucky to have been trained by such an accomplished group of scholars.

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my most cherished. I must also thank Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, his wife Dayu Sri, and his mother Dayu Niang for bringing me into their home, treating me like family, sharing delicious Balinese meals, and being there in some of the brightest and darkest hours of being a foreign scholar abroad. I can't imagine what I would have done without them.

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As my Balinese friend Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya once told me, “You must first build a foundation and plant the seeds of knowledge so that roots may grow. Then comes the growing of the tree and its many branches. Someday that tree may bear fruit and others will come to eat. This fruit, this energy, is your *taksu*, your power--the thing that others come to you looking for.” Thank you to everyone who has helped me to reach my potential and guided me to a place where I can now move forward empowered and ready to give back to the world. My deepest apologies to anyone I have missed in these acknowledgements or for any mistakes contained within this work.

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NAfME, National Association for Music Educators
SEM, Society for Ethnomusicology
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Member, UCLA Ethnomusicology Graduate Student Organization
Member, UCLA School of Arts and Architecture Dean's Student Council
Reviewer and Blogger, UCLA *Ethnomusicology Review* journal

LANGUAGES

Indonesian Advanced speaking, reading, and writing

Filipino Intermediate speaking, reading, writing

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

> The anthropology of performance is an essential part of the anthropology of experience. In a sense, every type of cultural performance, including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry is an explanation and explication of life itself. . . . Through the performance process itself, what is normally sealed up, inaccessible to everyday observation and reasoning, in the depth of sociocultural life, is drawn forth (Turner 1982: 12).

In her 2000 *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* article "Diglossic Hinduism: Liberation and Lentils," Vasudha Narayanan argues that to understand Indian Hinduism you must understand its performing arts. "The performers of music and dance, the transmitters of the religious traditions, speak for Hinduism," she writes. "We should listen to them" (Narayanan 2000: 1). The same can be said about Balinese Hinduism, where performing artists frequently double as religious functionaries, and art and music are heralded as necessary ritual requirements. When conducted with Narayanan's claim in mind, research on Balinese ritual arts and the religious role of Balinese performers not only leads to a more subtle understanding of Balinese religion, but also provides a lens through which to observe ideological, political, and economic trends reflected in the context of artistic and ritual change.

With this in mind, this dissertation examines authority, music, and change in Balinese shadow theater (*wayang kulit*). As one of the oldest and most important elements in the Hindu-inflected cultural and religious life of the Balinese, wayang and its development are particularly well-suited for observing how music and the arts shape and reflect society, and lend credence to Hobsbawm's assertion that changes in artistic convention and tradition are evidence of social change (Hobsbawm 1992: 2). In addition, this dissertation addresses a number of issues that have arisen as wayang has begun to develop, for example, the changing role of the Balinese shadow puppeteer (*dalang*); institutionalization of wayang kulit and standardization of Balinese *gendér*

wayang music (the music that accompanies shadow puppet theater); wayang innovation in relation to globalization and modernization; and the shifting meaning of the Balinese concept of *taksu*, or spiritual power, within changes and developments in the performing arts.

To comment on these issues, I examine two very specific and seldom documented examples of shadow puppet theater, the *wayang sapuh leger* and the *wayang cenk blonk*.[1] These genres were chosen because they lie not only at opposite ends of the traditional-innovative (tradisi/inovasi) spectrum, but also at opposite ends of the sacred-profane (*wali*/*bali-balihan*) system of classification used to denote Balinese performance sanctity. When we examine these genres, musical accompaniment arises as an important feature of change and becomes indicative of ideological and social change as developments in musical taste come to the fore. Finally, the concept of authority plays a prominent role throughout the dissertation as a means of exploring the forces driving cultural development in postcolonial Indonesia and for addressing the artistic issues mentioned above; for this I have drawn on Max Weber's three-fold classification of authority (traditional authority, legal authority, and charismatic authority) to help organize my analysis (Weber 1953 [1922]: 1). Considering the aspects just mentioned, I have titled this dissertation "From Tradisi to Inovasi: Authority, Music, and Change in Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater."

Given that authority is a concept often defined in relation to *people* who are vested with a certain power or control, I have chosen to focus on a particular *dalang*, or shadow puppeteer, associated with each of the genres of wayang kulit mentioned above; however, when my discussion turns to an examination of politics and legal authority, the focus shifts to the authority

[1] I want to make it very clear that when using the word "change" in this dissertation, it is not to denote an analysis of developmental stages or to assert that wayang cenk blonk grew out of the wayang sapuh leger. Instead, I use the word "change" to refer to the changing forces of authority acting on and influencing shadow puppet theater, which have resulted in the modifications in shadow puppet theater that we see today. While it is understood that these two specific examples do not represent Balinese shadow theater in

of organizations, institutions, and organized bureaucracies. Within the context of traditional authority, a picture of traditional (*tradisi*) ritualistic shadow puppet theater is painted through my work with a Brahmin-caste *dalang* (shadow puppeteer), Ida Bagus Made Geriya from the village of Mas. This particular dalang is considered to hold a great deal of religious power in Bali, as he has received the proper initiation ceremonies, or *mewinten,* allowing him to perform a purificatory kind of shadow puppet ritual known as *wayang sapuh leger*.[2] The importance of the wayang sapuh leger ritual is underscored by its ties to the Balinese Puwakon calendar, as anyone born during the week of the shadow puppet theater, *wuku wayang,* is said to be *kotor,* or impure, and must have the ritual performed for them by an ordained shadow puppeteer, or *pemangku dalang*.[3] It is in this exorcistic performance that the shadow puppeteer's actions most resemble those of a religious figure or shaman – making holy water, reciting sacred mantra, and cleansing the afflicted in ritual baptism, or *melukat.* Musically, sacred *gendér wayang* instruments (a quartet of bronze metallophones with bamboo resonators) accompany the ritual and are believed to be an important and powerful component to both the story and the ritual's goal of purification.

Within the context of legal authority, I examine influences on Balinese arts and ritual that stem from social and ideological shifts that took place following Indonesian independence in 1945. This section allows for a historical and sociological presentation of some of the factors that have led to change in Indonesian and Balinese society, along with how national identity and cultural politics have played a major part in artistic and religious change. It is also here that some of the catalysts for ritual reforms and artistic innovation are identified, and particular importance is placed on the development of the *wayang sapuh leger massal* ritual (mass performances of the

[2] *Mewinten* is a Balinese term for religious initiation or purification.

[3] The Puwakon calendar is one of three calendars in use in Bali. It consists of an endless cycle of 210 days, broken up into 30 weeks or *wuku.* Wuku Wayang is the 27th week of the Balinese Puwakon calendar (Eiseman 2010: 3-4).

wayang sapuh leger), the rise of arts institutions in Indonesia, and standardization of Balinese shadow theater music (*gendér wayang*).

Finally, within the context of charismatic authority, I draw on research with a modern-day, widely popular shadow puppeteer, I Wayan Nardayana, who graduated from the Balinese arts university (*Institut Kesenian Indonesia Denpasar*, or ISI Denpasar) and innovated (*inovasi*) the shadow puppet theater to create his own unique form of performance called *wayang cenk blonk.* While I Wayan Nardayana is not the first to have innovated the shadow puppet theater, he is the most popular, and represents a concrete example of how changes have been introduced to wayang performance. By exploring Dalang Nardayana's innovative use of theatrical lights, modern stories, new musical ensembles, and original puppets, I present a case study of how Nardayana has cultivated the charisma authority to become one of Bali's most famous and successful shadow puppeteers.

Background and Methodology

As an ethnomusicologist about to transform my experiences into a written, authoritative document, I wish to begin this dissertation by explaining how I became involved in the study of Balinese shadow theater and shadow theater music, or *gendér wayang*—a genre that requires great skill and coordination between both hands to be able to execute demanding dampening techniques, create complex interlocking, and ultimately accompany a theatrical drama. The particular perspective from which I write this dissertation is undoubtedly informed by my unique experiences and the particular styles of music and shadow puppet theater that I had the chance to study; therefore, by recounting my introduction to this art form, I am attempting to recognize my

own subjectivity and acknowledge those circumstances that have had a major impact on the conceptualization of this work.[4]

I began playing Balinese gendér wayang with Dr. Brita Heimarck in 2005 while studying for my bachelor's degree in music education and oboe performance at Boston University.[5] Coincidentally, I had just come back from a short visit to Bali when Dr. Heimarck began teaching the first-ever ethnomusicology classes at the university. Enamored by the music and culture I had just experienced, I asked Dr. Heimarck if I could begin studying Balinese gendér wayang with her, and soon after began to learn a style of gendér wayang that came from the village of Sukawati.[6] After recognizing my sincere interest and aptitude to play the complex music, Dr. Heimarck inquired about my plans after graduation and suggested that I apply for a grant to study an old style of gendér wayang music with the Brahmin-caste shadow puppeteer Ida Bagus Made Geriya (hereafter IB Made Geriya) from the village of Mas.[7] She explained that although IB Made Geriya came from a long lineage of dalang (he was the 10th generation in his family), the Mas style of gendér wayang music had not been documented, and the dwindling

[4] The idea that subjectivity is important to ethnomusicological reserach has been discussed at length by several ethnomusicologists, including Jairazbhoy (1977), Sugarman (1997), and Wong (2008). Paul Ricoeur 2007 (1996) is also important here, as he recognizes the inescapable nature of ideology in the research process.

[5] Heimarck specializes in the Sukawati village style of gendér wayang music and is the author of *Balinese Discourses on Music and Modernization: Village Voices and Urban Views* (2003).

[6] There are many styles of Balinese gendér wayang music, and most are categorized by region or village. The Sukawati village style and the Kayu Mas style from Denpasar have become the most famous styles on the island, in part because of the famous teachers associated with these styles, and in part because they are taught at the Balinese arts university, ISI Denpasar.

[7] Within the religious hierarchy in Bali (*kasta* or caste), the *Brahman* caste is considered the highest and most spiritual caste consisting of holy men and priests responsible for religious ceremonies. The *Ksatria* caste is the warrior caste, which also includes nobility and kings and often plays key roles in government; the *Wesias* are the caste of merchants and administrative officials; and the *Sudra* caste is the peasant, farming caste. The *Sudra* caste makes up about 93% of Bali's population (Covarrubias 2006: 53).

number of players in the village had put the music in danger of being lost.[8] Although Dr. Heimarck was not sure if IB Made Geriya was even still alive at the time (the last time she had seen him was in 1985), I applied for several grants to document and transcribe the Mas village style of gendér wayang music and was awarded support from the Esther B. and Albert S. Khan Career Entry Fund in 2007.[9] Shortly after graduating from Boston University, I boarded a plane to Indonesia to begin my studies of Balinese music, language, and culture.

When I arrived in Bali, I immediately went to the town of Ubud, a cultural and touristic hub near the center of the island in the regency of Gianyar (See figure 1.1 for a map of Indonesia with Bali and neighboring islands labeled; see figure 1.2 for a map of Bali's eight regencies and the villages of Ubud and Mas). After finding a temporary place to stay, I asked the owner of the guesthouse if he could bring me to the village of Mas and help me find the dalang IB Made Geriya. When I look back, the situation was rather comical, as I did not have an address and had traveled so far without even knowing if IB Made Geriya was even still alive. Upon arriving in Mas village and asking around, I located IB Made Geriya's compound, and after speaking with his son Made, was delighted to learn that at 82 years old, IB Made Geriya was alive and well.[10]

[8] Gendér wayang music is taught orally and is not written down; therefore, as older players in the village of Mas have passed away, the number of people who know the style has dwindled. The Mas style is not preserved or taught at the Balinese arts university, and many of the younger generation of Balinese have become more interested in learning Western musical instruments such as the guitar rather than studying the complex gendér wayang music that surrounded them as they grew up.

[9] This was an annual award granted to three graduating seniors in the Boston University College of Fine Arts to jumpstart their careers in various artistic fields.

[10] IB Made Geriya's son Made passed away the next year (2008) from a motorbike accident. It was after this accident that IB Made Geriya's own health began to suffer, perhaps from the emotional strain of losing a son. IB Made Geriya himself passed away on December 13, 2013, shortly before I left for Bali to complete my dissertation fieldwork.



Figure 1.1: Map of Indonesia (Bali is labeled in red)



Figure 1.2: Map of Bali

I will never forget the look on IB Made Geriya's face when his son Made told him I had traveled from America and wanted to document the Mas style of shadow theater music – it was as if new life had been breathed into the man again. Later, several of the members of IB Made Geriya's family (he had 10 children) would come to me with thanks, saying that my studentship had reinvigorated him and made him young again.

In the following months after arriving in Bali, I made every effort to learn from IB Made Geriya. Hours upon hours of the day were spent sitting across from him, learning each piece of the Mas gendér wayang music, drinking coffee and eating Balinese *jajan*, or cakes, and glancing at my dictionary as I tried with equal determination to learn the Indonesian language (see figure 1.3).[11]



Figure 1.3: Playing gendér wayang with Ida Bagus Made Geriya. Photo by Carole Angermier. November 2011.

[11] Balinese gendér wayang instruments are taught and played by placing the instruments across from each other, so IB Made Geriya and I constantly had our attention turned toward one another.

Not even a week of lessons had gone by before I was invited to accompany the shadow theater group and observe them perform at a temple anniversary ceremony, or *odalan*.[12] This quickly became a recurring practice whenever IB Made Geriya had a performance, and I fondly remember the numerous times that I squeezed into the back of a small, rickety pickup truck, and bumped along with the musicians and instruments to go and watch my teacher *main wayang,* or perform puppetry. As time went by and one year in Bali turned into two, I spent more and more time with the Mas gendér wayang musicians (I Wayan Gede Diatmika in particular) and was later invited to start playing parts of the shadow theater performances myself. Eventually, I graduated to playing the entire show, almost an hour of memorized music.[13]

After nearly two years of Balinese music lessons, archival work, and hours upon hours of performing in temples, conducting interviews, and transcribing the Mas gendér wayang music, I had developed a deep understanding and respect for my teacher's religious role and his position in Balinese society.[14] Although he was sometimes commissioned to play nighttime performances for entertainment (usually performed with a lamp [*blencong*] and screen [*kelir*] and called *wayang petang*), his role as a shadow puppeteer was mostly confined to religious performances of *wayang lemah*, a kind of puppet theater performed without a screen as an offering in temple

[12] An *odalan* is a temple's anniversary celebrated every 210 days.

[13] As time went by and IB Made Geriya's health deteriorated, I took up daily lessons with I Wayan Gede Diatmika from Banjar Bangkilasan in Mas village. To his great credit, Wayan was the one who really taught me to play the Mas style of music. He taught me many of the *polos* basic melody parts and showed extraordinary pedagogical skills while teaching me the complex interlocking of the *sangsih* counterpart. It was with Wayan that I rehearsed entire performances and often accompanied the shadow play in temple ceremonies. We still play together often. It is also important to note that other women did not play with us; however, many women play gendér wayang in Bali and there are even a few female dalang on the island.

[14] I also studied a bamboo metallophone called *tingklik* or *rindik* and played in a *Gong Kebyar* women's gamelan. My archival work in Bali was conducted at the following places: ISI Denpasar (Indonesian Institute of the Arts), Perpustakaan Denpasar Pusat (The Denpasar Central Library), the Bali Museum Library, the Gedung Kertya Museum in Buleleng, Institut Hindu Dharma Negeri Denpasar (The Hindu Institute of Denpasar), and in the private libraries of many of my informants.

ceremonies. IB Made Geriya was also one of the most sought-after dalang in the area because he was a *pemangku dalang*, and had gone through the *mewinten* initiation ceremony allowing him to make holy water for various purification purposes, including the one discussed in this dissertation, the wayang sapuh leger.

As I became increasingly aware of how important the shadow theater was in the cultural and Hindu-inflected life of the Balinese, I began to question why a shadow theater tradition such as the one in Mas was not more popular. After all, it was upheld by a long lineage of high-caste Brahmin dalang who held the power to perform very specific and important religious ceremonies. Even so, I kept hearing about a younger more contemporary dalang whom many villages were hiring as one of the entertainment highlights for their temple anniversary ceremonies. This dalang, I Wayan Nardayana, had created his own form of shadow puppet theater called *wayang cenk blonk*; he did not use gendér wayang instruments for his musical accompaniment, and employed an array of new puppets, theatrical lights and stories that seemed very different from the tradition I had been immersed in. Nevertheless, he had captivated Balinese audiences like none other and was a superstar in the wayang world.

In trying to decipher those factors that brought IB Made Geriya and I Wayan Nardayana prestige and ultimately kept their performing careers alive, my research expanded from simply learning about the cultural intricacies of the shadow theater tradition to examining the various fields of authority within which each of these dalang worked. To do so required not only an analysis of Balinese wayang, but also an examination of the larger historical, sociological, and political circumstances surrounding these specific genres of wayang performance. This being said, my dissertation does not aim to present one form of wayang as having more authority than another, nor does it mourn the loss of "traditional" wayang, fallen prey to "innovative" wayang.

Instead, it analyzes how these two forms of wayang gain authority in differing fields and tracks how that authority shifts in the context of economic, political, religious, and ideological changes.

The scope of this study is derived from extensive fieldwork conducted in Bali over a period of seven years (2007-2014), with about four of the seven years actually spent living in Indonesia. As mentioned above, I spent two years in Bali working with IB Made Geriya (2007-2009) studying the Mas style of gendér wayang, and it is from this period of research that a majority of my work on the wayang sapuh leger is derived. Seeking to develop my research and writing skills, I followed this two-year period in Bali by entering the PhD program in ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). It was through coursework in ethnomusicology, Southeast Asian studies, and ethnography of religions that I began to develop the theoretical ideas around which I have organized this dissertation. Thanks to the generous support of several grants I received while studying at UCLA, in particular, the UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship and a Lemelson Fellowship for Indonesian studies, I was able to spend several summers in Bali conducting additional interviews with other pemangku dalang and with the creator of the wayang cenk blonk, I Wayan Nardayana.

Following the completion of my MA in 2011, I took a leave of absence to study the Kayu Mas style of Balinese shadow puppet theater music at the Balinese arts university (ISI Denpasar) under an Indonesian government scholarship called Darmasiswa. During this time, I was able to get a better sense of the inner workings of the Balinese arts institution and conduct interviews with colleagues and faculty regarding institutionalization and innovation of Balinese wayang and gendér wayang music. It was also during this time that I undertook intensive study and transcription of the kayu mas style of gendér wayang with the famed gendér wayang teacher and ISI Denpasar professor I Wayan Suwecca. Following extensive study and transcription of the

kayu mas style of gendér wayang, I returned to UCLA to complete my PhD coursework and take my qualifying exams. After advancing to candidacy in December 2013, I received a Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS), which enabled me to spend another six months in Bali to conduct additional research, interviews, and archival work while I began writing my dissertation. I then returned to UCLA in the 2014-2015 academic year to complete my dissertation under a UCLA Dissertation Year Fellowship.

Given my extensive experience living in Bali, my predominant methodology for this research has been participant observation.[15] The time I spent living with Balinese performers, learning to play gendér wayang music, and performing gendér wayang in its traditional context has allowed me to cultivate a "bi-musicality" and an ability to comment on shadow theater development and its relationship to Balinese society.[16] My participant observation also gave me the opportunity to film, photograph, conduct interviews, and observe numerous traditional and contemporary performances over a significant period of time. This is particularly important, as individual renditions of shadow puppet theater change from performance to performance. As the esteemed ethnomusicologist John Blacking reminds us, "in all cases, performers and audiences re-create a ritual every time they perform it . . . *all* 'readings' of the text by different participants are valid data in discovering the *processes* by which content is formulated (the analytical task), and in providing a comprehensive record for posterity (the task of documentation)" (Blacking 1989: 12).

[15] Participant observation is one method of data collection in which the observer aims to gain an intimate familiarity with a group of people through extensive involvement in their cultural environment over an extended period of time. The method is used in the field research of many disciplines, particularly cultural anthropology, and is often linked to the work of social anthropologists in the first half of the twentieth century researching non-Western societies, for example Bronislaw Malinowski (1929), Evans Pritchard (1940), and Margaret Mead (1928).

[16] The term "bi-musicality" was posited by Mantle Hood in his 1960 article "The Challenge of 'Bi-Musicality'," and refers to learning to perform the music being studied.

While conducting my research I followed Margaret Drewal's approach to researching ritual as a transformational process, acknowledging performers' agency and intentionality by listening to what they have to say about what they do and by including ethnographic interviews with dalang and musicians (Drewal 1992). When possible, I consider all members of Balinese society by referencing interviews with Balinese religious scholars, Balinese university professors, and ordinary Balinese people. Again, Blacking points to the importance of this when conducting field work:

> [p]eople assign many different meanings to "the same" symbols and rituals, and these tend to vary according to their membership of different social groups, and their interest in a ritual and previous experience of it. No documentation or analysis of ritual is adequate, therefore, unless it includes accounts of at least some of the different meanings. Similarly, attempts to elicit a single meaning, or the "correct" or "true" meaning, of a ritual are misconceived: they ignore the fact that rituals are usually effective precisely because they are polysemic. (Blacking 1989: 10-11)

This argument is particularly important for this dissertation, as often the Balinese people have varying interpretations of stories and rituals, and even if they cannot provide you with the information you are looking for, they are more likely to give you a made-up answer than none at all. It is precisely because rituals are polysemic and their meanings reflective of society that we must remember that Balinese shadow theater "traditions," in the words of Hobsbawn and Ranger, are very much "invented" and reflective of society in a contemporary place in time (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983). "These 'inventions,' however, are not totally arbitrary but contingent on and conditioned by the symbolic matters at hand and how these relate to personal experience and power relations" (Hellman 2003: 4). With this in mind, my focus on authority relations becomes even more important for observing how elements of shadow theater interact with "symbolic matters" and ultimately form "traditions" in the larger Balinese collective imagination.

Situating Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater

Balinese shadow theater is but a small part of the widespread puppet traditions found throughout Asia. Unlike Europe, puppetry in Asia is still part of a vibrant, living folk tradition and can take many forms. These include: flat leather or paper cut-outs projected as shadows on a translucent screen (like *wayang kulit* in Bali and Java);[17] string puppets, or marionettes, such as those found in Rajasthan, India;[18] doll puppets manipulated by sticks (often known as "rod puppets") like the *wayang golek* of Java;[19] and hand and glove puppets, sometimes called "Punch and Judy," which have been recognized as the predecessor to the refined Japanese puppet tradition *bunraku* (Orr 1974: 69-70).[20] Performances of puppet theater are arranged for a variety of occasions and are often an important component in the celebration of religious and national holidays and rites of passage. In addition to providing a source of entertainment, magico-religious performances of puppet theater are used for shamanistic purposes, as puppetry is frequently believed to be "auspicious, effective in warding off evil spirits and epidemics, avoiding drought and bringing rain" (Orr 1974: 71, citing earlier work by Krishna Iyer).[21]

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[17] These can also be found in South India, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and China (Ruizendaal and Wang 2009:15). See Matusky and Tan 2004 for a detailed account of music that accompanies Malaysia's theatrical traditions, such as wayang kulit.

[18] Marionettes are also found in China and Burma (Ruizendaal and Wang 2009:15). See Ruizendaal 2006 for a detailed account of marionette theatre in Quanzhou. For a comprehensive work on music and marionettes in Rajasthan see Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy's 2007 book *Kathputli: The World of Rajasthani Puppeteers*.

[19] These can also be found in Korea, Japan, China, Thailand, Vietnam, and India (Ruizendaal and Wang 2009:15, Orr 1974: 71).

[20] These are also found in India, China, and Taiwan (Ruizendaal and Wang 2009:16). The name "Punch and Judy" is derived from the 16th-century Italian commedia dell'arte, in which the puppeteer, or punchman, dramatizes short scenes between the characters Mr. Punch and his wife Judy (Mortimer 1911: 648-49).

[21] An example of this in China can be seen in the opening of Frank Kouwenhoven and Antoinet Schimmelpenninck's 2007 film *Chinese Shadows: The Amazing World of Shadow Puppetry in Rural*

Within Indonesia, where shadow plays of *wayang kulit* have been performed for centuries, suitable occasions for performance include weddings, births, circumcisions, and death, and occasionally performances are held for exorcistic purposes to cleanse the village or protect people from harm (Sears 1996: 5).[22] The famous shadow puppet theater tradition found on various islands throughout the archipelago (Java, Bali, Madura, Lombok, Sumatra, Borneo) is such an important living folk tradition within the country that UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) designated Indonesian wayang kulit as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity on November 7, 2003 ("Wayang Puppet Theater").

While this designation covers wayang kulit throughout Indonesia, it is important to note that great variation exists between island-specific performances of shadow theater. In Bali, two main forms of shadow theater are found, namely, *wayang peteng*, or performances performed at night (*peteng*, dark) with a translucent screen (*kelir*) and oil lamp, and *wayang lemah* (*lemah*, day) or daytime performances in which a piece of cotton thread, or *benang*, is stretched across the stage to act as a symbolic screen (see figures 1.4 and 1.5) (Hinzler 1981: 11).[23] In both instances, the shadow puppeteer, or *dalang*, is positioned behind the screen (or thread), where he

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Northwest China. In this example, the puppeteer performs shadow theater to help the baby "cross the path." It is believed that if your baby is ill, cries a lot, or is weak, you should submit him or her to the ritual, which will fend off evil, cure the child and bring them luck.

[22] The word *wayang* is derived from the word *bayang* meaning "shadow," and *kulit* meaning "skin," or the leather from which these kinds of puppets are usually fashioned. There are several other kinds of puppet theater in Indonesia, including Sundanese wooden puppets called *wayang golek*, wooden puppets from central Java known as *wayang klitik*, wayang depicted from a scroll called *wayang beber*, human-danced wayang with masks called *wayang wong*, and wayang made from grass called *wayang suket* (Cribb and Kahin 2004: 451).

[23] It is during the nighttime performances that the dalang really holds the attention of the audience and conveys a story. Wayang lemah, on the other hand, is more ceremonial and is of a much higher status than wayang peteng due to its ritual function. Although terminologically referring to daytime performances of wayang, wayang lemah can also be performed at night, but usually does not hold an audience or have nearly the dramatic effect of night wayang.

manipulates the flat leather puppets to portray a story to the audience on the other side.[24] In many cases, the dalang is accompanied by four *gendér wayang* instruments and two assistants, but it is also common for a dalang to perform with a smaller group of only two musicians and one assistant, especially for performances of wayang lemah in a temple where space might be limited.[25]



Figure 1.4: IB Made Geriya performing *wayang peteng*. Photo by the author. 2009.



Figure 1.5: IB Made Geriya performing *wayang lemah*. Photo by the author. 2009.

As a storytelling medium, shadow theater has been recognized as one of the major vehicles for the transmission of social teachings, as puppeteers often inject ethical or moral lessons into religious, exorcistic, political, and comically entertaining plotlines (Sears 1996: 2). While it is hard to pinpoint the specific date that shadow theater began in Indonesia, two of the most frequently performed stories, the Hindu epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, were already traveling along trade routes to Indonesia from the Indian subcontinent by the first centuries AD

[24] Men or women can become dalang, but a significant majority are male.

[25] For more specific information on regional variations of stage properties, see Hinzler 1981.

(Sears 1996: 1). Given this long history and deeply religious association, even the humblest of Indonesian people are aware of the rich symbolic content and iconography embedded in shadow theater performance.

Written mention of shadow theater in Indonesia can be traced back to 17th-century travel accounts by traders and European conquistadors journeying to the archipelago in search of its valuable resources and exotic spices, but studies specifically detailing puppetry and its musical accompaniment don't really appear until the 19th century, when the Dutch had a strong hold on the region and began to interact more with the native people.[26] One of the lengthiest early accounts can be found in the 1817 book *The History of Java: Volume 1*, written by British statesman and founder of Singapore Stamford Raffles; however, the text focuses on puppetry in Java and is not solely devoted to an exploration of shadow theater itself.[27]

Scholarly works purely devoted to shadow theater, and more specifically Balinese shadow theater, began to emerge in the middle of the 20th century as increasing numbers of tourists began visiting the island. Following the Balinese mass suicides, or *puputan*, of 1906 and 1908, the last resistance to the Dutch had been quashed, and Bali became a popular tourist attraction in the 1920s and 1930s.[28] Tourism waned during the Japanese occupation and WWII,

[26] The earliest mention of shadow theater I found while conducting a research project for a UCLA course titled "Travel Accounts" was Edmund Scott's 1606 book *The Subtilities* [sic] *of the East Indians.*

[27] While the reliability of this assertion is questionable, Stamford Raffles mentions the development of the shadow theater in Java, saying, "there is a tradition, that the figures were first so distorted by the Susunhan Madriyu, one of the early Mohammedan teachers, in order to render the preservation of the ancient amusements of the country compatible with a due obedience to the Mohammedan precept, which forbids any exhibition or dramatic representation of the human form" (Raffles 1817: 375). This is also an example of religious power supposedly having an effect on the development of shadow puppet theater. The Javanese princess Raden Adjeng Kartini also mentions this change in her *Letters of A Javanese Princess* in 1920; however, by this time, she may have been getting her information from these earlier sources.

[28] Also known as "fight to the death," the term *puputan* refers to the mass ritual suicides performed by everyone in the Balinese kingdoms involved. In this practice the king and his followers marched in front

but picked up again during the 1950s and 1960s, especially after the opening of an international airport in 1969 (Harnish 1998: 732).[29]

While Balinese arts and culture were part of the allure when visiting the so-called "island of the gods," relatively few works at this time were devoted specifically to Balinese shadow puppet theater; however, several texts emerged and continue to be key resources for the study of the art form. For example, Colin McPhee's exhaustive book on Balinese music (*Music in Bali*, 1960) gives significant mention to shadow theater music, and his 1970 article "The Balinese Wayang Kulit and its Music" is devoted solely to the puppet theater and gendér wayang music. I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa's work *Ilmu Pedalangan/ Pewayangan* (The Science of Being a Dalang/Shadow Puppetry), published in 1963, covers many of the philosophical aspects of the tradition and mentions several Balinese palm leaf manuscripts, or *lontar*, important for the study of shadow puppet theater (see figure 1.4).[30]



Figure 1.6: Librarian at the Gedung Kertiya lontar library in Singaraja etching a Balinese palm leaf manuscript, or *lontar.* Photo by the author. February 2008.

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of the Dutch and stabbed themselves with a *kris*, or dagger, in preference to facing the humiliation of surrender (Pringle 2004: 106).

[29] Artists and anthropologists visiting Bali during this time are known for writing some of the most famous and comprehensive works about the island, for example Miguel Covarrubias's famous book *Island of Bali* (1965).

[30] A *lontar* is a manuscript etched into the leaves of the *borassus* palm, usually written in Balinese script in the Old Javanese language *Kawi*. The lontars that Sugriwa draws on are: *Dharma Pewayangan*, *Arjuna Wiwaha*, and *Pracasti Bebetin.*

Of these lontar, the *Dharma Pewayangan* (the laws, procedures and obligations of performing shadow puppet theater) had already been dealt with seriously in the 1970 article by McPhee, but not exhaustively until Hooykaas's 1973 book *Kama and Kala: Materials for the Study of Shadow Theater in Bali.* Heidi Hinzler's 1981 work titled *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* details shadow theater performance in Northern Bali (Singaraja), and, more specifically, the story performed for cremation ceremonies. On the complex linguistic dimensions of the shadow puppet theater, Mary Sabina Zurbuchen wrote a PhD dissertation titled "The Shadow Theater of Bali: Explorations in Language and Text" (1981), which later informed her 1987 book *The Language of Balinese Shadow Theater.* It was also in 1987 that Angela Hobart's book *Dancing Shadows of Bali: Theatre and Myth* was published and detailed various aspects of performance, symbolism, literary basis, and ritual activities of the dalang.

More recent studies that discuss the gendér wayang tradition accompanying Balinese shadow theater include a PhD dissertation by Lisa Gold (1998) titled "The *Gendér Wayang* Repertoire in Theater and Ritual: A Study of Balinese Music Making" (this focuses largely on the music of Sukawati and Kayu mas from Denpasar, although she does mention a style of music from the village of Teges right next to Mas); two essays by Henrice Vonck (1995) on gendér wayang in northern Bali; Brita Heimarck's MA thesis "*Gendér Wayang* as a Microcosm of Balinese Culture" (1991) and her PhD dissertation-turned-book *Balinese Discourses on Music and Modernization*: *Village Voices and Urban Views* (2003) (this also focuses mostly on the music from the village of Sukawati); and Nicholas Gray's book *Improvisation and Composition in Balinese Gendér Wayang: Music of the Moving Shadows* (2011). A number of encyclopedia entries and books on Balinese music in general have also emerged and mention the shadow

theater briefly (Tenzer 1991, Harnish 1998, and Gold 2005).[31] It is also important to note here that although the rise in cultural tourism has been presented as a major influence on change and development of Balinese performing arts, the two types of wayang I am focusing on here are unrelated to the huge tourist market for Balinese arts.[32]

While various studies on Balinese shadow theater and Balinese shadow theater music (*gendér wayang*) have appeared, few have examined the *wayang sapuh leger* or the *wayang cenk blonk,* and none have been devoted to exploring the Mas village style of gendér wayang. Furthermore, none of these works has drawn on the concept of authority as a lens through which to examine the success of shadow puppeteers or Balinese shadow theater development as it relates to ideological, religious, and political change;[33] however, the idea that shadow puppet theater and shadow play stories can serve as a reflection of more subtle cultural and political forces is posited in Laurie Sears' 1996 book *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales*. Her focus on power relations in Javanese colonial shadow theater "moves away from a rehearsing of developmental stages that ultimately privileges European culture toward an analysis of how stories captured in texts and performances are ways of recording, transmitting,

[31] A number of books detailing other genres of music in Bali and Lombok have appeared—for example, Michael Tenzer's *Gamelan Gong Kebyar: The Art of Twentieth-Century Balinese Music* (2000), David Harnish's *Bridges to the Ancestors: Music, Myth, and Cultural Politics at an Indonesian Festival* (2006), and Michael Bakan's *Music of Death and New Creation: Experience in the World of Balinese Gamelan Beleganjur* (1999).

[32] An excellent publication dealing with the impact of tourism on Balinese arts, specifically Balinese dance is Michel Picard's 1996 work *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*. Elizabeth Macy has also written a dissertation on Music and Tourism in post-disaster Bali and New Orleans (2010).

[33] Hideharu Umeda wrote a PhD dissertation about the wayang sapuh leger in Japanese and also an article in English titled "Between Adat and Agama: The Future of the Religious Role of the Shadow Puppeteer, *Dalang*," which does mention some of the religious and political circumstances affecting the religious role of the dalang. Andy McGraw's 2005 dissertation "Musik Kontemporer: Experimental Music by Balinese Composers," which informed the publication of his 2013 book *Radical Traditions: Reimagining Culture in Balinese Contemporary Music*, touches on the development of Balinese music as a reflection of contemporary Balinese culture.

and interpreting human experience" (Sears 1996: 6-7). By recognizing that shadow play stories act as allegories for daily happenings, history, and cultural and political life, she examines how they not only act as a necessary strategy for historical survival and social critique in Javanese colonial and postcolonial society, but also "reenact power relations in order to negotiate the terms under which those relations are recorded in memory" (Sears 1996: 6).[34] In a similar way, this dissertation privileges a focus on authority over a rehearsing of developmental stages to capture an interpretation of Balinese experience in the larger post-colonial Indonesian situation.

Theoretical Underpinnings

The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, best known for combining phenomenological analysis with hermeneutics, reminds us that authority, as a "species of power, the power to command," rests on the right to command and therefore also implies a claim to legitimacy (Ricoeur 2007[1996]: 91). According to Ricoeur, it is this "right to" command that constitutes a blind spot in the definition of authority and leads us to ask "what authorizes the authority?" Within Ricoeur's work, there is only a "crisis of legitimization" (borrowing from Habermas 1973) when authority is brought into question, and this is where authority begins to relate to the study of Balinese shadow theater at hand. As change and development have taken place, the foci of authority have also begun to shift, creating somewhat of a crisis of legitimization for Balinese dalang as new forms of shadow theater have begun to arise.

To adequately untangle these shifts and comment on issues of legitimacy, I draw on Ricoeur's concepts of enunciative and institutional authority while also examining the wayang

[34] In his 1980 work *Negara: The Theater State of Nineteenth-Century Bali,* Clifford Geertz takes a somewhat different approach by demonstrating how displays of power, reflected in extravagant ritual ceremonies, had made Balinese life into a theater state devoted to exposing the social and political constructions of nineteenth-century Bali through lavish ceremonies and ritual.

sapuh leger and the wayang cenk blonk within Max Weber's framework of "The Three Pure Types of Legitimate Rule" (traditional authority, legal authority, and charismatic authority) (Weber 1953: 1). In this way, I organize a discussion of authority and change within several contexts: 1) traditional authority and the enunciative authority of performing arts and artists that serve a religious function, employ traditional music, and hold Balinese spiritual power (*taksu*) in a traditional sense; 2) legal authority and institutional authority as connected to cultural politics, nationalism, making rituals more economical, Balinese arts institutions, and standardization of Balinese gendér wayang music; and 3) charismatic authority and enunciative authority in the innovation of ritual media to create a modern expression of Balinese spiritual power (*taksu*) and develop and promulgate the Balinese shadow theater tradition.[35]

Traditional Authority

Traditional authority, while perhaps not recognized as such amongst the Balinese, plays an important part in how the Balinese people perform and execute rituals and in the way that they live their lives. Within Weber's paradigm, "traditional authority rests on the belief in the sacredness of the social order and its prerogatives as existing of yore" (Weber 1922[1958]: 3). In a sense, this kind of authority is bolstered by the power of tradition, or the power accorded to traditions or customs because they are thought to have always been that way. According to the *pemangku dalang* Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, daily life and the ways that rituals are conducted are influenced by a Balinese tripartite conception of tradition, namely: *kuno tah,* or how things are done based on the ancient way they have been done; *sastra tah*, or the way things are done

[35] Max Weber's initial essay on this theory was written in German and published in *Preussische Jahrbücher,* volume 187 (1922); however, for the purposes of this dissertation I reference Hans Gerth's English translation of the work found in the 4th volume of *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions* (1958) and Whimster's concise explanation of Weber's theory found in *The Essential Weber: A Reader* (2004).

based on authoritative writings; and *dresta tah*, or the particular customs of individual villages.[36] In an effort to contribute to a deeper understanding of Weber's notion of traditional authority and explore how the Balinese might conceive of it, I divide my analysis into these three categories.

Kuno Tah

When we analyze how Balinese wayang gains traditional authority under the concept of *kuno tah*, a number of historical, ideological, and religious elements come into play, namely: 1) the extensive history of wayang performance in Indonesia as evidenced by ancient inscriptions, or *prasasti*; 2) creation stories involving the gods and the first dalang; 3) astrological beliefs and the Balinese calendrical tradition for divining auspicious and inauspicious days with which the wayang sapuh leger is inextricably linked; 4) the wayang sapuh leger and its place within the *panca yadnya*, or five kinds of Balinese ritual;[37] and 5) the classification of wayang sapuh leger as a sacred, or *wali*, ceremony within the threefold classification of Balinese performance sanctity.[38] Through a detailed explanation of these topics, I am able to demonstrate how the wayang sapuh leger gains *kuno* (traditional authority) in the Balinese collective imagination. This then serves as a foundation to explain how a dalang accrues cultural and social capital, and how ritual media such as gendér wayang music (the traditional musical accompaniment for Balinese shadow puppet theater) acquires symbolic capital.

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[36] According to an interview with Ida Bagus Anom on February 11, 2014, these words are derived from Old Javanese Kawi, and are the terms that Balinese use when categorizing their own perception of tradition and authority.

[37] *Manusia yadnya*, *Pitra yadnya*, *Dewa yadnya*, *Bhuta yadnya*, *Resi yadnya.* For more see Hinzler (1981) and Hooykaas (1975).

[38] 1) *Wali*, or sacred performance such as *wayang lemah*, *wayang sapuh leger,* or *wayang sudamala*; 2) *bebali*, or semi-sacred performance to accompany the *panca yajna* or *sesaudan* (a promise); and 3) *balih-balihan*, or performance for entertainment, which emphasizes artistic and didactic points, for example *wayang petang* (*wayang cenk blonk*) (Wicaksana, 2007: 51).

Sastra Tah

I next observe how the wayang sapuh leger, the pemangku dalang, and the gendér wayang music gain traditional authority through authoritative written tradition, or *sastra*. In addition to gaining authority for his or her knowledge of traditional sastra and the Hindu epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the wayang sapuh leger story and various Balinese *lontar* (palm leaf manuscripts) help provide the basis of this analysis. Let us consider a brief example. In the wayang sapuh leger story, Lord Siwa's demon son, Bhatara Kala, is granted permission to eat people born during wuku wayang. Later, Siwa and his wife have another son, Kumara, who is born during wuku wayang and is in danger of being eaten by his demon brother. Throughout the story Kumara is chased by Bhatara Kala and hides in a number of places to try to escape; however, Kumara is unable to get away until he stumbles upon a shadow play performance where he asks the dalang for help and hides in the resonators of the gendér wayang instruments. While Kumara is hiding, Bhatara Kala arrives, and, starved and angry, eats all of the dalang's offerings. Bhatara Kala then owes a great debt to the dalang, whereupon the dalang negotiates Kumara's safety in return for his offerings (Wicaksana 2007).

It is because of this story that Balinese Hindus consider wuku wayang to be an unlucky time to be born and believe that they must employ the services of an initiated pemangku dalang to perform a wayang sapuh leger and make holy water to protect them from Bhatara Kala. Similarly, the gendér wayang instruments are an integral part of the story and thus gain a measure of traditional authority from sastra as Kumara hides in the resonators of the gamelan gendér. Other textual sources such as the *Dharma Pewayangan* (Hooykaas 1973) and Sugriwa's *Ilmu Pedalangan/Pewayangan* (1963) also become important in this section, as they are two authoritative writings that outline the personal strengths a dalang must possess in order become a

pemangku dalang and perform wayang sapuh leger and other purification rituals. Sastra and lontar dealing specifically with music, for example, *Prakempa*, are also referenced to demonstrate the traditional authority of music like the gendér wayang.

Dresta Tah

The final concept, dresta tah, is also related to the Balinese notion of *desa*, *kala*, *patra*, or "place," "time," and "custom," and recognizes that the amount of traditional authority accorded to a ritual, its media, or its officiant is variable and directly related to the place and time a ritual is conducted and how a specific village interprets its importance. To gain a sense of dresta tah, I present a case study of the wayang sapuh leger tradition found in the village of Mas. As a predominantly Brahmin-caste village home to a long lineage of pemangku dalang and a unique style of gendér wayang music, the ritual activities conducted in Mas during wuku wayang take on their own measure of traditional authority.[39] In addition to detailing the wayang sapuh leger performances in Mas village, I outline the activities of the Mas village pemangku dalang during *Tumpek Wayang* (the Saturday of wuku wayang), when many in the village come to the dalang's house seeking holy water. I also report on other Mas village-specific activities during this time, such as how the *wayang wong* masks (human-danced wayang) are laid out in the Mas *Pura Taman Pule* temple. In this way, I am able to present an example of how dresta tah factors into traditional authority within a specific village.

This is also demonstrated by analyzing musical aspects of the Mas wayang sapuh leger ritual. Typically, a wayang sapuh leger performance requires a sacred composition to be played on the gendér wayang instruments while the pemangku dalang recites a mantra and makes holy

[39] Mas village is thought to be particularly important for the Hindu religion in Bali, as one of the most important priests carrying the religion from Java to Bali, Danghyang Nirartha, resided for a period of time in Mas village. It is from this priest that the four branches of the Balinese Brahmin caste are said to have originated (Rubinstein 2000: 80).

water, or *air suci*/*toya panglukatan*. Within the village of Mas, this piece is considered especially sacred and is given the name *Astu Pungku* (cleansing the "eight directions"), after the name of the mantra that it accompanies. While a similar piece is also found within other gendér wayang styles such as Sukawati or kayu mas, they usually fall under a different title (*Tabuh Gari*, *Swan Dewi* or *Sudamala*) and are not mentioned in important authoritative texts such as the *Dharma Pewayangan*.[40]

Given the sacred name attached to the gendér wayang piece in Mas and the large population of spiritually educated, Brahmin-caste citizens living there, I delve into the subtleties of how this particular tradition might be portrayed as having authority. Considering that the Mas style of gendér wayang music and the religious duties of the pemangku dalang are not taught at the university, the Mas tradition holds an even greater measure of authority under Maurice Bloch's theory of traditional authority, as being able to conduct such a ritual or play the challenging music that accompanies it are seen as something outside oneself and the capabilities of the common Balinese people (Bloch 1974).

Legal Authority

Within the context of legal authority, I observe how political, economic, and institutional influences have led to change and innovation within Balinese shadow theater. I divide this analysis into three categories: 1) the effects of cultural politics and nationalism on the development of rituals; 2) the local Balinese government's involvement in religious reform, ritual reform, and making rituals more economical, as demonstrated by the recent practice of holding *wayang sapuh leger massal*, or mass wayang sapuh leger rituals; and 3) the effects of

[40] A detailed discussion and transcription of the Mas style of gendér wayang music is included in the appendix.

institutionalization on Balinese arts, specifically regarding innovation in Balinese shadow theater development and the standardization of gendér wayang music.

Cultural Politics and Nationalism

In the first subsection of legal authority, I explore the effects of cultural politics and nationalism on Balinese shadow theater following independence. It is here that Indonesia's political history becomes important, as the formulation of the *Pancasila* principles after independence later led to religious and ritual reforms in Bali as *Agama Tirtha* ("religion of holy water") was changed into *Agama Hindu Bali* (Balinese Hinduism) in order to conform to the first *Pancasila* principle of monotheism.[41] As rulers of a newly created republic, Indonesian governmental officials were not only challenged with bringing the nation together, but also had to handle a great deal of resistance and struggle for power from nationalists and religious enthusiasts alike. One means of working around the government's religious mandates and formalizing Balinese Hinduism as an acceptable monotheistic religion was to re-categorize Balinese religious rituals like the wayang sapuh leger as *adat,* or custom, versus *agama,* or religion. In this way, practitioners could continue following their traditional practices while also conforming to the government's policies, but whether these terms were even in the periphery of Balinese people's thoughts at the time, or if they even called what they were doing "religion" before independence, is something I wish to explore in this dissertation.

In the eyes of scholars like Hideharu Umeda, some of the new religious mandates have stripped the dalang of his religious power and left the wayang sapuh leger ritual oscillating in a

[41] The Pancasila principles were created as the foundation for Indonesian nationhood and include: 1) belief in one supreme God; 2) just and civilized humanitarianism; 3) nationalism based on the unity of Indonesia; 4) representative democracy through consensus; and 5) social justice (Aragon 2000: 311-312).

liminal space between *adat*, or "culture," and *agama*, or "religion" (Umeda, 2006). Whether Umeda's assertion is actually felt amongst the Balinese is something I contest, as although the religion may have been modified on paper, the Balinese still consider the ritual and the pemangku dalang's role in purification ceremonies an important part of their belief system. Within this context, the concept of agency also comes to the fore as I discuss how ritual practitioners have continued conducting their traditional rituals in spite of such religious reformas. After all, in creating legal authority "it is not the person who is obeyed by virtue of his own right but the enacted rule, which is therefore decisive for who obeys the rule and to what extent" (Whimster 2004: 133). Considering this statement, the dynamics of authority become complex in the example of the Balinese wayang sapuh leger, because although the ritual is no longer categorized as religion, it is still very important to the Balinese people and continues to be practiced today. With this I address several questions: how has the legal authority of the government affected the power and authority accorded to religious performing artists like the dalang? How have *pemangku dalang* had to navigate around or compromise with such forces in order to continue and keep their ritual authority alive? Lastly, do the rules put in place by the government really exert enough power that the Balinese no longer recognize the wayang sapuh leger as part of their religious fabric?

Religious Reform, Ritual Reform and the Wayang Sapuh Leger Massal

In the next subsection on legal authority, I explore an example of how the local Balinese government has taken initiatives to make ritual more economical, as in the recent practice of *wayang sapuh leger massal*, or mass wayang sapuh leger rituals. Important in this section is how local Balinese government within each of the eight regencies (*kabupaten*) has created councils

and local arts organizations devoted to the development of the performing arts.[42] Specifically, I draw on interviews with I Nyoman Catra, professor of theater at ISI Denpasar and leader of the *Himpunan Seniman Kabupaten Badung* (HSKB), or artists' organization of Badung regency, to explain how the Balinese government has been directly involved in funding mass displays of rituals such as the wayang sapuh leger in an effort to make it available to Balinese people who cannot afford to hold the ritual on their own. In addition to discussing how the formation of such organizations and their subsequent activities are a direct product of legal authority, I discuss how the wayang sapuh leger massal have been a site of contestation. Varying opinions on whether this practice has weakened or strengthened the pemangku dalang's power are explored, as are the philosophical reasons legitimating this practice within Balinese Hinduism.

Institutionalization and Standardization

In the final subsection considering the Indonesian government's influence and exertion of legal rule, I observe the effects of institutionalization on innovation and development in Balinese shadow theater and shadow theater music. That the arts institution is arguably an arm of legal authority has been demonstrated in a number of ethnomusicological works, for example, Tanya Merchant Henson's dissertation "Constructing Musical Tradition in Uzbek Institutions," which examines how the Uzbek government recognized Uzbek conservatories as important sites for promoting national identity, and how cultural products, like music and the arts, can help to demarcate an identity that is both modern and traditional (Merchant Henson 2006: 8).

[42] A good example would be *Listibya*. *Listibya*, or the "Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan," is an advisory council developed in 1967 by governor Ida Bagus Mantra (creator of the Bali Arts Festival, or *Pesta Kesenian Bali* [PKB]) on the development of the culture of Bali. Its principal tasks are to provide advice and foster a range of Balinese art performances such as dance groups, gamelan groups or art clubs, and monitor the quality of dance and gamelan performance in light of the increasing demand for tourist performances ("Ubud's Advisory Council and Development of Culture [Listibya]").

Ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice mentions a similar phenomenon in his book *May It Fill Your Soul*, describing how the Communist Party in Bulgaria and its "organs of propaganda" began to move into all aspects of the nation's life, including education and culture, in order to meet the demand and portray an image of the "new society" (Rice 1994: 174-175).

Amongst the political, religious, and economic changes taking place after Indonesian independence, importance was also placed on establishing arts institutions such as the high school for performing arts, KOKAR (*Konservatori Karawitan* [conservatory of music and arts], now a *Sekolah Menegah* 3 [3-year high school] called SMA3, and the arts university *Institut Kesenian Indonesia Denpasar* (ISI Denpasar). These were formed with the idea that they would help to cultivate traditional regional arts and support Indonesia's new motto *Binneka Tunggal Ika,* or "unity in diversity." While this concept of diversity was recognized as a unifying aspect of the new nation, not all of the diverse musical traditions and performing arts made it into the universities.

Today, the *pedalangan,* or dalang, department within the university continues to teach students how to become a traditional dalang and how to play traditional gendér wayang music; however, the music that is taught is only from a selected number of villages and styles, and those aspects of the dalang's religious role classified as *adat* (like wayang sapuh leger) are left out. Whether this is a direct result of government initiatives is up for discussion, as some dalang say this aspect is too sacred or powerful and the university professors do not have the bravery to teach it.

It is here that issues of standardization and cultural representation within the institution arise, as only certain artistic forms and musical styles are receiving government support and validation from the institution. Ethnomusicologist Helen Rees has noted instances of this in her

essay "Use and Ownership: Folk Music in the People Republic of China," demonstrating how folk arts as performed by non-conservatory-trained local people have tended to be looked down upon by conservatory musicians as having little intrinsic cultural value or aesthetic appeal (Rees 2009: 50). Chinese ethnomusicologist Yang Mu, in discussing Chinese performing arts festivals in the 1980s, notes how the government spent enormous sums of money to support arts conforming to the Westernized modern Chinese ideal, while "the real folk arts in ordinary people's daily lives were dying out and could not obtain government support" (Yang 1994:318).

In a similar way, many local styles of music and performing arts in Bali have not made it inside the university walls, subsequently leading regional styles of music such as the Mas gendér wayang to go relatively unnoticed.[43] This is partly due to the fact that only two main styles, Sukawati and kayu mas, are taught at the university, but also because dalang education in the university requires that all dalang create their own unique form of shadow puppet theater in order to graduate (supporting the nation's ideology of modernization and innovation). This has led contemporary dalang, for example, Dalang Nardayana, to create their own kind of musical accompaniment and gamelan, drawing even more attention away from the traditional gendér wayang normally used to accompany Balinese shadow puppet theater.[44] While some innovative gendér wayang pieces have been created, students tend to choose other kinds of gamelan for their

[43] Gendér wayang styles such as those found in Mas village and other areas thrive solely on individual members of the community who devote their time to continue learning the music to perform for local rituals. This learning takes places outside the institution and is supported by the temples and community members who continue to pay for their services. What is interesting is that the gendér wayang music of Mas village comes from a well-known Brahmin-caste family (Ida Bagus Made Geriya's) and is often performed for wayang sapuh leger rituals, but the university does not validate this particular style, and it has not become one of the chosen few to be taught within the university's walls.

[44] Dalang Joblar is also well known for doing this. Other forms of shadow puppet theater sometimes use Balinese gamelan *angklung*, because, like gendér wayang, it is in the *slendro* scale and might be more portable than larger ensembles. The slendro scale is a pentatonic scale, characterized by nearly equidistant intervals, and is considered more auspicious and sacred than the other pentatonic scale with variable intervals, *pelog*.

musical accompaniment, as it is more feasible to write new music and find musicians who can play it. As I observed during my time studying at ISI Denpasar, many are willing to sacrifice this traditional element in favor of the power, validation and social capital that having a degree from the arts university can afford; however, even then it is only a select few who have the power, or *taksu*, to become fully self-supporting artists and performers after graduation. This brings me to my next point about innovation and charismatic authority.

Charismatic Authority

In my third and final area of analysis, I explore charismatic authority and Balinese spiritual power (*taksu*) in the innovation of ritual media to both develop and promulgate the Balinese shadow theater tradition. According to Weber, "charismatic authority rests on the affectual and personal devotion of the follower to the lord and his gifts of grace (charisma). These gifts comprise especially magical abilities, revelations of heroism, power of the mind and of speech. The eternally new, the non-routine, the unheard of, and the emotional rapture from it are sources of personal devotion" (Weber 1958[1922]: 6). A person with charismatic authority is a profound and compelling leader and is recognized as such for their personal qualities, not their legal position or traditional honor (although these aspects are also important to become a successful innovator and performer of shadow theater) (Whimster 2004: 139).

During my interviews with Balinese dalang and musicians, charismatic authority was often likened to an important concept in Balinese philosophy, that of spiritual power, or *taksu*;[45] therefore, this segment seeks to lend an even deeper understanding to Weber's concept of

[45] Defining *taksu* can be very challenging; it is used in all aspects of Balinese life. Some definitions include: being able to conjure response, good attention, energy, inner power, the ability to convey the beauty and knowledge of reality, and the ability to stir people's emotions or make them cry, as when watching a movie or a particular actor (Interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 3 March 2014)

charismatic authority by exploring how the Balinese view it in the context of their own culture as taksu. The term taksu can be applied to any number of situations to explain why one person might have success and not another, but within shadow puppet theater "the gift of taksu is a type of divine inspiration and spiritual power that enables the shadow master to hold the audience's attention throughout the performance" (Heimarck 2000: 43).

To really get at the heart of this concept and demonstrate charismatic authority, I report on Dalang I Wayan Naradayana, who graduated from the Balinese arts university and went on to become extremely famous with his innovative form of shadow puppet theater called *wayang cenk blonk*. By detailing aspects of Dalang Nardayana's innovative performances and highlighting aspects of his agency and intentionality captured in interviews, I not only present his innovative form of shadow theater, but also demonstrate how these innovations have brought him charismatic authority and taksu. Given that charismatic authority and taksu are directly related to an individual, I often quote large sections of my interviews with Dalang Nardayana, as the profundity of his responses often epitomizes and captures the very essence of these two concepts.

If we are to consider charismatic authority as the search for something that is continuously new and beyond the mundane, then we are also forced to consider how Balinese shadow theater comes into conversation with modern ideologies and fluctuations in society as it gains popularity. After all, communication in a ritual is coming from "persons in 'status marked situations' of authority and subordination, of competence and eligibility, of 'power and solidarity,'" and we cannot fully understand the connections between unit acts and utterances of the ritual without realizing that they are the clothing for social actions that need to be understood

in relation to the presuppositions and social interactional norms of the actors (Tambiah 1979: 139).

As Dalang Nardayana said to me in an interview, not all dalang today are *laris,* or sought after, because today is a period of competition, and one must have a great amount of taksu to compete in the market.[46] It is partly because Nardayana has been able to adapt his shadow plays to relate to and comment on societal norms that the wayang cenk blonk is desired by a modern audience. For example, Dalang Nardayana's humorous plays often comment on issues such as AIDS, drugs, polygamy, pollution, cell phones, TV and technology—all complex issues at the forefront of modern Balinese society; however, he is not the only modern dalang commenting on such issues (many modern dalang are). What then has made Dalang Nardayana the most famous? To answer this question, I argue that several other major innovations have allowed Dalang Nardayana to better communicate with his audiences and create more "propositional force" (the ability of language to communicate new logic or meaning) to inspire and capture the hearts of the Balinese people (Tambiah 1979: 140).

One of the most significant changes, which also led to the reason why this form of shadow theater is called wayang cenk blonk, was the introduction of two new puppets, *Cenk* and *Blonk,* into the traditional cast of wayang characters. By introducing these two new puppets, Dalang Nardayana also afforded himself greater communication and connection with the audience, as these two new characters represent real Balinese people from the village of Belayu and speak the local vernacular language, Balinese, within the play. This has significantly increased his propositional force, as traditionally the characters representing the gods only speak in the Old Javanese language, Kawi (very few Balinese understand this language today), and

[46] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

only the clown characters speak Balinese or Indonesian to translate what is being said.[47] With the addition of these two characters, Dalang Nardayana has more outlets to insert humor and comment on social issues in a way that a modern audience can identify with and understand.

Dalang Nardayana's musical innovations also help him to be attributed with a great deal of *taksu* (many come to see his performances just to listen to the music) and speak to an island-wide trend of gamelan development and experimentation.[48] Seeking to develop a versatile gamelan that would allow for more musical flexibility while also retaining the qualities of traditional gendér wayang accompaniment, Naradayana and a team of composers and gamelan makers cleverly combined sixteen tones so that multiple gamelan and diatonic styles could be played on the ensemble. I discuss how, unlike any other musical ensemble found on the island, this ensemble gives Dalang Nardayana even more taksu. I also theorize how this musical flexibility gives Dalang Nardayana an additional edge when trying to communicate the story to his audience.

To this end, I draw on Stanley Tambiah's stance on how ritual elements such as music can help to communicate with the audience. With regard to changes in ritual media, Tambiah describes how elements such as chants, songs, dance, music, verbal formulae, and material gifts are employed in the service of heightening communication in a dramatic actualization of stereotypy and redundancy that produces a sense of heightened communication (Tambiah 1979: 142). The increased tonal flexibility in Nardayana's gamelan also presents more flexibility in how the music can convey the emotions of the story being told, redundantly communicating via

[47]The traditional clown characters are Twalen, Merdah, Sangut and Dalem.

[48] On gamelan innovation and contemporary music see Andy McGraw's 2013 book *Radical Traditions: Reimagining Culture in Balinese Contemporary Music.*

two separate mediums, verbal and musical (a similar phenomenon happens in Nardayana's innovative use of lights).

While Dalang Nardayana has been able to gain tremendous power and authority through innovation, he has traditional authority supporting him as well. He cleverly interweaves traditional teaching with modern ideology and has been able to publicize his work through traditional means by performing at temples and festivals, and through modern means via weekly performances on Bali TV and by releasing a number of CD and DVD recordings through Aneka Records. As the products of one of the first dalang to enter into a prolific media campaign, wayang cenk blonk CDs and DVDs are ubiquitous and often make their way into the common Balinese household. While there are other dalang throughout the island who are also innovating the shadow theater and producing CDs and DVDs, Nardayana's pioneering efforts to produce sellable media of wayang performance is certainly one of the reasons why he is the most famous dalang on the island at present.[49] That the wayang cenk blonk is modern and reflective of a modern Balinese society can also be viewed from a monetary and economic standpoint here, as Nardayana makes a significant amount of money from his electronic media and his performances.[50] This stands in sharp contrast to the traditional practice of performing wayang as *ngayah*, or selfless service to one's community, and to the traditional method of being paid for one's services with foodstuffs such as coffee, rice, sugar or meat.

[49] Relevant to this discussion is the Javanese practice of producing cassettes of wayang shows, which started in the 1970s (Wallach 2008).

[50] More specific numbers will be mentioned in chapter 5, but it is important to note that Dalang Nardayana makes enough money from performances to sustain his family through his performing career.

Ritual Theory

Throughout this dissertation, aspects of ritual theory arise and are explored, especially when considering the conclusions that can be made after observing authority within the various forms of Balinese shadow theater presented in this dissertation. For example, when one analyzes the music and ritual elements employed in traditional Balinese shadow theater in relation to anthropologist Maurice Bloch's work on ritual media and traditional authority, an even more subtle level of authority arises. According to Bloch, "ritual is an occasion where syntactic and other linguistic freedoms are reduced because ritual makes special use of language: characteristically stylized speech and singing" (Bloch 1974: 56). This stylized speech, he argues, is often limited to a "restricted archaic vocabulary" or "restricted code" using specific syntactic forms and leaving no room for rebellion, for authority to be challenged, or for there to be a choice of what can be said without completely rejecting the established form of the ritual itself (Bloch 1974: 58-59). These ceremonial "trappings" lead to a "power through form" that Bloch relates to Max Weber's 1967 distinction of "traditional authority" (Bloch 1974: 60). This is also part of what helps a dalang to maintain authority, as when traditional elements are changed there is inevitably upheaval and the traditional authoritative structures put in place help to uphold the power of traditional, religious performing artists.

Within the Balinese shadow theater, traditional forms and the Old Javanese language Kawi function in this way. Dalang possess a tremendous amount of prestige and power because of their ability to speak and recite Kawi mantra, because most Balinese people do not understand the language. As the "language of the gods" in the shadow puppet theater, Kawi holds great religious capital. Meanwhile, the dalang's knowledge of how to execute a shadow theater ritual

in its traditional form, made even more important when done for a ritual such as the wayang sapuh leger, gives him another measure of power and respect.

Bloch argues that these ideas of fixity impact the element of communication within ritual, stating that formalized language, the language of traditional authority, is an impoverished language, where options for communication are restricted in favor of form, style, and words. With increasing formalization, "propositional force," or the ability of language to communicate new logic or meaning, decreases, while "illocutionary force," or the means of influencing people through "performative force," increases, because the power of this force is seen by the participants as being outside themselves (Bloch 1974: 67). Therefore even more authority is accredited to traditional dalang, as many Balinese people don't necessarily understand the rituals that are being performed, even though they believe that they are required.

Bloch's theory that ritual art is an inferior form of communication does not leave room for secular discursive language or creativity within a ritual, and argues that traditional authority is upheld by not allowing one's personal political beliefs or opinions to be injected. While this may be the case within the wayang sapuh leger, this statement is challenged when later examining innovation. Modernization and institutionalization, while often viewed as indexing a decline in religious relevance, have allowed for new music and ritual forms to be created, further freeing up the restricted forms of speech that are imprisoned within the confines of traditional shadow theater structure. This corresponds to Bloch's statement that individuals try to break down these formal modes of communication in order to obtain greater freedom of manipulation over the situation (Bloch 1974: 64).

In the context of ritual change, power has begun to shift toward more modern shadow puppeteers whose new forms allow for innovation and more communication of current

ideologies and topics. Anthropologist Stanley Tambiah notes that, regardless of how prescribed media within a ritual may seem, ritual is always linked to status claims and interests of the participants, and therefore, there are always variable components that make the basic core of most rituals flexible (Tambiah 1979: 115). Tambiah views ritual complexity as "an ideological and aesthetic social construction that is directly and recursively implicated in the expression, realization, and exercise of power," which symbolically represents the cosmos and legitimates and realizes social hierarchies (Tambiah 1979: 153). These theoretical ideas about ritual are drawn upon at length while summarizing my conclusions at the end of this dissertation, specifically when examining notions of tradition and innovation, the crisis of legitimation, and modern expressions of Balinese spiritual power, or taksu.

Chapter Outline

Considering Laurie Sears' assertion that tradition and modernity both come into focus at the same time, this dissertation must begin by presenting a "tradition" from which to recognize innovation (Sears 1996: 12). After a short unpacking of the Westernized idea of "tradition," chapter two brings the Balinese wayang sapuh leger "tradition" into focus by examining how it has gained traditional authority within the first Balinese conception of tradition, *kuno tah.* Within *kuno tah*, or how things are traditionally done based on the ancient way they have always been done, the underlying historical, ideological, and religious components leading to the traditional authority of the wayang sapuh leger are explored, and we are able to begin to get a sense of the dalang's role as an important religious figure in Balinese society.

In chapter three, I continue my analysis of traditional authority within the context of the wayang sapuh leger via an examination of *sastra tah*, or the way things are done according to

authoritative writings. Specifically, I explore how authority is credited to the wayang sapuh leger ritual, the pemangku dalang, and sacred gendér wayang music through indigenous Balinese stories and texts. Of particular importance for this chapter are the textual sources (like *lontar*, or palm leaf manuscripts) for the wayang sapuh leger story and authoritative sastra that outline the spiritual role of the Balinese shadow puppeteer.

Chapter four then wraps up the discussion of the wayang sapuh leger and traditional authority by examining *dresta tah*, or the recognition that different villages have their own specific ways of conducting rituals and carrying out tradition. This concept reminds us that traditional authority can be variable and is dependent upon the sociological conditions of the group of people in which a tradition is being carried out. Dresta tah and traditional authority are explored through a case study of the Brahmin caste shadow puppeteers and the unique style of gendér wayang music found in the village of Mas. I then wrap up chapter four by commenting on how this study can advance theoretical ideas of ritual theory, and make some concluding remarks about the wayang sapuh leger and traditional authority and enunciative authority, to solidify an understanding of where we are at in the theoretical argument before moving on.

With a clearer idea of the Balinese wayang sapuh leger tradition in place, chapter five explores change and development in Balinese shadow theater through the lens of legal authority. I begin by providing a short historical account of Indonesia's political history, focusing specifically on post-colonial government initiatives and issues of nationalism and cultural politics on the development of Balinese shadow puppet theater. These historical and political underpinnings then set the tone for my discussion of the *wayang sapuh leger massal*, or mass wayang sapuh leger performances, which have recently begun to appear in an effort to make the ritual more economical. The focus on political, economic, and cultural development under

Suharto's "New Order" regime, also lead into a discussion of the development of performing arts institutions such as Institut Kesenian Indonesia (ISI Denpasar). In the context of institutionalization, the conditions promoting innovation in Balinese shadow theater are explored, as is the inadvertent standardization of Balinese gendér wayang music.

In chapter six, I analyze charismatic authority and the Balinese spiritual concept of *taksu* by presenting a case study of ISI Denpasar graduate Dalang I Wayan Nardayana and his innovative form of shadow theater, wayang cenk blonk. To truly demonstrate the charisma of this puppeteer, answers to interview question are sometimes quoted in full, and the stories, music, and technology that have brought Dalang Nardayana great fame and charismatic authority are presented. In this chapter, I theorize how Nardayana's musical and theatrical innovations (stemming from institutional influences) have brought him more "propositional force" and heightened his ability to communicate with the audience. I also examine Balinese viewpoints on the need for change and innovation within the shadow puppet theater, and how one must cleverly combine elements of traditional authority, legal authority, and charismatic authority within contemporary innovation in order to become a successful performer of shadow theater in the 21st century. This chapter draws to a close by discussing the economics of innovative shadow theater, drawing on Nardayana's use of marketing and media as a sign of social and ideological change.

The final chapter of this dissertation is a conclusion and seeks to address several of the overarching issues that arise within chapters two through six. I revisit the problematic terms "tradition" and "innovation" and ask how our perception of these concepts changes given the information provided. For example, I combat assertions made by some scholars that the role of contemporary dalang is "purely that of a performer," as although new theatrics, lights, and puppets have appeared, the role of the dalang as social and religious teacher is still extremely

important and visible, albeit transformed for a contemporary public to digest. With regard to authority, this chapter also attempts to resolve the "crisis of legitimization" that has arisen as many have questioned the authoritative role of the dalang as shadow theater has begun to change and develop. Finally, drawing on the points made about tradition and authority, the conclusion ends with a few thoughts on the place of change in Balinese wayang kulit performance and how this can inform perceptions of Balinese spiritual power, or taksu.

The appendix following chapter seven considers the importance of transcription of Balinese gendér wayang music to further emphasize some of the points made about traditional authority and to present an argument for preservation of gendér wayang musical styles that are not being promulgated by the Balinese arts institutions. I begin this chapter with a short theoretical discussion of musical transcription in ethnomusicology and follow it up with my method for transcribing Balinese gendér wayang music. With my methodology and the guidelines for utilizing my transcriptions firmly in place, I then present a complete transcription of the Mas style of gendér wayang music as it is performed during a wayang sapuh leger ceremony. Of particular importance is the sacred gendér wayang piece "Astu Pungku," played while the dalang is making holy water, as this is a special piece used in ritual purification and constitutes a powerful aspect of the Mas village gendér wayang tradition. I then close the appendix with a short discussion of how my transcription methodology might be used by other researchers to transcribe and document other regional styles of gendér wayang not taught at the university.

Chapter 2: Traditional Authority, Taksu, and Kuno Tah

This is the first in a series of three chapters that discuss traditional authority and *taksu* (Balinese spiritual power, or performance charisma) within the context of the wayang sapuh leger ritual.[51] Each of these three chapters addresses a different facet of the Balinese tripartite conception of traditional authority (*kuno tah*, *sastra tah*, and *dresta tah*) not only to get a sense of how the wayang sapuh leger and the dalang gain authority through tradition, but also to explain some of the factors that condition Balinese ideology and, as I will argue, the extent to which a Balinese dalang might be attributed with taksu.

I open by addressing the problematic nature of the term "tradition" so that readers can better understand Max Weber's notion of traditional authority and decipher how a particular ritual and its ritual actors gain authority through tradition. I then continue with a description of taksu and outline why creating a concrete definition of the term may be difficult. Within these three chapters, I am specifically concerned with giving readers an idea of what authority and taksu have meant in a traditional sense, so that I can later discuss how there have been changes in what defines these terms and how this becomes evident in the developments taking place today in Balinese shadow puppet theater.

After traditional authority and taksu are better understood, I then devote the remainder of chapter two to the first Balinese concept of traditional authority, that of *kuno tah*, or how things are done based on the ancient way they have always been done. Using the wayang sapuh leger ritual as an example, I examine the concept of kuno tah by discussing the ancient, longstanding elements that contribute to the authority of the ritual and the dalang who presides over it. These

[51] I have chosen to focus my discussion of traditional authority on the wayang sapuh leger ritual because, although this is but one amongst a myriad of wayang performance types in Bali, it presents an opportunity to explore the authority of the wayang and the dalang to the fullest extent, as one could not perform the sacred wayang sapuh leger without being able to perform other more generic types.

include: history, creation stories, traditional ritual structure, religion and ideology, symbolism, astrological beliefs and calendrical traditions. Following this, I include a short discussion of how aspects of kuno tah can also help to understand one of three defining elements of taksu. I then conclude the chapter with a few remarks summarizing the information presented on kuno tah, traditional authority and taksu.

"Tradition" and Traditional Authority

In order to begin examining the position of authority within wayang development and present a tradition from which to recognize innovation, we must first take a moment to understand the term "tradition" as well as Max Weber's notion of traditional authority. Within Weber's paradigm, "traditional authority rests on the belief in the sacredness of the social order and its prerogatives as existing of yore" (Weber 1922[1958]: 3). In other words, traditional authority is bolstered by the power accorded to traditions or customs because they are *thought* to have always been that way. I emphasize *thought* here to bring up the problematic nature of the term "tradition," and to apply caution to how we might observe particular rituals or customs as having traditional authority.

The word "tradition" itself derives from Roman laws of inheritance and the Latin word *tradere,* meaning "to transmit" or "give to another for safekeeping" (Giddens 2003: 39). While it may seem that the concept has been around for centuries, scholars have pointed out that discussions of tradition have only come about in the last two hundred years as Enlightenment thinkers sought to identify tradition with ignorance and dogma and justify their obsession with progress and modernity (ibid.). In more recent scholarship, one of the most widely recognized works that problematizes the term "tradition" is Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). In this work, Hobsbawm and Ranger present a theory of "invented

tradition" and assert that many traditions that "appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm 1983: 1).[52] This point is echoed by Raymond Williams, who mentions in his work *Keywords* (1983) that "it is sometimes observed, by those who have looked into particular *traditions*, that it only takes two generations to make anything *traditional*: naturally enough, since that is the sense of *tradition* as active process" (Williams 1983: 319).[53]

If we are to follow this reasoning, it could be argued that the beginnings of all traditions are "invented," but as responses to Hobsbawm and Ranger's work suggest, the idea of "tradition" is not invalid, and there are grounds for defining tradition and its importance. Even Hobsbawm admits to this, saying, "the object and characteristic of 'traditions,' including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition" (Hobsbawm 1983: 2). Similarly, Mark Phillips, in his 2004 article "What is Tradition When it is Not Invented?," also asserts that invariance is the identifying mark of tradition, and that the primary meaning of tradition has been the preservation and elaboration of a body of authoritative texts that have been handed down through the generations (Phillips

[52] Invented traditions include "both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed, and formally instituted and those emerging in a less traceable manner within a brief datable period—a matter of a few years perhaps—and establishing themselves with great rapidity" (Hobsbawn 1983:1). Invented traditions are also governed by "overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (ibid.: 1-2).

[53] A concrete example of this in Bali can be found when examining *kecak* performance (also known as monkey chant). What was once a practice of group chanting to eradicate plague and bad spirits within Balinese villages was later transformed with the help of the Dutch painter Walter Spies to become an elaborate production of chanting to accompany a dance dramatization of the *Ramayana* epic around the 1930s. The performance quickly gained popularity amongst tourists and was soon marketed as one of Bali's cultural must-sees, although it was a new form of performance and not really traditional at all (for more on this see Dibia 1996 and Stepputat 2012). The same can be said of Balinese gamelan *gong kebyar*, now one of Bali's most famous and iconic performing arts, which only this year (2014) celebrated its 100th anniversary.

2004: 7). These texts, be they religious or historical, thus bear a resemblance to "sites of memory" (borrowing from Pierre Nora's 1984 work *Les Lieux de Memoire*), as contemporary cultures draw on them to invoke a continuity with the past, even though the genuine contexts in which memory was real or unquestioned has disappeared (ibid.: 9). This idea that tradition is intimately connected to how we construct or view the world is echoed in Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* (2004), where he claims that tradition serves as the condition of one's knowledge, the background that instigates all inquiry, and one can never start from a tradition-free place (Gadamer 2004: 282-285).

The idea that tradition directly impacts the way we perceive, imagine, or remember our history is one of the fundamental tenants of ideology (*Weltanshauung*) theory. According to Paul Ricoeur, ideology, as an inverted image of reality, always has some claim to power, as ideology is what bridges "the tension that characterizes the legitimation process, a tension between a claim to legitimacy made by the authority and the belief in this legitimacy offered by the citizenry" (Ricoeur 2007 [1996]: 13). When summarizing Clifford Geertz's stance on the role of ideology in the legitimation of authority, Ricoeur also says that that "ideology's role is to make possible an autonomous politics by providing the needed authoritative concepts that make it meaningful" (ibid.:12). Following this mode of thought, it therefore becomes extremely important to understand a little about Balinese ideology and religion if we are to understand how the shadow theater and the dalang are credited with having authority.

While I do not aim to go into a lengthy theoretical discussion of memory or ideology, the ways in which history and authoritative text become the foundations for collective memory and ideology are important, as they are intimately connected to how and why particular cultures

attribute authority to traditional rituals and the actors who carry them out.[54] One solution for doing so is found in Pascal Boyer's *Tradition as Truth and Communication: A Cognitive Description of Traditional Discourse* (1990), in which he presents a theory on the veracity of divination, or why cultures see divination rituals as authoritatively true. The "truth" of a ritual, he suggests, is determined by the link between the situation and the diagnosis (outcome), and "a crucial task of any ethnographic description is therefore to explain how subjects are led to consider certain specific inferences as plausible or natural" (Boyer 1990: 76).[55] These "causal criteria" are what make a culture see the need for a ritual in a specific situation, suggesting that "the *content* of the utterances is not always the most important factor in the processes whereby they are judged 'true'" (ibid.: 78). After all, "authority does not stem merely from the attributes of the individual," nor, in this case, does it stem from the specific elements of a ritual itself (Zizek 2011: 338). Instead, the exercise of authority "depends on a willingness on the part of others to grant respect and legitimacy, rather than on one's personal ability to persuade or coerce" (ibid.). Therefore, in trying to understand this willingness on the part of others to grant authority to artistic performers, the causal criteria legitimating this authority become very important.

[54] According to the *Standford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, "'Memory' labels a diverse set of cognitive capacities by which we retain information and reconstruct past experiences, usually for present purposes. Memory is one of the most important ways by which our histories animate our current actions and experiences" ("Memory").

[55] That the diagnosis or outcome is true can also be part of this causal process, as "it is possible to make statements the content of which is governed by the very situations they describe" (Boyer 1990: 74). For example, the diagnosis or outcome of a wayang sapuh leger ritual is already implied to be true, because the truth of the outcome is already embedded in the need, or situation, of the ritual. If you are born on wuku wayang, you will need to have a wayang sapuh leger performed for you, and after doing so, you will be protected from the demon Bhatara Kala. Thus the outcome is already embedded in the belief, or truth, of the situation.

In trying to determine the causal criteria that have led to the traditional authority of the Balinese wayang, the wayang sapuh leger and the pemangku dalang, history and authoritative texts that help create memory and ideology are important for two reasons: first, because they help us to know *why* cultures accredit authority to rituals and rituals actors; and second, because they create an ideal type of a particular tradition. From this ideal type we can observe changes, examine the reasons behind why changes are being made, and later comment on the attitudes and reactions to these changes. Although the concept of tradition can be abstract and arguably made obsolete, we must consider it as a point of departure, as tradition is what gives one a question or interest in the first place, and it is from a place of tradition, or invariance, that we can examine sociological shifts. With regard to tradition and traditional authority, "even some of Weber's most ardent disciples have had to acknowledge the vagueness and generality of his concept of tradition, and it is clear that his real effort is drawn to defining the more dynamic features of social action, such as charismatic and rational-legal authority" (Phillips 2004: 18). In a similar way, chapters two through four of this dissertation privilege an analysis of the causal criteria that have led to the traditional authority of the wayang sapuh leger and the dalang to provide a focal point from which to observe the "more dynamic features of social action" involved in the development of Balinese wayang.

With these thoughts on memory, ideology, and tradition in mind, we can now examine those causal criteria that lead the Balinese to credit authority to rituals like the wayang sapuh leger. To do so requires that we get a sense not only of the wayang sapuh leger ritual and the role of the dalang, but also of Balinese ideology, so that we can begin to understand how the Balinese conceive of tradition and authority, and why a performing art like puppetry might hold authority within their culture. As Slovenian Marxian philosopher Slavoj Zizek notes, "Authority is a

specific source of power. It represents power vested in persons by virtue of their offices, or of their 'authoritativeness' where relevant information and knowledge is concerned." Thus the task here is to outline the relevant information and knowledge that lead to the authority of the Balinese wayang; however, before doing so, a moment needs to be spent on the Balinese concept of *taksu,* so that we may also keep in mind how the causal criteria that create ideology and authority are also related to the degree to which a dalang is said to have taksu within a performance (Zizek 2011: 338).

Taksu

Within Balinese philosophy, the concept of *taksu* can be applied to any number of circumstances to explain the mysterious power governing why one person might have success and not another. For example, two people open a pizza shop right across the street from each other. The shops are both the same size, serve a similar delicious menu, and have the exact same prices. Why then does one pizza shop become a wild success and the other fail? In answering this question, the Balinese might say that the successful pizza shop has taksu, or a special mysterious power, and the other does not.

This seemingly ineffable notion is also widely employed in the Balinese arts to describe why one performer might stand out amongst the rest, and has been roughly defined by scholars as performance charisma or talent (Tenzer 1998: 108, Eiseman 1990: 273).[56] With regard to shadow puppet theater Brita Heimarck suggests that "the gift of *taksu* is a type of divine

[56] This concept is so important to the Balinese that each Balinese family has a shrine, or *palinggih*, in their family temple called the *palinggih taksu.* According to Eiseman, taksu is the god of one's profession or talent, and given that every person in this world is born with a particular talent (*bakat*), his or her talent resides in the palinggih taksu of the family temple (Eiseman 1990: 273). It is very common for performers to go and sit before the palinggih taksu to pray and meditate before a performance so that their talent and spiritual power will come through to the audience.

inspiration and spiritual power that enables the shadow master to hold the audience's attention throughout the performance," but even this definition is ambiguous and does not detail the defining conditions of taksu (Heimarck 2003: 43). In interviews, revered Balinese scholar I Made Bandem told Heimarck that there are two important aspects to taksu, the outer aspect and the inner aspect (Heimarck 2003: 233). The outer aspect is likened to skill and technique, while the inner aspect is mental and can be obtained from religion; however, in my interviews with UCLA professor of Balinese gamelan Dr. Nyoman Wenten, I was told that there are three elements that make up taksu, namely: 1) technique and all this implies for an art form (skill in Bandem's sense); 2) energy, or spirit, and a harnessing of power due to pure intention (this is the inner aspect that Bandem related to religion); and 3) the idea that one's taksu is hereditary and is passed down in family blood through the generations.[57]

I will not go into a detailed discussion of each of these elements now (although I will in the following sections and chapters), but what I would like to assert is that this concept of taksu is also related to the idea of authority. Given that there is a correlation between the three aspects of taksu and the three aspects of Balinese traditional authority, I explore one aspect of taksu in each of the chapters on traditional authority. It is my hope that by the end of chapter four, readers will have not only a better sense of the term taksu, but also an idea of what this concept has meant in a traditional sense. This understanding will be important for comprehending later chapters in which I assert how the axes for defining taksu have changed, and how this is evidenced in developments in Balinese shadow puppet theater like the wayang cenk blonk. In this particular chapter on kuno tah, I will start to develop an understanding of the traditional authority of the dalang and the wayang sapuh leger ritual, and also begin to give readers an idea

[57] Interview with Dr. Nyoman Wenten, 13 January 2015.

of the second aspect of taksu provided by Dr. Wenten, that of energy, or spirit, and a harnessing of power due to pure intention.

Kuno Tah

Traditional authority, while perhaps not recognized as such amongst the Balinese, plays an important part in how the Balinese people perform and conduct rituals and in the way that they live their lives. When speaking with my Balinese consultants about why they believe in the power of their rituals and why they credit authority to the shadow theater and the shadow puppeteer, I was told that, in keeping with the ways things have been done in the past, daily life and the ways that rituals are conducted are influenced by a Balinese tripartite conception of tradition. The first of these concepts, *kuno tah,* which I will explore in this chapter, refers to how things are traditionally done based on the ancient way they have always been done.[58] The second, *sastra tah*, or the way things are done based on authoritative writings, will be explored in chapter three, and *dresta tah*, or the particular ways and customs of individual villages, will be explored in chapter four. For the sake of exploring how the Balinese credit traditional authority to elements of their culture like the wayang sapuh leger, I divide my analysis into these three categories. While to a certain extent these categories overlap and bleed into one another (as do categories of authority), they create a framework to organize a discussion of traditional authority that incorporates elements of Balinese philosophy. When used to analyze the wayang sapuh leger ritual, this framework helps to show that traditional authority is a complex and multifarious concept, influenced by and tangled up in a rich web of religious, historical, and ideological significances. The remainder of this chapter thus deals with the first Balinese concept of traditional authority, *kuno tah.*

[58] Interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 14 June 2014.

The first part of the Balinese tripartite conception of traditional authority places great importance on *kuno tah*, or the way to conduct ritual activities and live daily life based upon the ancient way things have always been done. From the word *kuno*, or ancient, and *tah*, signifying the way something should be done, *kuno tah*, like tradition, can also be a seemingly problematic term; however, the word *kuno* is used in many contexts, for example *gaya kuno*, or "old style," *bahasa Bali kuno*, or "old Balinese language," and, like tradition, is a relative term used to denote continuity with how things have been done in the far away or established past.[59] When examining kuno tah in relation to Balinese wayang and the wayang sapuh leger, one of my informants from Mas village, Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, told of a number of ways in which the shadow theater gains traditional authority within the category of kuno tah. After analyzing his responses and conducting additional research, I have grouped a discussion of those elements that contribute to an understanding of kuno tah into the following categories: history, Balinese religion and ideology (this includes creation stories, traditional ritual structure, and symbolism), and astrological beliefs and calendrical traditions.[60] These are each discussed at length below.

History

While it is not my aim to explore the origins of wayang kulit in Indonesia, a brief historical account of the tradition can immediately help us to see how shadow theater and the dalang hold traditional authority within Indonesia's historical and cultural memory and ideology. Performances of shadow theater extend so far back into the history of Indonesia that the origins of wayang in the archipelago are unclear; however, most scholars have come to the conclusion that it either derives from India or China, or was an indigenous invention, with the first view

[59] Interview with Dalang I Wayang Nardayana, 11 June 2014.

[60] Interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 15 February 2014.

being the most widely held (Hobart 1987: 22). One of the earliest pieces of evidence pointing to wayang performance in Indonesia has been found on a stone inscription bas relief in central Java, dated 906AD, just after the construction of two of central Java's largest and most famous religious temples: the Buddhist Sailendra Dynasty monument Borobudor and the Hindu Sanjaya Dynasty temple Prambanan (Holt 1967: 128, "Prambanan Temple Compounds," "Borobudor Temple Compounds").

It is also unclear as to when wayang made the journey from Java to Bali, but one hypothesis estimates its arrival as having occurred sometime between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, when dynastic marriages first linked the islands in the eleventh century (Hobart 1987: 22). If one were to ask the Balinese, most likely they would tell you that wayang came from Java after the fall of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom Majapahit in the late 15th century. This was a time when Islamic conquerors forced Hindu aristocrats, scholars and artists to flee to Bali with their classical literature and traditions, and so many Balinese artistic concepts have roots in Java (Swellengrebel 1960: 21-23). Although wayang kulit largely developed in Java under court patronage for the elite, the stylistic differences in puppet construction and story telling point to the fact that Balinese and Javanese wayang developed separately.[61]

With regard to wayang performance in Bali, some of the oldest surviving records of the existence of wayang can be found in the form of *prasasti*, or inscriptions or decrees, carved into hard and durable surfaces like stone and bronze. In the work *Prasasti Bali* (1954), Dutch philologist Roelof Goris published one hundred and fifty inscriptions that mention ancient

[61] Hobart mentions that the extremely stylized versions of Javanese puppets may have been a result of the "Islamic proscription of image-making" (Hobart 1987: 23). Stamford Raffles also mentions the development of the shadow theater in Java, saying, "there is a tradition, that the figures were first so distorted by the Susunhan Madriyu, one of the early Mohammedan teachers, in order to render the preservation of the ancient amusements of the country compatible with a due obedience to the Mohammedan precept, which forbids any exhibition or dramatic representation of the human form" (Raffles 1817: 375).

Balinese rulers, their subjects, taxation, public administration, feudal loyalties and the arts (Goris 1954). One prasasti, commissioned by King Ugrasena in 818 Saka (896 AD), is currently saved in Bebetin village (this is in Singaraja in northern Bali) and mentions several professions including people who perform wayang called dalang (Goris 1954: 55).[62] Another inscription known as the *Prasasti Dawan* (saved in the Klungkung regency) dating back to 975 Saka (1053 AD) also makes reference to the presence of the dalang and the wages that he and his musicians received at the Balinese courts (Wicaksana 2007: 37-38).[63]

From the above-mentioned inscriptions we can almost be sure that around the turn of the tenth century there was already wayang in Bali, and that the performance of wayang was already accorded a category of its own amongst other professions and performing arts. The above does not rule out the possibility that before 896 AD there was already wayang performance in this area, but what it does demonstrate is that wayang performance has been an important part of Balinese life for well over a thousand years. Regardless of the fact that these inscriptions tell us little about the actual performance of wayang during that time, we do know that the dalang was the main authority figure presiding over the wayang, and we can already begin to understand the Balinese idea of *kuno* as a term for traditions that extend far back in the historical memory of the Balinese people. The idea that the origins of wayang are unclear is also one of the first signs of its traditional authority. As Paul Ricoeur reminds us in his essay "The Paradox of Authority," it

[62] Dating used in these Old Balinese inscriptions is based on the Saka-year (Saka-year 1 equals 78 AD) (Beratha 2012: 1).

[63] Steven Lansing (2006) also mentions these prasasti as being written in Old Balinese (Kawi) and Sanskrit, and some of them are bilingual, with both Balinese script and Sanskrit written in Dewanagari script, suggesting strong ties with India (Lansing 2006: 28). See also P. V. van Stein Callenfels' "Epigraphica Balica" published in 1926, which includes the *Gurun Pai* inscription from Pandak village in Bandung, Tabanan, which was commissioned by king Anak Wungsu and mentions wayang performance in 1071 AD. These transliterations of Old Balinese inscriptions found in Wicaksana 2007 are used because I could not locate the original Old Balinese inscriptions, nor do I have the linguistic skills to read them.

is often the case that authority is granted to models that are already instituted and that have long forgotten the history of their own establishment (Ricoeur 2007 [1996]: 96).

Other historical accounts of the importance of the wayang in Balinese history can also be found in *babad*, or chronicles, that present genealogical accounts of the founding of prominent families and their ties to a single *kawitan*, or family tree origin (Heimarck 2003: 48).[64] In her research on gendér wayang music and shadow theater in the Balinese village of Sukawati, Brita Heimarck draws on the *Babad Timbul Sukawati* and her interviews with the *keluarga dalang*, or dalang family, from Sukawati to demonstrate how performing artists held great authority and power during the time of the Balinese *kerajaan*, or courts. According to these accounts, when the Sukawati court lost in war to the kingdom of Negara (1900), many of the best artists who were highly educated and tied to the Sukawati court were exiled to the kingdom of Klungkung or the neighboring island of Nusa Penida so that they would not scheme against the new ruler; however, the king of Klungkung kept one of the most talented dalang for his own court, and the renown of the performers in Nusa Penida made it back across the sea to Bali, to the extent that the King of Badung staged an elaborate plan and rescued the exiled performers to perform for one of his own ceremonies (ibid.: 48-49).

From this example, we see that authority was granted to artists not just based on their ability to perform well, but because they have long been held up as important and intelligent figures, highly educated in the ways of Balinese culture, religion, and politics. Again, this small example presents further proof of the traditional authority of the wayang and the dalang as passed down through *kuno* stories and history during the time of the Balinese courts. What these

[64] A discussion of *babad* such as this one could also be placed in the chapter on *sastra tah* or in the chapter on *dresta tah*, as *babad* are authoritative historical texts that often discuss families and lineages in particular villages; however, I have chosen to put it here as an example of history. Other *babad* will be discussed within the chapter on *dresta tah*, when I outline the traditional authority of the dalang lineage from Mas village.

stories and historical accounts provide is an image and memory of the importance and function of wayang and the dalang, to the extent that they gain authority as traditional elements of Balinese culture.

Religion and Ideology

While a certain measure of authority is accorded to the wayang tradition and the dalang because they extend far back in history, we must also consider how the tradition and the dalang gained such authority within the ancient religion and ideology from which they emerged. The rules governing the arts during ancient Balinese times were originally derived from a Hindu-Buddhist view of the cosmos, informing Balinese cultural creativity and aesthetics in all areas of the arts including sculpture, architecture, dance, theater, music, and literature (Karthadinata 2008:1). Studies of ancient eras and origin myths not only help us to understand the Hindu aesthetic and Balinese cosmo-centric worldview, but also demonstrate the place of Balinese shadow theater within Balinese ideology. When we see how important wayang is within this worldview and for promulgating it, we can continue to develop our understanding of traditional authority and Balinese kuno tah. For example, Heimarck (2000) asserts that "the origin of *wayang kulit* is enshrouded in a myth of divine creation," and that the wayang kulit in Bali is ultimately seen as stemming from the gods (Heimarck 2000: 39). Several Balinese *lontar* (palm leaf manuscripts) and scholarly works mention this creation myth with varying amounts of detail, but for the sake of adding to the present discussion, I have summarized the creation myth here:

> In heaven, the gods Siwa and Uma lived happily, until one day Siwa happened upon his wife in an angry state.[65] Looking disheveled and allowing her appearance to resemble the darkness of her inner feelings, Uma looked like a demon. Seeing this, Siwa pointed out that she

[65] In India, Siwa is often spelled as Shiva or Siva, but throughout this dissertation I will be using the Balinese spelling of Siwa. Uma, is the name of Siwa's consort, often referred to in Indian Hinduism as Parvati.

should not be in heaven any more and sent her away to earth. On earth, Uma grew even more angry and upset, and began to practice yoga and meditation in the forest until she became Bhatari Durga, a demon with long unruly fangs, ratty hair and protector of the *Pura Dalem* and cemetery.[66]

After some time passed, Siva began to miss his wife and wished to meet with her and make love to her. Realizing he had made a mistake by sending her to earth, he changed himself into the demon Kalarudra to be able to go and meet with her. In their demon states, Siwa and Uma reunited on the earth, a union so powerful and dark that illness and death began destroying the world. Seeing this devastation, the three gods in heaven, Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara devised a plan to remind Kalarudra and Bhatari Durga of who they really were so that they would become gods again and the world could return to normal. First they tried the *barong* dance and then the *topeng* dance to try to bring back good thoughts and please the gods, as the purpose of the arts is to please. While this did help a little and Kalarudra and Durga began to remember who they were, they still would not change back into gods, and a new method of reminding them who they were was needed.

That is when Brahma created the shadow play.[67] In the world, Brahma made a stage or arena called *Hyang Trisamaya*, where wayang shows were put on with a screen. From leather, Brahma chiseled and carved a puppet and made the first man out of his own body to become the first shadow puppeteer, or *dalang*. Brahma then gave the dalang a lamp, and Brahma himself ignited to become the fire. Wisnu gave the story, and Iswara produced the voice, speech and music.[68] The entire production was accompanied by *gamelan gendér* played by the *Sang Catur Lohka Phala* (the four gods at the cardinal directions of the dewata nawa sanga), singing, and charming dance movements, which told the story of the two gods and captured the interest of Durga and Kalarudra. Thus, because the dalang was able to please Durga and Kalarudra and remind them of their rightful place in the cosmos, they were turned back into gods, and the shadow puppeteer gained the power to say anything and become the teacher of the world, or *guru lokha*. That is why dalang are allowed to speak in whichever way they want, to ignite feelings of love and passion, stimulate interest, or remind people of darkness and evil.[69]

In his article "Estetika Hindu Dalam Kesenian Bali" (Hindu Aesthetics in Balinese Arts), Karthadinata notes three concepts that become the foundation of Hindu aesthetics, namely, purity, truth and balance (Karthadinata 2008: 1). If one reads carefully, one can find these elements within this myth, but perhaps more important is the fact that the wayang and the dalang are credited with restoring these values to the gods and given the authority to uphold them

[66] The Balinese temple associated with death and the god Siwa. Each village has a Pura Dalem.

[67] Brahma is the creator god in the Hindu trinity.

[68] Wisnu is the sustainer god. Iswara (not included in the Indian Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva) is the god of voice, speech, and music.

[69] Adapted from *Lontar Siwagama,* and *Lontar Tantu Pagelaran*. For other accounts of this myth see Heimarck 2003: 40-42, Hobart 1987: 22, and Holt 1967: 287.

amongst humanity on earth. Authority is also credited to the dalang in that he is given the privilege of being the first man, he is made from the body of the god Brahma himself, and the wayang is established as a *kuno* art form in that it extends back to time immemorial. Looking back to Ricoeur again, the fact that the wayang is connected to this creation myth shows us just how much traditional authority it holds, as although the history of its establishment in the real world has been forgotten, it has been immortalized in this myth.

Ethnomusicologist Brita Heimarck also comments on this myth, saying that the exalted role of the shadow play functions as the carrier of consciousness and godly transformation, one of the elements of *taksu*, or divine spiritual power. She notes that after Siwa and Uma returned to heaven, Siwa gave the dalang the gift of taksu so that the dalang could continue carrying consciousness and initiating godly transformation (Heimarck 2003: 43). This special power and authority is important for a dalang to hold the audience's attention so that he may remind people of fundamental truths. This aspect of taksu will be touched on in more depth below.

It is also from this myth that we begin to get a sense of the traditional authority of the gamelan gendér wayang, as it is cited as the musical ensemble that accompanies the wayang and plays an important role in capturing the attention of the gods and reminding them of their true place in the cosmos. In Brita Heimarck's interviews with famed Sukawati village gendér wayang player Wayan Loceng, it was also conveyed that this myth is important for establishing the importance of gendér wayang within religious ceremonies, to the extent that gendér wayang music must be played for all of the *panca yadnya*, or five sacrificial rituals in Balinese Hindusim.

In trying to understand traditional authority within the context of wayang performance, kuno tah, and Balinese religion and ideology, it is important to mention how the Balinese recognize the existence of opposites (*rwa bhinneda*), and to underline the distinction they make

between balancing the macrocosmos (*bhuwana agung*) and the microcosmos (*bhuwana alit*). It is not unusual to hear the metaphor that human beings are like puppets in the great shadow play of life, and, as Heidi Hinzler mentions in her book *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* (1981), that Siwa is the dalang *par excellence* (Hinzler 1981: 43). As a ritual in which the Balinese reconstitute themselves and their culture, the wayang and the dalang are accredited authority in that they uphold Hindu aesthetics and the Balinese cosmo-centric worldview through the stories performed (this will be discussed later under *sastra tah*) and their place in Balinese ritual structure.

By locating the wayang sapuh leger within the Balinese system of rituals, we get another sense of the *kuno*, as the wayang and the wayang sapuh leger are rooted in a system of unchanging and repeating ritual cycles that have been thriving in Bali for centuries. This classification of Balinese rituals also represents their ever-present recognition of both seen and unseen forces (*sekala* and *niskala*), and their efforts to balance the microcosm and the macrocosm. The five kinds of ritual in Hindu-Balinese religion, the *panca yadnya*, distinguish between ceremonies for the gods (both good and bad forces) and humans. The *panca yadnya* are as follows:[70]

1. ***Manusia yadnya***: ceremonies performed for living human beings during rites of passage such as birth, first menstruation, marriage, and tooth filing, or for other events like changing one's name and purification (this includes the required purification if one is born during the week of wayang, or *wuku wayang*, which will be discussed later with regard to wayang sapuh leger).

2. ***Pitra yadnya*:** ceremonies for the deceased such as cremation and burial (*metanem*), and post-cremation ceremonies for the deceased soul and ancestors (*nyekah*/*ngasti*/*meligia*/*ngeluwer*).

3. ***Dewa yadnya***: ceremonies for the gods. These may occur during temple anniversary festivals, or *odalan* (every 210 days), during special calendrical dates called *tumpek* (these will be described below), or on special days for the gods like Saraswati day (for the goddess of knowledge, music, and learning) and *Banyupinaruh* (the day the goddess gives the blessing of knowledge).

[70] See also Hinzler 1981: 20-28 and Hooykaas 1975: 240-259. Also important here are the concepts of *Dewa Ya*, *Bhuta Ya*, *Manusia Ya*, the three kinds of energies or spirits in this world. A human can be a *dewa* (god), *manusia* (human), or a *bhuta* (demon) depending on his or her karma and personality traits.

4. ***Bhuta yadnya***: ceremonies for demons and negative energies such as the day of *pengerupukan* before *Nyepi* (the Balinese New Year, which falls every 420 days), in which large statues are paraded around to dispel bad spirits and restore balance for the new year.

5. ***Resi yadnya***: ceremonies for priests. This includes initiation ceremonies for becoming a priest, or the offerings given to a priest after he has performed a ceremony.

Similar to the origin myth told above, various kinds of music and the arts are needed to buttress and support the realization of these different kinds of ceremonies. This might include visual arts such as carving (*mengukir*) and painting (*melukis*) in the temple or performing arts like dance (*tarian*), music (*karawitan*), and shadow puppet theater (*wayang kulit*). These various arts are then classified into three levels according to the degree to which they support religious ritual. With regard to wayang, Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan from Mas explained that wayang performance is classified into three types, namely:

1. ***Wali***: the most sacred performances used for ceremonial purposes. These are performed in the innermost courtyard of a temple as a required offering of the ritual for the gods, and are usually performed in connection with an officiating priest (usually in the style of wayang lemah). This category also includes all *sudamala* performances in which the dalang makes holy water, such as the wayang sapuh leger.

2. ***Bebali***: performances that accompany ceremonies in the temple that are performed in the middle courtyard of the temple. These are performed for gods, goddesses, the ancestors and the public. This category also includes wayang performed for ceremonies connected to the *panca yajna* (the five sacrificial rituals) or for a *sesaudan* (a promise to the gods), in which the wayang is being offered to the gods.[71]

3. ***Balih-balihan***: performances for general entertainment that are given outside the temple and emphasize artistic and didactic points, for example *wayang cenk blonk* (Heimarck 2003:233).

[71] For example, my informant Ida Bagus Anom was born premature. His father prayed to the gods and made a *sesaudan*, or promise, that if Anom lived he would commision a puppet show as an offering to the gods to say thank you.

These systems of classification further solidify the traditional authority of the dalang, as wayang is repeatedly required as a ritual element and has been for as long as can be remembered. Again, this supports Hobsbawm's definition of tradition as invariance.[72]

On another level, the wayang upholds Hindu aesthetics and the Balinese cosmo-centric worldview through symbolism embedded in the stage properties of wayang performance and its music.[73] For example, in her book on shadow theater in north Bali, *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* (1981), Heidi Hinzler explains that according to the microcosmic conception, the screen for the wayang represents the physical body and its three qualities (*triguna*) *satva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, or virtue, foulness, and ignorance. The dalang represents vital energy, dramatizing the three qualities within the wayang characters to create action. Characters placed on the right side of the screen are considered good, whereas those on the left are an embodiment of evil. [74]

Even the gendér wayang instruments carry a great symbolic load. In her article "Musical Instruments and the Micro-Macrocosmic Juncture" (1990), Sue Carole DeVale demonstrates how musical instruments are "multivocallic symbols" and that the Balinese participate in a "psychocosmogony," or "spatio-temporal recreation of the self and cosmos" through the arts (DeVale 1990: 258-259). In another of her articles on musical instruments and ritual, DeVale also asserts that an instrument often symbolizes the worldview of a culture through both its voice

[72] If we are to situate the wayang sapuh leger within this system, we find that it is a *manusia yadnya*, and classified as a *wali* (highly sacred) ritual.

[73] Although symbolic meaning is in itself manmade and ideological, a discussion of symbolism further solidifies how present these ideological contructs are in the performing arts of the Balinese.

[74] Ida Bagus Anom also explained several other symbolisms in the wayang to me, explaining that the cotton string, or *benang*, in the wayang lemah means *beneng*, or "straight," symbolizing the straightness of perception and the imparting of fundamental truths. The *dadap* tree used to hold the string is considered *kayu sakti*, or wood with divine power, because it can be used for medicinal purposes and for offerings. The banana tree, or *gedebong*, is used because the banana tree is known to not die before it bears fruit, just as it is hoped that people's lives do not end until they have some sort of success or bear fruit of their own. Interview with Ida Bagus Anom, 4 August 2014.

and its body (DeVale 1988: 127). The power and meaning of the music, its use as a medium for communication between the human and the spirit world, and even the performance of particular pieces are not only important for ritual efficacy, but also constitute important representations of the physical-metaphysical continuum played out in rituals (ibid.: 151).[75] Within Balinese wayang, each pair of instruments is deliberately tuned to create a high and low component to each note. The instrument that is tuned slightly lower, the *pengumbang*, is considered the female instrument, whereas the instrument that is slightly higher, the *pengisep*, is considered male (this again exemplifies kuno ideology of balance and duality) (Heimarck 2002: 256).[76] Music on this level represents the inner rhythm of a being's life and helps to bring a character alive and evoke emotion in a particular scene. Just as the music stops when a character has finished performing and the scene is over, the music stopping is symbolic of the end of life (Hinzler 1981: 17).

If we are to consider the macrocosmic conception, or *bhuwana agung* in Old Javanese, the wayang stage represents the world, with the screen (*kelir*) representing the sky and the banana trunk (*gedebong*) representing the earth. The dalang is related to the god Iswara and is separated from society by the screen (sky). He also sits beyond the sun symbolized by the lamp, or *blencong*.[77] Each of the puppets represents the creatures of the earth whose fate is in the hands of the puppeteer, or, metaphorically, God. Just as in life, death brings all creatures back to the same earth, all the puppets are put to rest in the same box following performance.

[75] I will go into a more in-depth discussion of the authority of particular pieces in relation to their being powerful representations of Balinese worldview in my section on *dresta tah* (chapter four) and the appendix on transcription and analysis.

[76] See also Heimarck 1991.

[77] As I mentioned earlier, Siwa is thought to be the dalang *par excellence*, but Iswara is an incarnation of Siwa and is associated with speech and song—two of the dalang's major responsibilities.

Macrocosmically, the music accompanying the performance is likened to the rhythm of time and helps to convey the larger emotions experienced in life (Hinzler 1981: 17). Looking back to Sue Carole DeVale's article mentioned above, she points out that Balinese musical instruments (including gendér wayang) are constructed in such a way that they represent the eight divisions of the cardinal directions onto which the Balinese have grafted their Hindu pantheon, the *Dewata Nawa Sanga* (see figures 2.1-2.4 below).[78]

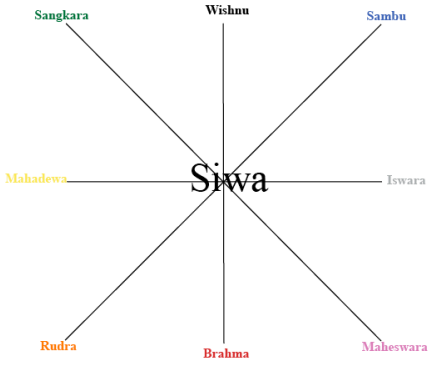


Figure 2.1: Dewata Nawa Sanga[79]

Color	Dewa	Direction
Black	Wishnu	North
Blue	Sambu	Northeast
White	Iswara	East
Pink	Maheswara	Southeast
Red	Brahma	South
Orange	Rudra	Southwest
Yellow	Mahadewa	West
Green	Sangkara	Northwest
Brumbun/Panca Warna (5 colors mixed)	Siwa	Center

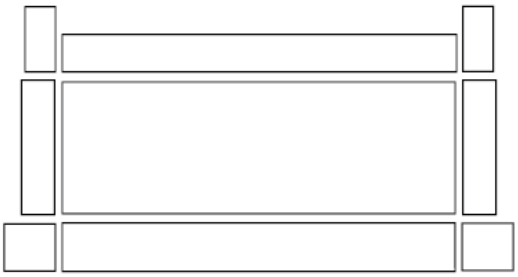
Figure 2.2: Dewata Nawa Sanga chart[80]

[78] Macrocosmic power in relation to the cardinal directions is reflected in a diagram of Balinese cosmology called the *Dewata Nawa Sanga*, or the "Collection of Nine Gods," pictured below. On the Dewata Nawa Sanga, eight *dewa*, or gods, are posted at and between the cardinal points of the compass, each representing a key aspect of Lord Siwa, who sits at the center and is considered an amalgamation of all the gods.

[79] Diagram created by the author. More graphic representations with illustrations of the gods and their corresponding color, weapon, and vehicle are available, but for copyright reasons are not used in this dissertation (see https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nawadewata).

[80] This is a simplified version of the symbolisms attached to the Dewata Nawa Sanga. More complete versions include the deities and their respective weapon, color, number, *asksara* (Balinese letter), consort, vehicle (animal), bodily organ, day of the week within various calendars, the *pancamahabhuta* (the five elements), and the *panca indriya* (the five senses).





Figures 2.3 & 2.4: Balinese gendér wayang instrument and gendér wayang instrument divided into 9 segments. Photo and diagram by the author.

The keys of the gamelan gendér wayang have also been noted to carry macrocosmic symbolism in that the *slendro* scale, to which the instruments are tuned, is often labeled the feminine (*shakti*) scale in contrast to the *pelog* scale, which is normally categorized as masculine.[81] Symbolically, the five keys of the slendro scale represent the consorts (wives) of the five major male deities (found at the four major points of the Dewata Nawa Sanga including Siwa at the center), as the slendro scale is feminine (Bandem 1986:45, Heimarck 2003: 192). Conversely, ensembles tuned in the pelog scale have keys that are related to the gods themselves.

As a mandala, the Dewata Nawa Sanga also represents the circulation of time, the rising and setting of the sun, the never-ending cycle of Balinese rituals, and even the cyclic structures found in Balinese music.[82] In many of my interviews with Balinese artists and professors, it was

[81] These two systems of tuning are present in both Bali and Java. The *pelog* system is a 7-tone system, and all seven tones can be found in the *gamelan gambuh* and *gamelan semar pegulingan* ensembles; however, all seven tones are rarely used in a single composition. Instead, five tones are often isolated to create modes (*selisir*, *tembung*, and *sunaren*). Given that gamelan gambuh and semar pegulingan are quite old, most pelog-tuned gamelans are tuned to tembung or selisir mode. These modes are characterized by a succession of small intervals and a large interval, where 2 of the notes of the 7-tone pelog have been omitted. The *slendro* scale is characterized by 5 tones and roughly equidistant intervals throughout (Tenzer 1998: 31-32).

[82] Judith Becker's article "Time and Tune in Java" (1979) mentions a similar aspect in her analysis of Javanese gamelan, where she likens the colotomic (cyclical) structure of the music to cycles in the calendar. Another of her articles, "Earth, Fire, Sakti, and the Javanese Gamelan" (1988), also describes

relayed to me that these cycles also tie into the Hindu aesthetic of balance and purity, which are major factors underriding why rituals such as the wayang sapuh leger are performed.[83]

In her work *Purity and Danger* (1966), British anthropologist Mary Douglas analyzes ritual within the context of risk analysis, asserting that we cannot begin to understand the rituals that certain cultures perform without first understanding the range of powers and dangers that they recognize (Douglas 1966: 5). According to Douglas, "Everything that can happen to a man in the way of disaster should be catalogued according to the active principles involved in the universe of his particular culture," and rituals of purity and impurity carry a symbolic load geared toward reinforcing social pressures and the tenets of good citizenship (ibid.). As will be demonstrated below, Douglas's work has strong implications for why the wayang sapuh leger is performed (and why it has authority), as the Balinese believe that cycles of time and periods of transition are fragile moments of impurity and danger, and that the role of the wayang is to ultimately restore balance. About this, we must now turn to a discussion of Balinese astrological beliefs and calendrical traditions.

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how musical instruments are embedded within systems of thought and give coherence to a culture's worldview.

[83] Within Balinese life, great attention is paid to balance and purity, and even their sense of direction is oriented in sacred relation to the great volcano, Gunung Agung. Perhaps this is because the Balinese believe that the volcano is a fragment of Mount Meru, the central axis of the universe, brought to Bali by the first Hindus. Gunung Agung is the highest and most looming environmental feature of the island, and poses a great threat to the Balinese if it erupts. The most important temple on the island, Pura Besakih, is located on the volcano, and there are stories that the last *Eka Dasa Rudra* ritual (a ritual performed every 100 years for the demonic spirit Rudra) was carried out too early and resulted in the 1963 eruption that killed about 1500 people. The Balinese term *kaja* really translates as "toward the mountain." It points to the sacred volcano Gunung Agung as the seat of the ancestors and home to the great mother temple Besakih. To face *kaja,* or toward Besakih and the volcano, is considered sacred and pure, and it is in this direction that every Balinese village is oriented. Conversely, moving away from the mountain in the direction of *kelod* (toward the sea), is to move in a direction of impurity, disease, demons, and pestilence (Spies 1938: 88-89). Because of this, every family temple is at the *kaja* end of the compound, whereas the village graveyard temple, the *pura dalem,* is positioned at the *kelod* end. It is interesting to note that *kaja* or *kelod* can mean different things depending on where one is located on the island. For example, if in the south in a city such as Denpasar, *kaja* means north, but if in Singaraja in the north, *kaja* means south.

Astrological Beliefs and Calendrical Traditions

The wayang and the dalang also gain traditional authority within kuno tah as they relate to longstanding astrological beliefs and calendrical traditions. The Balinese belief regarding parallelism between macrocosm and microcosm, between the universe and the world of people, or, in Balinese terms, *bhuwana agung* and *bhuwana alit,* asserts that people are under the influence of energies coming from the macrocosmos—for example, the cardinal directions, the stars and the planets. Being able to read these energies and use this power is believed to bring an individual, society or country wealth and prosperity. Conversely, when not balanced or heeded, these energies are thought to bring destruction.

In trying to balance the microcosm and the macrocosm, an expert astrologist reads signs to determine auspicious and inauspicious days for activity. Cosmo-magical beliefs such as these have long been part of the animistic, Buddhist, and Hindu ideologies pervading Indonesia, Bali, and the rest of Asia, and are an important reason as to why rituals like the wayang sapuh leger are performed (Wicaksana 2007: 50). The Balinese conception of *desa*, *kala*, *patra* recognizes the importance of place, time and society (or situation) when executing a ceremony. These elements are considered to have a mysterious power of their own and can control everything and organize and define life in both the real world and the realm of the gods. With regard to *kala*, or time, ancient Balinese people categorized time and place on earth as a homogeneous dimension that ran in tandem with the cosmos. In this way, sacred and profane time could be distinguished by divining auspicious and inauspicious days in the calendar based on a system of astrology and numerology (Wicaksana 2007: 51).[84]

This system of divining auspicious and inauspicious days is directly related to why and when the wayang sapuh leger ritual is performed, but before I explain further, a moment needs to

[84] The Balinese concept of *palalintangan*, or astrology, is also founded on this concept.

be taken here to emphasize the importance of *kala*, or time, as it is considered a fragile and potentially dangerous element in Balinese life.[85] In particular, periods of transition are seen as especially dangerous moments, and many ceremonies are held to purify and protect Balinese people during these times. In an interview with ISI Denpasar professor Nyoman Catra, this vulnerability was explained to me in relation to the Dewata Nawa Sanga. According to Professor Catra, the Dewata Nawa Sanga is both a compass and a mandala. Within the mandala, the east to west axis is where the sun rises and sets, and this is also the axis, or pendulum, of time within our lives. In the north are Brahma and his wife Saraswati, the creator god and the goddess of knowledge and learning. In the south are Wishnu and his wife Lakshmi, representing the sustainer god and the goddess of power, wealth, and prosperity. The pendulum of desire in our lives is influenced by the *pancamahabhuta* (the five elements) and the *panca indriya* (the five senses) (both also symbolized by the four points of the Dewata Nawa Sanga with Siwa in the center), and swings from east to west (representing time in our life) in between the north and south axes of our desires for knowledge and wealth. Each day we rise and strive to obtain knowledge and possessions, searching toward the east (the way to enlightenment, or *mokshartham jagadhita*) for happiness and fulfillment, but we are never satisfied.[86] Similar to how the sun will always rise and fall, our quest for fulfillment through knowledge and the material world will never be satisfied. If we can just recognize that we will all eventually die and liberate our souls, we will have no need for worldly things, there will be no sense of urgency, we will be pure, and we will not be afraid of death; however, more often than not we come back around (like the sun rising and falling) to our emotions, lust, desires, will power and the endless cycle of yearning.

[85] Bhatara Kala is also the name of the demon in the wayang sapuh leger story that is explored below.

[86] *Mokshartham jagadhita* refers to the physical and psycho-spiritual wellbeing of the Balinese.

So, how does all of this fit in with the vulnerability of time and transition? If one moves toward the east, toward purity, then one is in danger of transitioning back to the west toward desire and world pleasure. Sharing this same axis of time is the endless cycle of rituals and holidays within the Balinese calendar, and many, if not all of them, are devoted to the Hindu aesthetics of balance, truth, and purity (for example, Saraswati day for knowledge and *tumpek landep* for mental sharpness); however, as the end of the cycle draws near, there comes a point of transition when the cycle of rituals, which in my view serve as reminders of these values, starts over again. This is part of the reason why Balinese believe transitions are dangerous. Rites of passage, like getting married or going through puberty, are also thought to be dangerous times of transition. Giving an example of how transition in American life can be dangerous, Nyoman Catra described the possible dangers that might follow when an American turns 21 if he or she is not psychologically responsible enough to handle the new privilege of being able to drink alcohol. [87]

Given the Balinese worldview and conceptions of time and transitions as being potentially impure and dangerous, wayang rituals and purification become important, as the goal of wayang is to bring people back to a state of mental and emotional purity. As a symbol of this purity, a Balinese dalang makes holy water after the performance of ritual wayang performance, regardless of whether it is a *wayang peteng*/*wengi* (nighttime wayang with screen) or *wayang lemah* (daytime wayang with only a cotton thread to represent a screen). All forms of ritual cleansing in which the dalang makes holy water are classified as *wayang sudamala* (*suda* meaning "to clean" and *mala* meaning "dirtiness," "defilement," or "impurity"), and the *wayang sapuh leger* is subsumed under this category. These wayang performances are considered *wali*, or highly sacred, because they possess the same function of *ngruwat*, or purification, and are

[87] Interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014.

thought to rid someone of *mala*. According to the famous Dutch scholar of Balinese religion Christiaan Hooykaas,

> Mala is not only the inherent defilement that afflicts one from the time of birth, but one can also acquire a state of impurity in one's daily life or through various mistakes that one makes. So a person must undergo the purging of mala by a mangku dalang at the time of the various rites of passage. All of these rituals are called *sudamala* and they are performed not only for human beings but also for the spirits of the dead who died in a state of mala. (Hooykaas 1973: 15)

For example, wayang sudamala may be performed for *ngaben*, or cremation ceremonies, where the holy water from the dalang is needed to purify the spirit of the deceased, especially if they die in an unnatural way such as suicide, accident, or murder. Wayang *sudamala* in the style of wayang lemah is also performed every 210 days for a temple's anniversary ceremony, or *odalan*, where the wayang accompanies the rituals of a priest in making holy water and purifying the temple grounds.

The wayang sapuh leger is a special type of *sudamala* performance also used for purification, but it is specific to the purification one needs for being born during an inauspicious time in the calendar.[88] The words *sapuh leger* refer to the sweeping or cleansing of defilement, as *sapuh* means "to sweep" or "drive out," and *leger* comes from *reget*, which means "dirty," or "blighted leaves" (Hideharu 2006: 132). In order to understand how the wayang sapuh leger and the pemangku dalang who performs it gain authority within the *kuno* methods of astrological divination, it helps to know a little about the Balinese calendrical system.

[88] In Java, a similar wayang performance is performed for the purpose of cleansing, or *ruwatan* (the story is called *Murwakala* in this case), although the circumstances causing a need for this cleansing seem to be more vast and include: children born under inauspicious circumstances such as one boy and one girl, one child who is the only survivor of many who have died, an only girl, four male children, a child of an unknown father, fraternal twins (see Belo 1935), triplets, brothers with very different characters, the youngest and only surviving one of five brothers, etc. (Hooykaas 1973: 293). The list goes on. See also Keeler 1992.

The Balinese employ several ways of counting time, including the Gregorian calendar, (introduced in Indonesia relatively recently by the Dutch), the *Saka* (Hindu-Bali) calendar, and the *Pawukon* (Java-Bali) calendar. These last two calendrical systems entered Bali through successive waves of history, starting with Hindu (Indian) influences in the dynasties of Balinese kings, followed by cultural influences coming from Java when the Hindu Majapahit people fled to Bali near the end of the 15th century (Eiseman 2000: 2-3). The combination of the *Saka* and *Pawukon* system of counting time are always consulted when divining auspicious and inauspicious days and govern Balinese life and their rich schedule of rituals and ceremonies.

The *Saka* calendar (Hindu-Bali) is based on phases of the moon, with *purnama* (the full moon) and *tilem* (the dark, or new, moon) each falling 15 days apart. This lunar cycle is multiplied twice to create one month, or *sasih*, of 30 days, of which there are 12. This makes the *Saka* calendar approximately the same length as a Gregorian year, although it is calculated from the beginning of the Saka Era in India and is 78 years behind the Gregorian calendar (it is now 1936 Saka). The first day of the year is usually the day after the first new moon in March (Eiseman 1990: 186).

Meanwhile, the *Pawukon* calendar*,* also called the *Uku* or *Wuku* calendar, consists of an endless cycle of 210 days. I use the word "cycle" here because no record is kept of the cycles, and they are not numbered or named. The Pawukon system is very important in Bali, as it provides the reference system for most of the religious ceremonies, along with a system to determine market days, Balinese birthdays (*otonan*), and auspicious and inauspicious days for conducting various activities (Eiseman 1990: 172). Unlike the straightforward Gregorian and Saka calendars, the Pawukon system is quite complex. It is not divided into a simple system of months and weeks, but instead considers the confluence of 10 different week systems that are all

running concurrently.[89] Not all week systems within this cycle carry the same importance, and emphasis is mainly placed on the three- (*triwara*), five- (*pancawara*), and seven-day (*saptawara*) weeks. The three-day and five-day weeks are market weeks and are important numbers in Balinese Hindu theology, as they represent the Hindu triad and the five directions in space (the four points of the compass plus one in the center as discussed earlier in relation to the Dewata Nawa Sanga). The seven-day cycle, called *saptwara*, is similar to the week system found in the Gregorian calendar, but the Balinese assign different weekday names. These are: *Redite* (Sunday), *Soma* (Monday), *Anggara* (Tuesday), *Buda* (Wednesday), *Wraspati* (Thursday), *Sukra* (Friday), and *Saniscara* (Saturday).

The Pawukon calendar is of particular importance for our discussion of the wayang sapuh leger and for determining days of impurity and defilement. Within this system, a *wuku*, similar to the week system found in the Gregorian calendar, is seven days (*saptawara*), and there are 30 wuku in a cycle.[90] When this seven-day week is multiplied by 30, one complete cycle totals 210 days. This 210-day cycle is very important for Balinese ritual life, as important events such as temple anniversaries (*odalan*) and Balinese birthdays (*otonan*) happen every 210 days (Eiseman 2000: 2-3).

In determining auspicious and inauspicious days for ceremonies, the 7-day cycle

[89] In this system there is a week with one day, a week with two days, a week with three days, and so on, up to the ten-day week. Each week is given a Sanskrit-derived name. For example, the five-day week is called *pancawara*, from *panca*, meaning "five" (Eiseman 1990: 173). In divining good and bad days there are ten cycles, or *wewaran,* (*eka wara*, *dwi wara*, *tri wara*, etc.). The confluence of certain days of these cycles is what helps people determine good days for activities such as getting married, building a house, planting trees, cutting one's hair, constructing a roof, holding a cremation, etc. See also Eiseman's *Balinese Calendars* (2000) and I. B. Suparta Ardhana's *Kalendar 200 Tahun* (200-Year Calendar) (2007).

[90] The 30 wuku are: 1) Sinta; 2) Landep; 3) Ukir; 4) Kulantir; 5) Taulu; 6) Gumbreg; 7) Wariga; 8) Warigadean; 9) Julungwangi; 10) Sungsang; 11) Dunggulan; 12) Kuningan; 13) Langkir; 14) Medangsia; 15) Pujut; 16) Pahang; 17) Klurut; 18) Merakih; 19) Tambir; 20) Medangkungan; 21) Matal; 22) Uye; 23) Menail; 24) Perangbakat; 25) Bala; 26) Ugu; 27) Wayang; 28) Kelawu; 29) Dukut; and 30) Watugunung.

(*saptawara*) is combined with the 5-day cycle (*pancawara*: *Umanis*, *Paing*, *Pon*, *Wage*, and *Kliwon*) (Wicaksana: 2007: 54). When multiplied, one *wuku* month is 35 days, and the last Saturday, or *saniscara, Kliwon* (when a Saturday also falls on the *Kliwon* day of the market cycle), at the end of each month is called a *tumpek.* In this way there are six kinds of tumpek within the 210-day cycle, thought to be auspicious because they are a special time when the two cycles converge. They are:

1. **Tumpek Landep**: celebration for metals, machinery, mental sharpness; god: Siwa/Pasupati
2. **Tumpek Pengarah/Uduh/Pangatag/Bubuh**; celebration day for trees and nature; god: Sangkara
3. **Tumpek Krulut**: celebration for gamelan and music; god: Iswara
4. **Tumpek Kuningan**: celebration for all gods and ancestors
5. **Tumpek Kandang**: celebration for animals; god: Siwa
6. **Tumpek Wayang/ Tumpek Ringgit**: celebration for wayang; god: Iswara

Each of these tumpek is considered a *dewa yadnya* (ceremony for the gods) and celebrates the gods associated with various aspects of life, balance, and purity. For example, during *tumpek landep*, ceremonies are held to honor metal objects like Balinese daggers (*kris*), carving tools, machinery, and even cars and motorbikes, but this tumpek is also a symbol for mental sharpness and is associated with the god Siwa.

The extent to which the wayang has traditional authority is also reflected in the fact that it is accorded its own tumpek within the Balinese Pawukon calendar. Tumpek Wayang (also called Tumpek Ringgit) is a celebratory "art day" and is used to ritually consecrate different types of art objects such as puppets and wayang wong masks, as well as music like gendér wayang. It is also a ritual form of gratitude to Sang Hyang Taksu (the god of *taksu*, or artistic power or charm), as the wayang show and its symbolism contain elements of all arts and can depict all existence (Eiseman 1990:182).

As the last in the series of six tumpek, tumpek wayang falls on the 27th week of the wuku calendar and is thought to be a vulnerable and dangerous time of transition between the previous

tumpek cycle and the next. Because this is a time of transition, it is also thought to be a dangerous time to be born, and it is said that those born during *wuku wayang*, or the week of wayang, are *kotor*, or impure, and must be ritually cleansed of their *mala*, or defilement. If a Balinese person is born during wuku wayang their *mala* has to do with time. It is believed that they are plagued by the power and energy of time, personified as lord Siwa's hideous son Bhatara Kala (literally "the great lord of time").[91]

It is not unusual to hear the Balinese attribute someone's finicky and impatient nature to being born during wuku wayang. Being ritually cleansed by a *pemangku dalang*, or ordained shadow puppeteer, is thought to help restore (or remind) the person born during wuku wayang to return to a state of patience, purity, and balance. If a person is born during wuku wayang, they are responsible for seeking some means of purification every 210 days on their Balinese birthday, or *otonan*. Often a person born on wuku wayang will visit the house of a pemangku dalang and seek holy water and cleansing to purify them of their inauspicious birth. In addition to visiting a pemangku dalang for cleansing and holy water every 210 days, it is expected that a person born during wuku wayang will at some point hold a large *lukatan* (cleansing) and commission a pemangku dalang to make holy water and perform a *wayang sapuh leger*.[92] This is usually done when the family is financially ready, and they arrange a time during wuku wayang for the dalang to officiate the ceremony. A more detailed account of the dalang's duties of making holy water and performing the wayang sapuh leger will be provided below in the section

[91] Similarly, the day before Balinese New Year (*Nyepi*), called *pengerupukan*, is also a major transition day. That is why the Balinese people create statues of demons and animals to parade around the village and dance in the intersections. In this way they can *somya,* or ritually change, the bad energy of the area from the previous year to become good energy for the following year, balancing the microcosm and macrocosm. This ritual is also conducted on a smaller scale within the Balinese compound every new moon on the day before Nyepi**.** Interview with Ida Bagus Anom, 8 April 2014.

[92] In Java, cleansing ceremonies like this one are called *ruwatan*, and the shadow theater story performed is called *Murwakala*. For more information on this see Keeler 1992 and Yousouf 1994: 135-136.

on *dresta tah* in chapter four, where I present an account of the ritual activities of *pemangku dalang* from the village of Mas. For now, I hope it has been demonstrated how the wayang and the dalang gain traditional authority within these *kuno* ritual constructs and beliefs.

Taksu and Kuno Tah

The aspects outlined in this chapter also help us to understand one of the defining conditions of taksu, specifically, the second aspect that Dr. Wenten mentioned concerning energy, or spirit, and a harnessing of power through pure intention. This aspect is perhaps the most abstract and ineffable of the three, but we can gain somewhat of an understanding of it by considering how it relates to the information presented above on kuno tah and traditional authority. In an interview with the dalang Wayan Jelantik Oka, Leonard Swanson was told that taksu comes from the goddess Sang Hyang Semara, the goddess of love. In this case, the goddess does not refer to the love felt between a man and a woman, but the deeper love of one's soul and a genuine wish for the well-being of others (Swanson 2001: 17). Thus, he states, "Taksu does not depend on a specific religion, but depends on purity of character and wholehearted intention of the spiritual practitioner" (ibid.: 19). For the Balinese, this means truly embodying the principles of balance and purity, conducting oneself for the good of the community, and harnessing the peace and energy that comes through when one is at peace with one's position in the cosmos. Therefore, it is not uncommon for someone who has taksu to be seen as having a supernatural presence and a calming air of happiness and peace (ibid.: 21).

These aspects are thought to be important for the taksu of any person in any profession, but this was especially so for Balinese dalang in kuno, ancient times. Before the arrival of TV, radio, and other media, the Balinese relied on the storytelling of the dalang to express religious,

educational, and political views, and it was extremely important for a dalang to be mindful and "ready and potent in spiritual presence" (ibid.: 16). A dalang became particularly revered and was said to have taksu when he exhibited the ability to captivate audiences with the fundamental truths that came through the wayang stories (this power is also mentioned in the creation story myth).[93] Aside from having the knowledge and spiritual power to impart these truths, a dalang was also thought to have an aura of taksu when people could feel that the dalang was living his life and was performing from a pure and ego-less place. People could sense if a dalang was truly functioning from a place of pure intention to benefit the well-being of the entire community. This ability to impart wisdom and function as an almost god-like individual in the society was one of the more important facets of taksu in the kuno sense, and was also a defining factor in whether a dalang was granted power and authority by the community.[94]

The inner spiritual growth that comes from internalizing religious concepts can also make someone an uninhibited performer, able to channel creativity fluidly. In fact, many performers will pray in front of the taksu shrine (*palinggih taksu*) in their family compound before their performance, so that they can remind themselves of this pure intention and ask the gods and ancestors for their blessing. For some, this helps them to forget their ego and stage fright, and by devoting their performance to the gods and the good of the people, they feel less self-conscious and are able to put everything that they have into a performance. In this sense, taksu comes through almost as trance and the ability to give oneself over completely to an art in order to put on a truly compelling performance.

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[93] A good example of the presence of taksu is when a person gets goose bumps after hearing something profound and enlightening in the story.

[94] How what defines taksu has changed in modern times is something that I will detail in later chapters after I have gone over the other facets of taksu as set out by Dr. Nyoman Wenten.

Within the context of the wayang sapuh leger, taksu is very important because it isn't just any ordinary dalang who can perform the wayang sapuh leger ritual. Instead, a dalang must be initiated and go through the proper ceremonies, or *mewinten*, to become a priestly form of puppeteer, or *pemangku dalang*.[95] In the past, the number of pemangku dalang in Bali was very few. Many of these pemangku dalang were from the Brahman, or priestly, caste, and they were known far and wide to have embodied the spiritual knowledge needed to make holy water and conduct purification rituals. If performing the wayang sapuh leger, this meant having an intimate knowledge of how to balance the microcosm and the macrocosm so that they were able to battle the macrocosmic demon of time, Bhatara Kala. In this way, a dalang's taksu also became a measure of authority, in that they were able to expound upon how time can be a dangerous element in the lives of humans and to protect those born during the inauspicious week of wuku wayang.

Conclusion

Before moving on to a discussion of traditional authority within the context of *sastra tah*, or authoritative writings, I would like to take a moment to sum up a few points about traditional authority and the Balinese concepts of kuno tah and taksu. When considering all of the information presented above, we can see that the Balinese wayang, the dalang, and the gendér

[95] According to Dalang Nardayana (interview 10 September 2010), the root word of *mewinten* is *inten* and means "pure jewel." Through the mewinten ceremony, the soul, or pure jewel, becomes polished and sparkling. It is a type of purification so that taksu can come out of a person. But the question is, if a person has a mewinten ceremony, does that mean their taksu will come out? The answer is not necessarily. The mewinten ceremony is supposed to function as preliminary momentum, in that it validates the dalang within society and propels them to keep moving forward in their art and spirituality. Somedalang don't receive the mewinten ceremony, but already have taksu, whereas some undergo the initiation, yet do not achieve taksu.

wayang music all hold a great deal of traditional authority and importance within Balinese culture and the *kuno* (ancient) structures of belief and ritual of which they are a part. In trying to determine the causal criteria behind why these artistic elements hold traditional authority, we see that it is not so much the content of the ritual itself (although this is important and will be discussed), but the ways in which the Balinese perceive, imagine, and create memories of how wayang is a part of their traditional religion, ideology and culture. This is demonstrated through wayang's connection to history, creation stories, traditional ritual structure, and the musical and theatrical symbolism connected to Balinese religion and ideology, astrological beliefs, and calendrical traditions. We have also begun to see how traditional authority and kuno tah relate to one of the aspects of taksu, that of energy or spirit, and the harnessing of power from pure intention. The extent to which a person has taksu, in a sense, is also a form of authority, in that those who exhibit taksu are looked up to as authoritative figures who have embodied the traditional spiritual principles and beliefs to be able to perform with a mysterious power and command. Traditional authority and taksu are explored on yet another level in the next chapter dealing with the second Balinese concept of traditional authority, that of *sastra tah.*

Chapter 3: Traditional Authority and Sastra Tah

This is the second in a series of three chapters that discuss traditional authority and *taksu* (Balinese spiritual power, or performance charisma) in relation to the wayang sapuh leger ritual. In particular, this chapter examines traditional authority within the Balinese concept of *sastra tah*, or how daily life and rituals are conducted based on authoritative writings. As was mentioned in chapter two, one of the primary meanings of tradition has been the preservation and elaboration of a body of authoritative texts that have been handed down through the generations. These texts serve as "sites of memory" and, in turn, function as causal criteria in the legitimation of authority credited to the dalang, the Balinese wayang tradition, and gendér wayang music. Through an examination of authoritative texts on wayang and music in Bali, this chapter discusses traditional authority within four contexts, namely: 1) sastra and the wayang sapuh leger myth; 2) sastra, the authority of the dalang and taksu; 3) sastra and authority with regard to mantra and language; and 4) sastra and authority with regard to Balinese music, specifically the music that accompanies wayang performance called gendér wayang.

Sastra Tah

In order to understand the extent to which authority stems from the Balinese authoritative written tradition, or *sastra*, a moment needs to be taken to outline Bali's linguistic and literary history. As Mary Sabina Zurbuchen notes in her book *The Language of Balinese Shadow Theater* (1987), the literary and linguistic world of Bali is extremely rich and difficult to document in its entirety, as "so various are the different linguistic forms employed, so complex the interweaving of vocal styles and literary genres, that both language and literature seem a tangled confusion that escapes characterization and conceals both sources and structures"

(Zurbuchen 1987: 7). I have therefore left the difficult task of detailing Bali's linguistic and literary complexities to scholars like Zurbuchen, and instead take a few moments to outline the relevant points needed here for a discussion of sastra and authority.[96]

Linguistically, Zurbuchen defines Balinese as an Austronesian language of the Hesperian subgroup related not only to the languages of the neighboring islands of Lombok and Java, but also to Sanskrit and the early *Nāgarī* script of North India, the predecessor of modern Indian *Devanāgarī* (ibid.: 7-10). The diachronic development of the Balinese language that Zurbuchen traces from Old Balinese (500-1100 AD, the language used pre-Javanization), to Sanskrit-Balinese (1100-1400 AD, also known as Old Javanese, or Kawi), to Kawi-Balinese (1400-1980, a result of the intermingling of Javanese and Balinese during the Majapahit empire and after), and finally, to modern Balinese and the stratified levels of politeness with which the language is spoken today, is also connected to the development of literary genres. This synchronous development of both language and literature becomes important for understanding the development of Balinese wayang; and, as we will see, linguistic and literary considerations also contribute to a discussion of traditional authority within the context of sastra tah (ibid.: 18).

Literary works that point to the authority of the dalang and the wayang tradition have already been mentioned in chapter two when I touched on the ancient *prasasti*, or stone and metal inscriptions, that date as far back as the ninth century. More important, however, for the discussion at hand was the start of dynastic intermarriage between Javanese and Balinese royalty in the eleventh century and the subsequent "Javano-Balinese" period, during which a growing body of Old Javanese poems, treatises, and didactic works were studied and copied in palm leaf

[96] See Zurbuchen 1987: 7-26 and Wallis 1980: 6-48.

manuscript form called *lontar* or *rontal* (ibid.: 14).[97] These literary works functioned to preserve and promulgate various forms of stories, poetry and prose, as well as information on the arts and music. To this day, Balinese people frequently draw on lontar to aid in their study of performing arts traditions, as well as other aspects of ritual and culture such as the proper ways to make offerings or build temples and houses. As authoritative texts, lontar provide a great source from which to conduct an examination of authority and taksu within the context of Balinese wayang and sastra tah.

Various forms of literature are preserved in lontar and, in turn, have greatly influenced different forms of Balinese arts. For example, Old Javanese *kakawin* poems in Indian-based meters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, along with the *parwa*, or Old Javanese prose retellings of the *Mahabharata*, are often heard being sung at a ritual or dramatized in a wayang performance.[98] In the middle-Javanese language we find the *kidung* poems performed in indigenous meters to accompany rituals and the courtly *gambuh* theater, as well as *babad*, or literary works about dynastic genealogies, which are often brought to life in *topeng*, or masked dance performance (ibid.: 21).[99] Zurbuchen also mentions the *geguritan* form of literary Old Balinese language (also called Kawi-Bali), as a form of poetry drawn upon and dramatized in operatic *arja* performances (ibid.: 20-22).[100] Given that these forms of archaic language and

[97] Two lontar, *Lontar Siwagama* and *Lontar Tantu Panggelaran*, have already been mentioned in chapter two when I described the wayang creation myth.

[98] *Kakawin* are long narrative poems that are compsed in Old Javanese, or *kawi*. They are written in verse form, and their meters and rhythms are taken from Sanskrit literature (Gelman 2003: 32-33).

[99] *Gambuh* is a form of Balinese dance-drama that functions to preserve the dance-drama traditions of the fallen Majapahit dynasty. See Bandem 1972 and Dibia and Ballinger 2004: 60-61.

[100] *Arja* is a form of Balinese dance-drama that enacts old stories based on the Panji Romances (11-14th centuries). Panji was a legendary prince from East Java (Dibia and Ballinger 2004: 84-85). Zurbuchen also notes that some Balinese literati prefer the general term *Kawi* to refer to all archaic styles, meaning

prose are still preserved and promulgated in Balinese artistic performances today, we must consider them as authoritative types of sastra in both their written and oral forms.

With regard to wayang, literary development and the various forms of sastra mentioned above can also help us to understand how Balinese shadow puppet theater has developed. For example, I Dewa Ketut Wickasana cites seven examples of how the creation of various sastra also led to the creation of various forms of wayang. For example:

1. The Hindu epic *Mahabharata*/*Bharatayuda* gave birth to the *wayang parwa*[101]
2. The Hindu epic *Ramayana* gave birth to the wayang *Ramayana* and *wayang wong*[102]
3. The literary work *Calonarang* gave birth to *wayang Calonarang*[103]
4. The work *Malat* (a version of the Panji tales) gave birth to *wayang gambuh*, *wayang arja*, and *wayang dangkluk*[104]
5. *Cupak-Gerantang* (stories about Balinese society) gave birth to *wayang cupak*
6. *Serat Menak* (stories about Amir Hamzah) gave birth to *wayang Sasak*[105]
7. *Tantri Kamandaka* gave birth to *wayang tantri* (Wicaksana 2007: 48)[106]

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that the Old Javanese used in *kakawin* gives an impression that these texts come from Javanese sources and do not really belong to the Balinese (Zurbuchen 1987: 22).

[101] *Wayang parwa* refers to shadow plays derived from the Hindu epic *Mahabharata.*

[102] *Wong* means "human," so wayang wong refers to human-danced wayang with masks (see Bandem 2001 on Balinese wayang wong). A wayang wong usually depicts the *Ramayana* epic, and the musical ensemble that accompanies this performance is called *batel Ramayana.* In addition to the four gendér wayang instruments typically used for a performance, the batel *Ramayana* also employs a percussion ensemble consisting of 2 *kendang* drums (one male, one female), a *kempur* (small hanging gong), a *tawa-tawa* (the kettle gong beat keeper) a *klenang* (another smaller kettle gong that marks every other beat of the tawa-tawa), a *kajar*, or bossed gong that paraphrases the drum pattern, *rincik* or *ceng-ceng* (small cymbals) and sometimes a *gentorak* (see Tenzer 1991).

[103] *Calonarang* depicts the conflict between the witch figure *Rangda* (an embodiment of evil) and the celestial lion-like figure *barong* (the barong is thought to be an embodiment of good and is the protector of the village) (Lim 2014: 201).

[104] The literary work *Malat* presents a depiction of the Majapahit courtly heritage (see Zurbuchen 1987: 23 and Vickers 2005). *Wayang dangkluk* is similar to the wooden *wayang golek* of West Java.

[105] Amir Hamzah (1911-1946) was an Indonesian poet who was involved in the nationalist movement of Indonesia. *Wayang Sasak* is the shadow play of Lombok, Indonesia, an island just to the east of Bali. The term *Sasak* refers to the indigenous people of Lombok (See Harnish 2003).

[106] Wayang tantri is a relatively new form of shadow theater that enacts animal stories and fables. It was first created by I Wayang Persib in the 1980s, but has since been innovated and made popular by a dalang from Sukawati village, I Wayan Wija.

In Bali, the wayang parwa and wayang *Ramayana* are the two most widely performed, and these traditional Hindu epics have been passed down through the lontar tradition. With regard to the current discussion of authority and the wayang sapuh leger, a story more specific to Bali's version of Hindusim and mythology becomes the focus of attention and it, too, has been passed down through a rich collection of lontar. When discussing the authority of the dalang within the context of sastra, I draw heavily on lontar and oral accounts of the story, but also consider recent literature and publications in *Bahasa Indonesia* (the language of the republic of Indonesia) and English as important pieces of authoritative writing.[107] As we will see, all of these pieces of sastra become important when considering the authority of the Balinese wayang, the dalang, and gendér wayang music.

Sastra and the Wayang Sapuh Leger Story

Now that we have a better sense of the different forms of language and literary development in Bali, we can begin to examine how the study of sastra can lend traditional authority to the dalang. In this section, *lontar*, in their written form, and stories, as they are told orally, are drawn upon to recount the myth performed in the wayang sapuh leger ritual. As with any oral tradition myth, the wayang sapuh leger story has come to be told in a number of

[107] After the Dutch took control of Bali in 1906, they started to establish schools for the Balinese and began to implement a Western curriculum that introduced the Balinese to the study of novels, short stories, poetry, and dramas. It was the graduates of this kind of educational system who began writing some of the first modern works in Balinese that laid the foundations for the explosion of indigenous writing that followed. Following Indonesian independence in 1945, *Bahasa Indonesia* (also referred to as Indonesian) was instituted as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia, which also meant that education, media, and literary works in the language began to arise. Toward the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century, Indonesian scholars living and studying abroad also produced a number of authoritative works in English, as did foreign scholars living and conducting research in Indonesia. Other works have been written in other languages as well, but the ability to read these falls outside of the capabilities of the author.

variations; however, even a generalized retelling and combination of these variations can give one a sense of how the story contributes to Balinese ideology or worldview and, in turn, how the story can function to legitimize the traditional authority credited to Balinese shadow puppeteers.

In addition to contributing to the current discussion of authority, an examination of the wayang sapuh leger story also provides the opportunity to explore how religious, ideological, and socio-cultural aspects become embedded within myths. As Wicaksana reminds us, "a fable or myth each time is not just a fable without meaning or a tool for fun during free time, it is more than that. A fable is often a symbolic expression of inner conflicts found in a society, along with a means for dodging, moving, and overcoming contradictions that cannot be solved, until it is as if the contradiction can be made clear, solved, or makes sense" (Wicaksana 2007: 50).[108] Where applicable, I have included footnotes detailing how the story plays upon Balinese ideological constructs and later draw upon a few of these examples to demonstrate how they further legitimate the authority of the dalang and the Balinese shadow puppet theater.

Before diving into the contents of the wayang sapuh leger story, it is important to take a moment to touch on the sastra and lontar from which various versions of the myth have been derived. In his book *Wayang Sapuh Leger: Fungsi dan Maknanya Dalam Masyarakat Bali* (Wayang Sapuh Leger: Function and Meaning in Balinese Society) (2007), I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana lists a number of plot sources for the wayang sapuh leger story and divides these sources into three categories. They are:

1. Lontar manuscripts in the form of *tembang* (poetry), consisting of:[109]
    a) *Kakawin Sang Hyang Kala*
    b) *Tutur Wismakarma*
    c) *Kidung Sang Empu Leger*

[108] For more on the function of a mythology as a means for society to educate its young and provide a means of coping with their passage through life, see Campbell 1991.

[109] In all cases, these were transliterations of the lontar from the Kawi script to Romanized writing.

d) *Gaguritan Sapuh Leger*

2. Lontar manuscripts in the form of *gancaran*, or prose, like:
    a) lontar *Japa/Cepa Kala*
    b) lontar *Kala Tatwa*;
    c) lontar *Tatwa Japakala*
    d) lontar *Kala Purana*
3. Lontar manuscripts (transliterations) in the form of story manuscripts, namely:
    a) *Lalampahan Wayang Sapuh Leger* (ibid.: 63).[110]

These lontar contain several variations of the story with varying amounts of detail.[111] In my interviews with several pemangku dalang (initiated dalang who perform the wayang sapuh leger) about their version of the story, I inevitably encountered several more variations. As an oral tradition, performances of the wayang sapuh leger story are different each time it is told. Each dalang has his or her own way of telling the story and creating dialogue between the puppet characters, and each may emphasize particular didactic points of the story over others. Considering the number of variations that exist, I have done my best to combine the versions of the story drawn from Wicaksana's lontar translations (2007), Christiaan Hooykaas's lontar translations (1973), and those told to me in my interviews with pemangku dalang. In an attempt to capture the story from a living dalang, a majority of the wayang sapuh leger myth presented below was taken from an interview with I Made Sidja, the famous pemangku dalang from Bono, Gianyar. I also include parts of the story as told to me by my teachers from Mas, namely the pemangku dalang Ida Bagus Made Geriya and Ida Bagus Made Geriya's son Ida Bagus Anom

[110] In his work *Kama and Kala* (1973), Christiaan Hooykaas suggests that almost all of the lontar manuscripts that mention the *wayang sapuh leger* ceremony in Bali are derived from the *Lontar Tantu Panggelaran* manuscript from Java during the 15th or 16th centuries; however, both the *Siwagama* and the *Tantu Panggelaran* mention a similar story, namely, that Iswara, Brahma, and Wisnu came down to the earth and played wayang to prevent Kala (time) from consuming the whole world.

[111] See Wicaksana 2007: 63-73.

Suryawan (also a pemangku dalang).[112] According to Dalang Sidja, who draws most of his material from the *Lontar Kala Purana*, there are two stories played for the wayang sapuh leger.[113] First is *Lahirnya Kala*, or "The Birth of Kala," and the second, which can take two forms, is either called *Lari Kumare* ("Kumare Runs Away") or *Lari Subrate dan Subrati* ("Subrate and Subrati Run Away"). Both of these stories are presented below.

Lahirnya Kala (The Birth of Kala)

> One day, Dewa Siwa and Dewi Uma decided to go away together and came down from *Siwa lokha* (the world of Siwa, or heaven) to visit *mayapada*, or earth.[114] Both of them rode on the white buffalo Nandini, flying over mayapada, but when they arrived over the ocean, the hair of Dewi Uma was let loose in front of Siwa and blew to cover Siwa's face. Dewi Uma's hair was perfumed and smelled very good, and this made Siwa excited and lustful until he wanted to make love with Dewi Uma. Siwa flattered Uma and tried to persuade her to make love with him, but Uma did not want to because it was not an appropriate place or time. Even so, Siwa wanted Uma so badly that his sperm came out and fell into the ocean.[115] Dewa Siwa and Dewi Uma then returned home, but the sperm of Siwa hit the ocean and turned into fire. The flames of the fire

[112] I Made Sidja was born in 1923 and is one of the last surviving pemangku dalang of his kind. Having been born in the 1920s, both he and my teacher, Ida Bagus Made Geriya (born 1927), lived through the Dutch occupation, the Japanese occupation, Indonesian independence, the anti-communist killings of 1965-66, and the massive change and development that has happened since the 1980s to the present. Their wisdom and experience are unparalleled. This interview with Dalang Made Sidja took place 16 August 2011. Later clarifications took place in an interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan on 24 February 2014.

[113] The *Lontar Kala Purana* tells of the life and stories of Bhatara Kala.

[114] Dewa Siwa is also sometimes referred to as Bhatara Guru. *Mayapada* refers to those who live on earth who can be born, live and die.

[115] Some versions of the myth say that Dewa Siwa forced himself on Dewi Uma. The story goes on that she was so angry that she turned Siwa and herself into demons (Uma's demonic form is known as Durga, while Siwa's demonic form is known as Rudra). Uma, in her demon form, later gives birth to the demon Bhatara Kala. This version of the story is said to function to warn people against having sexual relations in a fit of passion, or *nafsu*, as children born out of nafsu turn out badly, have disgraceful manners, and are wicked (Monbaron 1999: 573). Dibia and Ballinger (2004) also draw on part of the beginning of the myth when describing why *pule* wood is considered sacred and is used for making masks. According to the story, Siwa's semen came out and hit the ground, but it alone could not become human. It therefore became *eka pramana* (one element or power) and took the form of a tree (*dwi pramana* refers to two elements or powers such as animals that can act instinctively, but cannot reflect on their action; *tri pramana* refers to having the three powers of action, word, and thought, or *bayu*, *sabda*, and *idep*, such as humans possess) (Dibia and Balinger 2004: 68).

rose up to *Surga*, or heaven, making heaven hot until all of the *dewa* (gods) couldn't eat or sleep and they were uncomfortable. Then Dewa Siwa delegated Dewa Narada (the priest of heaven) to go to mayapada to check and see what was going on and find out why Surga was so hot. Dewa Narada came down to the earth and saw that on top of the mountains it was nice and green, the rice was growing well, and the villages were safe and peaceful. Then he saw that on the ocean there was a large fire and said "ah, this is what is making Surga so hot!" He then reported to Dewa Siwa about the fire. Dewa Siwa suggested to Dewa Narada that he delegate the dewata nawa sanga (the gods of the cardinal directions) to come down to the earth to crush and destroy the fire, or at least try to make it become a small fire.

Dewa Narada then had the dewata nawa sanga come down from Surga to shoot the fire, each with their special weapon. Iswara shot the fire with his weapon called *genta*, or bell. When he shot the fire, in it he created a *pepusuh*, or heart. Maheswara shot the fire with his weapon of *dupa*, or incense, which created a *paru-paru*, or lung. Brahma shot with his weapon *gada*, or sword, to create the *agni*, or fire of digestion, and a liver. Ludra shot with his weapon of *musala*, or double-tipped sword, to create *usus*/*basing*, or a stomach and intestines. Mahadewa shot with his weapon of *nagapas,* or dragon arrow, to create *unsilan*, or kidneys. Sangkara shot with his weapon of *angkus*, or fire arrow, to create *limpa*, or lymph, in the body. Vishnu shot with his weapon of *chakra*, or wheel with spikes, to create *nyali* and *empedu*, or gall and bile. Sambu shot with his *trisula*, or three-pronged throwing star, to create *ineban*.[116] Finally, Siwa shot with his *padma*, or lotus mandala, to make the fire become a demon.[117]

Suddenly, the water in the ocean began churning, and Brahma and Vishnu were scared and quickly went into meditation. From the chaos of the ocean, the sperm collected to become one, and from inside it appeared a commanding demon whose face was terrifying. The demon had fangs, his skin was rough, and his hair was long, ugly, and tangled in dreadlocks. He also had a foul odor, long fingernails, multicolored skin, and looked like a *raksasa*, or monster.[118] The demon screamed out, calling for his mother and father. All of the dewata nawa sanga were surprised and scared and quickly ran away, as the demon had become hungry and began to chase them because he wanted to eat them all. The dewata nawa sanga retreated to heaven to report to Siwa that the fire had become a demon. All of the gods in heaven were angry and rained down upon the demon with various weapons, but the monster was mad and was capable of destroying any of the gods who disturbed him. All of the gods, including Siwa, were unable to destroy him.

Realizing that he had to do something, Siwa came down to earth to meet with the demon and tried to stop him from eating the dewata nawa sanga. "Don't eat your brothers!" he said. "You cannot eat me or your elders, you are my son." Then the demon stopped; he was confused and asked himself, "What is my connection to Dewa Siwa? Why did he say that I am his son?" Siwa asked the demon if his goal was to destroy the heavens, but he said no. The demon just wanted to know who his parents were. In exchange for telling Kala who his parents were, Siwa stalled for time and asked the demon to break his right fang. Then Siwa admitted to the demon that he was his child and asked him to go down to earth and stay in the cemetery with his mother

[116] I have been unable to find a translation of the word *ineban*, and my informants are not sure what the English translation for this would be. We do know that it makes reference to a bodily organ or fluid.

[117] This part of the story makes reference to macrocosm and microcosm and how each of the gods of the dewata nawa sanga corresponds to a human body part. It also speaks of their corresponding weapon.

[118] In the versions of the story where Siwa forces himself on Uma, Batara Kala's negative aspects are described as a warning against the fate of all children born out of wedlock (Monbaron 1999:573). Other sources say that Kala was created when Dewa Siwa's semen was swallowed by a fish (Emigh 1996: 37).

Bhatari Durga, the demonic form of Siwa's wife, Uma.[119] Siwa gave the demon the name Bhatara Kala because he was willing to offer "time" by cutting his fang. Kala became the head of all of the *Bhuta Kala* and all disease.[120] He was also given permission to eat people who were traveling in the middle of the day (12 noon) or traveling at dawn or in the late evening around sunset, a time known as *sandyawela* or *sandyakala*.[121]

When he grew older, Kala went to sit at the intersection of the road and ate everyone who passed through at noon or was sleeping or traveling during sandyawela. Many people became his prey. When he faced to the east, Kala gobbled 5,500 people; facing south he swallowed 9,900 people; facing west he swiped 7,700 people; and facing north he ate 4,400 people. Meanwhile, during the late afternoon, or sandyawela, Kala preyed on 8,800 people. Almost all of the people of the earth were being eaten by Kala, and those that remained hid in a quiet places—in the ravines and in the mountains—and cried and begged the gods for help. Kala kept eating until all of the humans were almost gone. Even after this, Kala's stomach was never full, and he was always hungry.

Then Dewa Siwa found out about Kala eating all of the people and again delegated Dewa Narada to go and tell the people to use the colors of the four directions (*catur warna*, or four colors) on their bodies to protect themselves. If the people came from the east they were told to put white chalk on their body. If they came from the south they used *iduh bang* (betel nut) to color their bodies red. If they came from the west they used *kunir*, or saffron, to color their bodies yellow. If they came from the north they used *adeng*, or ash, to color their bodies black. If they came from the middle they used a mix of the four colors to color their bodies.[122]

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[119] In Hooykaas's translation of the wayang sapuh leger myth, there is a version of the story that combines the creation myth with the wayang sapuh leger story. For example, Siwa's insistence on making love when Uma did not want to is what made them both turn into demons; it is also what gave birth to Kala when Siwa's semen fell into the ocean. At some point before Kala began eating those who were born on wuku wayang, Brahma and Wishnu staged a wayang play, created the first man (and the concept of time, as this is a purely human perception), and restored the gods to their original form. This is why is it said that Kala was born during the week of wayang, because this is when the wayang was born to restore the gods back to their true selves. After this, mankind grew in numbers and began to be plagued by time, which is when the need for the wayang sapuh leger arose.

[120] *Bhuta Kala* comes from *bhut* "ghost," *bhuta* or "eternal energy," and *kala* which has several translations including "eternal time," "black," and "art." This term refers to the imperceptible potentials and dangers of nature that take on a demonic form.

[121] *Sandyawela* and *Sandyakala* are derived from the Sanskrit term *Sandhya*, meaning "transition times of the day" (dawn and dusk), and *wela* (or *vela*) or *kala*, which mean "time." According to an interview with I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, many parts of the story contain small lessons, or practical rules for people to follow so that life is harmonious, safe, and simple. For example, the Sanskrit word *kala* means "time," and the demon Kala is an embodiment of the dangers of time. In this particular example of sandyawela, people are advised not to travel at exactly twelve noon, because this is when the sun is at its apex and it is most hot. During sandyawela (referring to dawn and the time in the late afternoon right before the sun sets), people are advised not to travel because these are times of transition between day and night, and the light is not very clear and can deceive the eyes. People are also advised not to sleep during the late afternoon because when they will wake up they will not be able to fall asleep again until late at night or early in the morning, and their sleep cycle will be disrupted. Interviews with Wicaksana, 29 April 2014, and Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 14 June 2014.

[122] This has a direct relationship to the dewata nawa sanga and the respective colors of the gods.

The people did this, and then Kala was confused. To Kala, those people who colored their bodies and came from the east now looked like white chickens; those from the south looked like red chickens; those from the west looked like chicken *putih suing*, or white and black chicken, with yellow beaks and yellow legs; those from the north looked like black chickens; and those people who came from the center were considered *ayam brumbun*, a multicolored chicken and a mix of the all the colors from the four directions. From this event, the *caru* or "sacrifice" for Kala was created. Because everyone started to look like chickens, Kala started to want to eat the chickens, so Dewa Narada said, "If you don't want Kala to eat you because you look like a chicken with colors, then you can sacrifice a real chicken to Kala instead."

This trick worked for a while, but Kala didn't want to just eat chicken, he wanted to eat people, and he was still hungry. Then Siwa and Uma came down to meet Kala, disguising their bodies as normal people and riding on Siwa's buffalo Nandini. They met with Kala and told him that he could eat them if they solved a riddle. Kala agreed and Siwa asked, "what walks alone with three heads, six eyes, and six ears. . .?" [Siwa continued with his description until he described all of he, Uma, and Nandini's combined features]. Kala became confused and could not answer Dewa Siwa's riddle. Siwa and Uma then changed back to their real forms as gods, and Siwa gave Kala a restriction, he said, "my son Kala, you can no longer eat a person who walks during midday and sandyawela, because you are never full and the humans will soon be finished." Then Siwa gave Kala a blessing and said, "my son Kala, because you were born during wuku wayang (the week of wayang), if a person is born during the seven days of wuku wayang you can eat them." These days of the wayang week are called *Radite Wage* (Sunday), *Soma Kliwon* (Monday), *Anggara Manis* (Tuesday), *Buda Paing* (Wednesday), *Waraspati Pon* (Thursday), *Sukra Wage* (Friday), and *Saniscara Kliwon* (the Saturday of wuku wayang, also called Tumpek Wayang).[123] "If the people were born on these days you can eat them. This is your food." Then Kala was confused, because it was hard to know who was born during wuku wayang. Siwa and Uma then left, and so Kala was forced to look around to find someone to eat.

Rare Kumare (Kumare Runs Away)[124]

As Bhatara Kala grew up in the cemetery, Dewa Siwa and Dewi Uma gave birth to another son, Sang Hyang Panca Kumara (hereafter Kumara), who was born on the day of

[123] The first word in these days is the name of the day according to the seven-day calendar (*saptwara*). The second word is the name of the day according to the five-day calendar (*pancawara*).

[124] The other variation of the story, called *Rare Subrate dan Subrati* (Subrate and Subrati run away), is very similar to *Rare Kumara*, but it does contain some variation. The story goes that in Medang Kemulan lived a *rishi* (a sage or holy man) whose name was Resi Trene Windhu. He had two children, one boy and one girl. They were twins and were born during wuku wayang. The older was the boy, and his name was Rare Subrate (also known as Sang Sudha). He was handsome, talented, healthy and smart. His sister's name was Rare Subrati (also known as Adnyawati). She too was beautiful, talented, and had long hair, a feminine body, and a sweet smile. Dewa Kala knew that these two children were born during wuku wayang because he could smell it, so Kala went to Medang Kemulan to find both of them. Their father, Resi Trene Windhu, knew about Dewa Kala and knew that he was looking for his children, even though he had already given then purification ceremonies and changed their names to Sang Sudha and Adnyawati. So Resi Trene Windhu told them to run away. Adnyawati went to the kingdom of Mayaspati to see the king Arjuna Sahasrabahu to ask him to help her, while her brother Sang Sudha ran from Kala. The rest of the story about Kala chasing Subrate is similar to Rare Kumare, although the ending when Kala goes after Subrati results in Kala's death. See footnote 35 below about this alternate ending.

Saniscara Kliwon (the day of Tumpek Wayang during the week of wuku wayang). His older brother, Bhatara Kala, isolated himself in the cemetery while his younger brother, who was still a baby, stayed in heaven and was attended to by his father Siwa. Kala was angry because his younger brother had the same *otonan* (Balinese birthday that falls every 210 days) as him. Remembering that he had been given the authority to eat people who were born during wuku wayang, Kala begged Siwa for permission to eat his younger brother. Siwa asked Kala to wait seven years because Kumara was still a baby. After seven years passed, Kala begged again. After postponing several times, Siwa called Kumara and told him of Kala's intentions to eat him, because it could not be prevented.

Siwa then blessed Kumara so that he became a dwarf and would never grow up or grow old, because Siwa had told Kala he could eat Kumara when he turned fifteen; however, the time passed and Kala still chased him, so Kumara was advised to run away and beg for the protection of King Mayasura in the kingdom of Kertanegara. Kumara asked King Mayasura for his protection, and the king tried to defend him, but his armies failed against Kala and Kumara had to run for his life again.

Kala was always closely behind Kumara, as Kala could smell Kumara's tracks and was able to follow in his direction; however, whenever Kala got close, Kumara always got away by hiding in a series of places. Each time Kala failed in his chase of Kumara, Kala cursed the people whose carelessness had allowed Kumara to go free.

Kumara first hid under a pile of trash consisting of leaves and sticks. Kala was confused and could not find Kumara, but when Kumara suddenly came out of the trash and ran away, Kala was surprised and became enraged. Kala cursed the trash and said, "if anyone sweeps and doesn't burn the trash they will be eaten by Kala."[125]

Then Kumara ran away and came upon a group of people preparing for a cremation ceremony. The people were using a lot of bamboo to prepare a cremation pyre and offerings, and they had cut the nodes off of the bamboo so that either end of the bamboo had holes exposing the hollow center. Kumara saw these holes and went and hid inside the bamboo (he was a dwarf). Then Kala tried to get him out of the bamboo by pounding one end of the bamboo, but Kumara just escaped through the other hole. After this, Kala was angry again and cursed the *unagi*, or the person who builds cremation towers, causing them to be confused if they cut the bamboo above the node and exposed the hollow center (they can only cut in the center of the node or split the bamboo into long strips).[126]

Kumara ran away again and made his way into a kitchen, where he hid in the oven amongst the burning wood. Kala tried to block all of the openings to the oven, but again Kumara got away. Kala again was furious and decreed that the oven could not have two holes for firewood, but one, and that there should be a large pot or wok on the stove covering the holes where the fire comes up.[127]

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[125] In this example of the trash, this is really a lesson to teach people to keep things clean and to not just throw things anywhere. It also is a lesson for when you do clean to dispose of the trash properly.

[126] Again this is a practical dimension woven into the story. The logic behind why bamboo either needs to be cut or left with two holes is for safety. Bamboo left uncut can be stepped on and then roll, leading to a person falling and getting hurt. If it is cut and contains two holes it is also easier for someone to step on the bamboo and for it to break in the center, and broken bamboo can be very sharp. Bamboo is also easier to build with if it is split. Interview with I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, 29 April 2014.

[127] Another practical lesson embedded in the story. A traditional Balinese kitchen furnace should have one hole for the fire, and the pots on the top should cover where the fire is coming up so that the fire doesn't come out of the hole and burn the kitchen roof. Covering one hole also helps to focus the heat.

Then Kumara ran to the *jineng*/*lumbung*, or the small structure where rice is stored. On the *jineng* there was a door in the front and a door in the back, and both were open, so Kumara went to hide inside. Again, Kala tried to catch him, but when he went in the front door Kumara ran out the back door. After losing Kumara again, Kala cursed the *jineng* and decreed that all *jineng* should only have one door.[128]

Kumara continued to run away from Kala, and approaching midnight on the day of *tumpek wayang* there was a wayang performance with a dalang named Mpu Leger.[129] Kumara arrived at the performance of wayang kulit, and, crying on the lap of the dalang, begged for protection. The dalang told him to quickly hide in the resonators of the gamelan gendér wayang. Soon, Kala came and, unable to control his vicious hunger, he ate all of the dalang's offerings that had been prepared for the important wayang performance. The dalang, upon seeing what Kala had done, asked Kala why he ate his offerings and demanded that he return them. Kala was cornered and admitted that he was in great debt to the dalang. In an attempt to protect Kumara, the dalang begged Kala to let Kumara go free in exchange for his offerings. Kala agreed, but only if the dalang could tell him about aspects of the lontar *Dharma Pewayangan*.[130] If the dalang could not answer, Kala was going to eat him. Skillfully and in a straightforward manner, the dalang enumerated points about the *Dharma Pewayangan* and the macrocosmos. Kala praised the dalang for his abilities and cancelled his plans to eat him and Kumara. Kala also gave the dalang the power to protect those born during wuku wayang (sapuh leger) and the authority to purify (*melukat*) people from all impurities (cleansing in all forms is called *sudamala*), as Kala was the head demon of all impurities. Thanks to the dalang, Kumura was now saved. Siwa and Uma then descended from the heavens on their cow and, accompanied by angels, they rode back to heaven (Wicaksana 2007: 68-9).[131]

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[128] This is yet another practical dimension woven into the story and relates to Balinese beliefs about architecture (*asta kosala kosali*). When building a compound or house you are not supposed to have a door in the front and another door directly across from that. This lets people and spirits move right through the house. Therefore, the same applies to the *jineng*, or rice storage building. This is a place for storing rice, so it does not include a back door in the case that someone comes to steal the rice and escapes out the back door. Interview with I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, 29 April 2014.

[129] In some versions of the play, the dalang is performing the story of Dewa Kala. Interview with I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, 29 April 2014.

[130] The *lontar Dharma Pewayangan* is an esoteric lontar detailing all of the laws, duties, and skills that a dalang must posses. This is discussed in more detail below.

[131] In the version of Subrate and Subrati, while Subrate was being chased by Kala, Subrati had gone to the kingdom of Mayaspati to ask the king Arjuna Sahasrabahu if he would protect her and her brother from Bhatara Kala. Adnyawati had agreed to be King Sahasrabahu's wife, so the king quickly agreed and left to face Kala. With magic arrows, King Sahasrabahu shot Kala in the neck, and he fell to the ground bleeding. As it turns out, King Sahasrabahu was an avatar, or reincarnation, of Wisnu, whose job it was to eradicate evil forces on the earth. As for the soul and spirit of Kala, this was put in a small monument near the northwestern corner of the house grounds. That's why each house has a small *palinggih,* or stone alter (monument), in their house for Bhatara Kala (Wicaksana 2007: 76). Although Kala was killed, his spirit still reigns on, which is why the wayang sapuh leger is performed to protect those born during wuku wayang.

Even from a superficial reading of these myths we can already observe the authority of the dalang. Similar to the creation myth mentioned in chapter two, the wayang sapuh leger myth positions the dalang as the one who is able to save Kumara and Subrate and bring things back to order. These myths also bring our attention to the how gendér wayang music is an important part of Balinese wayang and the wayang sapuh leger ritual, as Kumara (or Subrate) hide in resonators of the instruments while the dalang negotiates with Kala.

When examining some of the more symbolic meanings and lessons embedded within the myth, we also begin to get a sense of how the dalang is responsible for imparting religious, ideological, and even practical didactic points through his story telling. Take Kumara/Subrate hiding in the Balinese oven, for example. Subrate runs into a Balinese stove that does not have pots covering the holes on the top. It is because of this that Subrate is able to escape, and it is said that Kala curses anyone who does not cover the top of their oven holes with pots. It isn't really the case that a person who has not covered the top of their oven will be cursed with bad luck, but that they may run into some trouble if the fire coming up out of the holes is not contained and burns the kitchen roof (traditional Balinese ovens used wood to fuel the fire and had low roofs to help contain the heat). In a way, the potential trouble that one could encounter from not covering the holes is like a curse, but these words of wisdom from the dalang serve as a reminder to the people so that they stay safe. The dalang's role to impart truths and educate the people is why the dalang is often called *guru lokha*. From *guru* meaning "teacher" and *lokha* meaning "world," the dalang is the teacher of the world.[132] That the dalang is an important and authoritative educational figure in Balinese society was recognized early by the German painter Walter Spies and English dancer Beryl de Zoete, who assert in their book *Dance and Drama in*

[132] Interview with Dalang Made Sidja, 16 August 2011.

Bali (1938) that the *dalang* "may truly be said to be the greatest educator of the people" (Spies and de Zoete 1938: 163).

On a more theoretical level, one could argue that the dalang gains an even greater amount of authority when we consider how the Balinese interpret the wayang sapuh leger story. Take the part about Kumara hiding in the Balinese oven, for example. Many Balinese families now have modern ovens, and some might hear this part of the story and not understand its significance at all. The fact that the Balinese people might not understand the significance of this part of the story actually functions to legitimate the dalang's authority even more, as according to Maurice Bloch, unintelligible aspects of a ritual that are outside of the capabilities and understanding of the common people function to strengthen the traditional authority of the ritual officiant and help them to keep it (Bloch 1974: 67). The dalang's traditional authority is first legitimated because he is the one who presides over the wayang sapuh leger and is recognized within Balinese ideology as the one with the power to bless those born during wuku wayang. The dalang's authority is then legitimated on a second level when he or she becomes revered as a pemangku, priestly figure, who seems to have magical abilities and is able to understand the deeper significances of ritual and healing performance (as with the example of the oven, or other didactic points that might now make sense to the common people). The dalang is therefore able to retain his position as guru lokha, because his abilities and knowledge seem outside the grasp of the Balinese people. Within the shadow theater, this phenomen happens on multiple levels, and as I will argue later, language and music function in a very similar way. An understanding of the ways in which language and music help to legitimate a dalang's traditional authority will become important when we later consider how these elements have changed and how the means by which through with a dalang accrues authority and taksu has changed; however, before

touching on how music and language bring the dalang traditional authority it is helpful to explore how sastra and authoritative writings credit authority to the dalang and help us to define the criteria by which a dalang is determined to have taksu.

Sastra, the Authority of the Dalang, and Taksu

Sastra devoted specifically to the shadow puppet theater also function to legitimate the dalang's traditional authority. When focusing on the dalang's training and ritual initiation (mewinten) to become a pemangku dalang, or priestly form of puppeteer, we can also begin to see how sastra helps us to understand another level of taksu, or performance charisma. The most important lontar for someone who wants to become a dalang is the *lontar Dharma Pewayangan*. The *Dharma Pewyangan* lontar is a magical and religious text that details the special training and ascetic rules required of someone who wants to become a dalang or initiated pemangku dalang. This lontar also includes information about the various uses of the *kayonan* (tree of life) puppet, the appropriate times for prayers and offerings during a performance, the various invocations for particular scenes (for example, the *penyaca parwa*, a few lines explaining the origins of the eighteen books of the Mahabharata, or *parwa,* if that is the story being performed), stories for wayang performance (for example the wayang sapuh leger myth), and the specific mantras and magical formulas used by the dalang to make holy water and ensure a successful performance (Heimarck 2003: 216).[133]

Similar to how multiple lontar have been derived and copied from each other to document the wayang sapuh leger story, the *Dharma Pewayangan* has also been recopied into

[133] See also McPhee 1976 (1966): 152-53,187-195.

creating several variations.[134] This particular lontar is so important for the study of shadow theater in Bali that its contents have become the foundation for several authoritative works on shadow theater written in Indonesian and English. For example, the most in-depth examination of the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar is found in Christiaan Hooykaas's *Kama and Kala: Materials for the Study of Shadow Theater in Bali* (1973). In this work, Hooykaas took painstaking efforts to collect, codify, and translate as many versions of the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar as possible. In addition to the six versions of the lontar that Hooykaas found in the Gedung Kirtya lontar library in Singaraja (northern Bali, Buleleng regency), he took the opportunity to collect another ten or so "minority" lontar related to the *Dharma Pewayangan* (Hooykaas 1973: 12). He then translated and added annotations to these lontar in an attempt to bring more meaning and understanding to the rather short and ambiguous lines of Kawi text etched into the restricted spaces of the palm leaves. A significant amount of the content in Hooykaas's book mentions the dalang's role as a pemangku, or priestly figure, and he also presents several versions of the wayang sapuh leger myth. I was surprised to read in the first few pages of his work that most *pemangku dalang* are Brahman and originate from a *griya* (the name for a Brahman compound), and that no such persons were available when Hooykaas undertook his work (Hooykaas 1973: 14).[135] I would therefore like to suggest that this dissertation is a valuable extension to Hooykaas's work, as it actually incorporates the information and opinions of living Brahmin pemangku dalang.

[134] See Heimarck 2003: 216, where she discusses the various reissues and copying of this lontar during the Dutch colonial period when the Gedung Kirtya lontar library was opened in Singaraja.

[135] Hooykaas's work actually provides a very detailed account of various aspects of the wayang sapuh leger, including the offerings needed for the ritual, various translations of the lontar that provide the story of Kala and the wayang sapuh leger, and the mantra used for making holy water and cleansing an afflicted individual.

Since my aim is to explore authority within the changing developments of Balinese shadow theater, I do not aim to go nearly as in-depth about elements of the ritual and story as Hooykaas does, although Hooykaas's work on the pemangku dalang and the wayang sapuh leger ritual can lend credence to the theoretical argument at hand. For example, Hooykaas is careful to point out that it is no ordinary dalang who is capable of performing the wayang sapuh leger and defeating Kala. Hooykaas says "The *dalan* [sic] who outwits Kala and thus liberates mankind from his persecution, is never an ordinary *dalan* [sic] with an ordinary name. . . such a dalang has not only mastered his Dharma Pevayanan [sic], but he is able to read the mantra on Kala's body and is, therefore, more powerful than Kala" (Hooykaas 1973: 312).

Similarly, the lontar *Kala Purana*, one of the plot sources for the wayang sapuh leger, states that "Sang Panca Kumara was chased by Dewa Kala until the evening. Approaching the middle of the night there was a man/dalang named *Mpu Leger* performing wayang during the time of *tumpek wayang*."[136] This segment of the lontar *Kala Purana* tells us that the performance of wayang on tumpek wayang along with the dalang performing is given a special title. The title Mpu Leger is given to a dalang who has been purified and understands the contents of the lontar *Dharma Pewayangan* and lontar *Sapuh Leger*. The word *mpu* is derived from *empu* and signifies a religious figure, like a priest (Wicaksana 2007: 58). In the ancient pre-Hindu era of Indonesia, the person who sat as a dalang was the empu because the empu was an expert in almost all matters of culture. This included being an expert in spirituality, divination, sastra, language, ancestral history, culture, music, dance, song, carving, painting, medicine, and others. The empu's job was to ensure the safety and prosperity of the people in the village, and over time, the

[136] This lontar was found in the Griya Kadampal, Kerambitan (Tabanan); Griya Anyar, Sibang Kaja (Badung); and Griya Tegeh and Griya Kotok, Boda Kling (Karangasem). The above citation is to be found in line 61 of the lontar; however, this entire citation comes from Wicaksana 2007: 57.

title *empu dalang* changed to become *mangku dalang* (Sugriwa 1962: 36).[137] Some attention to the word *mangku* is important here, as becoming a mangku (short for pemangku) dalang denotes an even higher level of power and mastery within dalang hierarchy. In order to become a pemangku dalang, a dalang must be purified by ceremonial ritual and go through an initiation ceremony called mewinten. Mewinten is performed for anyone who is advancing in spiritual study, and there are four stages, namely: 1) *Pewintenan Saraswati* (for those beginning to study religion); 2) *Pewintenan Bunga* (purification after becoming a householder); 3) *Pewintenan Sari* (for those starting to study sacred works such as the Vedas or lontar); 4) *Pewintenan Gede* (for those becoming a *pemangku* or *jro mangku* commonly called *pinandita* (similar to a low level priest) ("Sesana Pinandita"). In the context of the shadow theater, the purpose of mewinten is to open up the mind and spirit so that when the dalang performs dialogue he can impart spiritual philosophy to the audience.

Within the Balinese religious hierarchy in general, a mangku is someone who has been purified spiritually and been initiated through religious ceremony (mewinten/ madengen-dengen), thus making them responsible for handling religious duties.[138] Pemangku are classified under the category of *pinandita* and have been described by some as religious assistants or priests' representatives (ibid.).[139] To be a mangku or pinandita is the second highest religious ranking in Balinese religious hierarchy, as priests, or *pedanda* (also called *pendeta* or *sulinggih*)

[137] Translation my own.

[138] Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya says that *mangku* means "to handle." Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 14 June 2014.

[139] Included in the list of pinandita are: 1) pemangku; 2) wasi; 3) mangku balian/dukun; 4) mangku dalang; 5) dharma acarya; 6) pangemban/ pendidik tentang kerohanian ("Sesana Pinandita").

are classified as the highest religious officiates under the category of *pandita.*[140]

This religious hierarchy becomes important when discussing authority, as it is only pemangku dalang who are able to perform the wayang sapuh leger ritual; however, even if a dalang has passed through the mewinten ceremony, some are still *tidak berani,* or "not brave" enough, to conduct the very powerful ritual.[141] For example, Dalang Nardayana, the famous dalang who created the modern wayang cenk blonk to be discussed below, has told me that he does not feel ready to perform the wayang sapuh leger, even though he has already gone through the mewinten cermemony to become a pemangku dalang; however, this is not the case with all dalang, and the increasing numbers of young dalang who are becoming pemangku dalang at a young age has become the site of controversy within the world of ritual shadow puppet theater.[142]

In an interview with pemangku dalang I Made Sidja, he commented that becoming a pemangku dalang is like having a war with Kala, and one must have truly embodied the various aspects of the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar. Otherwise, performing the wayang sapuh leger ritual can be very dangerous if the dalang is not ready. Dalang Sidja continued saying that dalang today are becoming pemangku dalang at a young age and without following the proper procedures and conditions to ready themselves spiritually and mentally for the job. In former times, the time and penances that young performers went through to become a pemangku dalang were cherished and taken much more seriously. The education was strict, and it was only after a

[140] Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya says that this term comes from the Sanskrit word *pandit*, or a scholar or teacher who has mastered the knowledge of the four Vedas. Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 14 June 2014.

[141] Perhaps this is because of the extremely complex spiritual and psychological aspects that one must be able to grasp before one can really become an example for the Balinese people.

[142] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 June 2014.

dalang was mature, experienced, and recognized by the village as a proficient performer and spiritual adept that they were allowed to become a pemangku dalang.

In today's modern Balinese society, Dalang Sidja asserted that many younger dalang take the mewinten initiation for granted and undergo it at a young age so that they can add the ritual to their repertoire and make more money.[143] Dalang Sidja says that this is dangerous because younger dalang who are not qualified do not have the power, or *sakti*, to make holy water and effectively carry out the ritual. This is not only dangerous and unfortunate for the recipient of the ritual, but also for the dalang performing, as being a dalang who performs at such a spiritual level requires that one live according to the principles that one preaches. If a dalang cannot do this, tumult arises in his or her psyche, as there is thena major conflict between what the dalang preaches and what he or she does in his or her personal life.[144]

In her book *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* (1981), Heidi Hinzler also observed this trend, noting that dalang today undergo the mewinten ceremony depending on whether they have the money to do the ceremony, with less attention paid to whether or not they are ready for it (Hinzler 1981: 43). While I do believe that there are valid spiritual reasons as to why this has become such a problem, for example, the damaging psychological aspects that Dalang Sidja mentioned, I also believe that this conflict bears witness to older dalangs' fear of a loss of authority. What had legitimated a dalang's authority in the past was characterized by much stricter penances and self-sacrifice, whereas today, dalang simply have to pay for an initiation to

[143] Dalang Sidja says there are three reasons for performing wayang today, namely: 1) *seni bisnis*, or performing for business and money; 2) *seni bakti*, or arts performed voluntarily as an offering called *ngayah*; and 3) *seni sosial*, or arts performed or taught to members of society for a period of time for free, with the goal of supporting or strengthening society. The last, he claims, is the most difficult because there is no exchange or give and take. It is only giving on the part of the teacher. Interview with Dalang Made Sidja, 16 August 2011.

[144] Interview with Dalang Made Sidja, 16 August 2011.

receive the same title. The fact that older dalang like Sidja are mourning nostalgically over how times have changed, and how authority is something that can now be bought, is not surprising, as it is his own authority and the extreme commitment and time it took him to gain that authority that are being devalued.

The time and penances a dalang used to go through were also part of what gave a dalang an air of spiritual power and taksu. Sastra like the *Dharma Pewayangan* also outline the skills and requirements that a person must have to become a dalang and can further support why a dalang has authority and the extent to which he has taksu. In chapter two, I explored the second aspect of taksu outlined by Dr. Wenten, that of energy, or spirit, and a harnessing of power due to pure intention (this is the inner aspect that Bandem related to religion in Heimarck's work [Heimarck 2003: 233]). In this chapter, I would like to take a moment to discuss Dr. Wenten's first aspect of taksu, that of technique and all this implies for an art form (skill in Bandem's sense).

A good place to start uncovering the skills required to become a dalang is I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa's *Ilmu Pedalangan/Pewayangan* (The Science of Being a Dalang/Shadow Puppetry) (1963).[145] Drawing heavily from the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar, this text is one of the first academic works written in Indonesian and utilized for dalang education at the Balinese Arts university (ISI Denpasar). In this book, Sugriwa devotes the entire fifth section to explaining how extraordinary a person's knowledge and abilities must be for them to become a dalang, saying, "a dalang is someone who has extraordinary knowledge and understanding of cultural problems including those closely connected to the art of wayang; therefore, the conditions to be a

[145] Dr. Ketut Roda's book *Pewayangan Bali*: *Sebuah Pengantar* (1977/78) is also relevant here, but this text draws heavily from Sugriwa.

dalang are onerous and many" (Sugriwa 1963: 29).[146] Sugriwa then proceeds to present a long and detailed list of the requirements, which I have translated and summarized below. A dalang must:

1. Understand how to play the gamelan gendér wayang. If the dalang cannot play it he must at least understand or memorize the sounds in order to sing and move the puppets according to the music.
2. Be able to sing well various types of *pupuh*, *kidung*, and *kakawin* for various characters and situations.[147]
3. Know about dance and the unique movements of each of the wayang characters for various scenes.
4. Be smart and speak the Kawi and Balinese languages well, because all of the wayang characters except the clowns speak Kawi.
5. Know and memorize many stories that are used in wayang performance such as those connected to the *panca yajna* (the five kinds of Balinese ritual), the religious stories and epics, and historical stories, so that while performing he can impart advice and teachings contained within this knowledge.
6. Have a deep understanding of spirituality and Balinese Hinduism related to the dalang's duties within the *panca yajna*, including knowing how to evade being cursed, how to make holy water, when to give the required offerings for each ritual, and how to read the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar (Sugriwa 1962: 29-35).

Similar to the list provided by Sugriwa, Dalang Sidja also gave me a list of requirements to become a pemangku dalang. These six powers, or qualities, are known as the *sad guna.* They are:

1. *Kepanditaan*: A dalang has a wise and humble soul, like a high priest. He can control mantra and must have knowledge of the *caturweda*, or four Vedas.
2. *Ksatria*: A dalang can control the *panca indriya*, or the five senses, so that they don't affect him; he can thus obtain *cadhu sakti*, or the wisdom of a king.[148]
3. *Dalang*: A dalang has to be able to play the wayang, carve, draw and make wayang.
4. *Keunagian*: A dalang has to know the rules for building, whether it be a cremation pyre, a house, or ceremonial structures. A dalang must also be knowledgable of the *asta kosala kosali*, a lontar that describes the micro/macrocosmic rules for building and architecture.

[146] This translation is my own.

[147] *Pupuh* is a traditional form of poetry in Java consisting of a fixed numberof syllables and a particular rhyming structure. *Kidung* and *kakawin* are both old forms of Javanese poetry, but *kidung* employs Javanese meters whereas *kakawin* uses imported Sanskrit meters.

[148] *Cadhu shakti* includes: *Kriya Sakti* (what you do), *Prabhu Sakti* (to be a leader)*, Wibuh Sakti* (thinking for the wellbeing of the people*, Jnana Sakti* (wisdom in one's heart, or inner power).

5. *Musik*: A dalang must know about the music, so that he can sing and dramatize the puppets to the music.
6. *Penari*: A dalang must know how to dance, so that he knows how to manipulate and dance the puppets.[149]

Aside from the spiritual and emotional maturity mentioned in both of these lists, great emphasis is placed on the dalang having skills in music and dance, the memory and imagination to tell stories, and the linguistic skills to dramatize high-ranking characters (these characters traditionally speak Kawi in the play) and to recite the appropriate chants in Kawi.

Having a firm grasp of these skills and the talent and ability to display them is what gives a dalang traditional authority as a performer of wayang. The degree to which they can exhibit these skills and captivate their audience then determines whether they have taksu. In this sense, taksu almost embodies charismatic authority, and already we are beginning to see how traditional authority and charismatic authority can and do intertwine. What I would like to suggest here is that those elements that determined in the past whether a dalang had charisma or taksu have changed significantly. For example, one of the defining skills of a dalang is that they have knowledge of the *caturweda*, or the four Vedas of the Hindu canon, stories connected to the *panca yajna* (the five kinds of Balinese ritual), the Hindu epics (*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata)*, and history. While dalang today must still have a great knowledge of these texts, it is the skill with which they use them and draw upon them to speak to the current psychology of the audience that will make them appear as having taksu. Therefore, the degree to which a dalang has taksu is heavily dependent upon whether or not what is conveyed will resonate with the contemporary ideology of the Balinese people.

This complexity was described to me in an interview with a Brahmin-caste member of Mas village, Ida Bagus Oka Geni Jaya, who stated that it is all about how the people of Bali

[149] Interview with Dalang Made Sidja, 16 August 2011.

relate to the stories they are hearing and the theatrical elements they are witnessing.[150] I emphasize *relate* here, because this again brings back the importance of ideology and memory and how these concepts serve to legitimate the authority of the dalang. With regard to tradition and traditional authority, audiences in the past, or *zaman dahulu*, were entertained purely by the traditional elements of the performance itself. The traditional epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were exciting and entertaining enough, and people saw the profundity of the performance from the inherent values embedded in the myths without them having to be elaborated upon (although they often were, and it was common for dalang to interject jokes about the village, the host, or other things going on in society). Given that there were no TVs or any of the other ubiquitous forms of entertainment found on Bali today, dalang in the past did not have to move too far beyond the telling of religious epics, and education and jokes within the shadow play were restricted to concepts pertaining to life during that time. As we will see later in this dissertation when discussing changes to wayang within the context of the wayang cenk blonk, the extent to which a dalang has taksu is reflective of whether he can relate to the audience, through both his story and the aesthetics of the performance. This idea was also relayed to me in a conversation with a Brahmin priest (*pedanda*) who said that the difference in taksu in the past and now is all about how people choose to use their taksu. In the past, taksu was used to perform wayang stories. It was the message, the way the stories were presented and the values embedded within the stories that created taksu for a dalang. Today, in this era, it is more about entertainment. He continued to say that knowledge about the wayang sapuh leger is a must, but that today not all dalang really understand the ritual, nor do they use their taksu in the performance of it.[151]

[150] Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 5 March 2014.

[151] Interview with Pedanda Geriya Agung, 5 March 2014.

This ability of the dalang to be conscious and cognizant enough of what will pique the interest of society is part of what defines taksu under Dr. Wenten's first category of technique or skill; however, to really understand how this has changed within the entire context of Balinese shadow puppet theater, a cursory look at mantra, language, and music within their traditional authoritative sense is needed. The traditional authority of these elements and how they might have been used to bolster the taksu of the dalang can also be explained by continuing our exploration of these elements within the context of sastra tah.

Sastra and the Authority of Mantra and Language

Continuing our exploration of traditional authority in relation to sastra tah, we must also consider the authority of mantra and language, as these are sites of change that will be explored later. In his work on the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar, Christiaan Hooykaas also describes the powerful mantra used during a sudamala ritual (purification ritual) like the wayang sapuh leger. He states, "when the *amangku dalang* (pemangku dalang) exorcizes the evil influences, either those of which people stand in fear or those whose effects are already apparent in a child or young adult, he uses the Astu Pungku, the nine-fold formula" (Hooykaas 1973: 284).[152] Hooykaas goes on to explain that the Astu Pungku mantra is one of twenty cleansing mantras in a collection entitled *Panlukatan Nava-Ratna*, or "the Cleansing of the Nine-Fold Jewel." Because the Astu Pungku mantra is the longest mantra within the collection, the collection is sometimes referred to as *Astu Pungku.* The recitation of the Astu Pungku mantra is thought to hold a great deal of power itself. From *lukat*, or "cleanse," and *nava-ratna*, or "nine-fold jewel,"

[152] This Astu Pungku mantra is not only used by dalang, but also by priests, or *senguh* (a form of priest who only communicates with the *bhutakala*, or low energies/spirits), and *rsi*, or minor religious figures (like rishis or shamans), who are also involved with cleansing people. The Astu Pungku mantra can be found in Hooykaas 1973a.

Panlukatan Nava-Ratna refers to directing cleansing to the eight cardinal directions and pole at the center (similar to the *dewata nawa sangha*, or the eight gods situated in the eight directions).[153] The aim of this mantra is to exorcize evil powers and send purity in every direction, and it is thought to be capable of exorcizing human misery, defilements of the ground, deadly transgressions, afflictions, illnesses, sufferings, and stains and blemishes that might affect one's soul (Hooykaas 1973: 285).[154]

The ability to recite mantra such as the Astu Pungku also gives the dalang authority, as it is only a select few who can use this as a tool for purification and cleansing. Another level of authority is accorded to the dalang in that he or she is able to read sastra like the *Dharma Pewayangan* lontar and recite mantras such as *Astu Pungku* in the Kawi language (old Balinese/ old Javanese language).[155] A dalang must know the Kawi language to dramatize the puppet characters and recite the required mantras in ritual performance; however, Kawi is not commonly taught to ordinary Balinese people, and its study is mostly restricted to priests, mangku, dalang, and dancers who use it for spiritual teaching or ritual performance. This linguistic aspect of wayang performance creates an additional level of traditional authority because only a select number of people in Balinese society understand the language.[156] If we draw again on the

[153] Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan describes this as follows: *panlukatan* means "cleansing," *nava* or *nawa*, means "nine," and *ratna* means "stones," "jewel," "queen," or "flower." Interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 20 June 2014.

[154] Although the mantra is thought to have power, anyone can recite the mantra; however, it is really only priests, pemangku and pemangku dalang who know the mantra, and it is their authority coming through the recitation of the mantra that gives it its power. The dalang or priest has to understand the meaning and how the mantra brings energies together. The mantra helps to bring up the great energy held inside the person reciting it, which is then conveyed to the people present.

[155] The authority for having this ability was already mentioned in Sugriwa's list of criteria to become a dalang above.

[156] A similar assertion to the one made about language and mantra can be applied to the extremely complex gendér wayang music that accompanies the wayang performance. Given that gendér wayang

theoretical work of Maurice Bloch and his article "Symbols, Song Dance, and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?" (1974) we could again argue that the Kawi language aspect of shadow theater brings the dalang and the wayang even more authority, as this is yet another aspect of the ritual that comes across as being unintelligible and outside the capabilities of the common Balinese people (Bloch 1974: 67).[157]

In this way, mantra and language help the dalang to accrue more traditional authority, as a skill such as knowing how to read and recite Kawi is only possessed by a few. This traditional aspect of ritual wayang performance is also part of what gave a dalang taksu in the past. As we will see in the example of the modern wayang presented later, Kawi sections of the wayang performance are being shortened, and Balinese sections (performed by the clown characters) are being lengthened. This will force us to examine how the axes of taksu and authority changes along with developments in Balinese wayang.

Sastra and the Authority of Gendér Wayang Music

The traditional authority of the dalang and wayang can also be discussed when considering how gendér wayang music is treated within sastra. We have already begun to

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employs the use of two hands, complex interlocking, and a difficult dampening technique, gendér wayang music is thought to be the hardest of all Balinese music. As Michael Tenzer states in his book *Balinese Music* (1991), "Balinese musicians who do not play *gendér wayang* are usually in awe of their counterparts who do, such is the reputation of the music's difficulty" (Tenzer 1991: 85). If we are to follow Maurice Bloch's reasoning, we can assert that gendér wayang music and musicians also add another level of traditional authority to the dalang and the shadow play, as the ability to play the music is outside the capabilities of the common Balinese person.

[157] Zurbuchen also mentions the use of archaic linguistic codes and traditional forms as having a force derived from the antiquity of their origins and linguistic form (Zurbuchen 1987: 21). For example, a Catholic mass performed in Latin might seem more powerful than one in English, because that is the antiquated way mass was given for centuries, and many people do not understand the Latin language. The Latin language is heralded because of its history within the Catholic tradition and is seen as something outside the capabilities of the common person, thus creating a phenomenon by which practitioners feel closer to God.

observe this importance within the wayang creation myth and the wayang sapuh leger story. For example, in the creation myth taken from the *Tantu Pangelaran* lontar, it is the *Sang Catur Lohka Phala* (the four gods at the cardinal directions of the dewata nawa sanga) who are playing gendér wayang to accompany the shadow puppet theater that reminds Siwa and Uma of their rightful place in the cosmos. Gendér wayang also plays an important role in the wayang sapuh leger story when Kumara (or Subrate) comes upon the dalang performing wayang and hides in the resonator of one of gendér wayang instruments. The fact that gendér wayang is mentioned explicitly in both of these myths underlines the fact that gendér wayang music is an important and inextricable part of the wayang tradition and helps to buttress the traditional authority of the dalang and the wayang (see figure 3.1 for a photo of Mas gendér wayang musicians at a wayang sapuh leger ceremony).



Figure 3.1: Two gendér wayang musicans, I Made Reda (left) and I Wayang Diatmika (right), accompany the dalang Ida Bagus Made Geriya while he makes holy water for a wayang sapuh leger ceremony in Mas village. Photo by the author. 1 September 2010.

When considering how gendér wayang music helps to contribute to the authority of the dalang and the shadow theater within the context sastra, it helps to understand how Balinese view the position of music within their culture in general. Music and sound are a required element for celebrations and temple anniversary ceremonies, or *odalan*, and according to Lisa Gold, music is a requirement for rituals in order to invoke the Balinese aesthetic of *ramé,* or full, boisterous, and active (Gold 2005: 7).[158] In my interviews with Dalang Ida Bagus Anom and Dalang Sidja, it was relayed to me that no temple ceremony is complete without the *panca gita*, or "five songs/sounds." According to Dalang Sidja, there are four Veda (the major religious texts of the Hindu canon) and five kinds of ritual, or *yadnya*, but there is no Veda for the music. The music and sounds required for a ceremony to be successful, the panca gita, are, in a way, Sidja states, like the fifth Veda.[159] These sounds function to bring all of the aspects of the ritual together. They create an atmosphere for Balinese Hindus to reflect on their spirituality; in turn, it is believed that the people will live and reflect with a higher spiritual vibrancy and happiness.[160] The panca gita consist of: 1) gongs (musical instruments like gamelan and gendér wayang); 2) *kentongan* (for example, the *kul kul* or wooden bell, which functions as a sign to the Hindu community that it is time to gather for a ceremony) (figure 3.2); 3) *kidung/kakawin* (sacred singing); 4) *mantra* (sacred chanting of the priest and mangku); and 5) *genta* or *bajra* (the priest's bell that accompanies prayer and worship) (Midastra 2007: 33) (figure 3.3).

[158] According to Gold, the boisterous atmosphere of a temple ceremony is referred to as *ramé* and is essential for the ceremony to be successful. The opposite of *ramé*, *sepi*, or quiet, is thought to attract demonic forces; therefore, people prefer the safety of *ramé* (Gold 2005: 7).

[159] Interview with Dalang Made Sidja, 16 August 2011.

[160] ISI Denpasar Professor Nyoman Catra also describes arts like the wayang as being like a fifth Veda, in that the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* epics are performed, as are the Upanishads and the Puranas (Interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014).





Figure 3.2 (left): Kul kul bell. Photo by the author. 12 July 2015. Figure 3.3 (right): Priest holding a *genta* bell. Photo by the author. 2011.

Music and sound within the context of a temple ceremony become like a fifth Veda in that they help to transport worshippers to a place of reflection. The ramé aesthetic that Gold describes sets the tone for what is happening; it helps to define the special nature of the event going on and to set it apart from normal life. In a similar way, gendér wayang helps to legitimate the authority of the dalang, in that it is a requirement of the shadow puppet theater, and its special aesthetic is both consciously and unconsciously taken as a sign for the audience to prepare themselves for the wayang and the spiritual knowledge that will come through it. Many ethnomusicologists have written on the utilitarian function of the gendér wayang music, recognizing that without the support of the skillful musicians, the puppeteer's presentation could not be realized (see Sedana 2005: 44). In her doctoral dissertation, American ethnomusicologist Lisa Gold also pays attention to how gendér wayang music holds a special authority in its ability to communicate to the audience and help portray the story (Gold 1998).

According to the German musicologist Carl Dahlhaus, music functions as a mode of meaning, and we cannot ignore the aesthetic side of music when undertaking a sociological study (Dahlhaus 1989). I believe that this is important and relevant here, as aside from the music's utilitarian function, the music helps a dalang to build taksu and convey a story because the unique aesthetic of the gendér wayang music functions to symbolize the spiritual event taking place. This dichotomy between music's utilitarian function and its artistic aesthetic function has been described by John Blacking's as "music for having" and "music for being" and by Neuman as "music as a way of and a way for life" (Blacking 1973: 50; Neuman 1990: 59). "Music for having" serves a utilitarian function, whereas "music for being" has the ability to enhance one's consciousness and to make us more attuned with ourselves and the world. On the subject of "music for being," Blacking says, "thus, under certain conditions, the sound of music may recall a state of consciousness that has been acquired through processes of social experience" (ibid.: 50). In a utilitarian sense, the various moods and emotions conveyed by gendér wayang music help drive home the didactic points being made in the performance, but the aesthetic of gendér wayang music functions to orientate the audience to the world differently. It creates a mood and invokes the emotional experiences that one has learned to associate with particular patterns of sound (ibid.: 52).

Authority is created in the utilitarian sense that the music acts as a sort of reiteration of what is being conveyed by the dalang and his movement of the puppets. This idea is supported by Stanley Tambiah's interpretation of information theory, by which music and song become important elements of communication and what he calls "redundancy" (Tambiah 1979: 130-132). For example, a dalang might be dramatizing a love scene, and the soft musical piece "Rebong" will be played on the gendér wayang instruments to reiterate that this is a love scene

being portrayed. This is somewhat similar to the function of music that we hear in movies, and how the music not only heightens dramatic effect, but also urges us to form opinions about the situations or characters the music is accompanying. I'd like to argue here that accompanimental music like the gendér wayang gains authority because of its role as a redundant form of communication, as the play wouldn't be nearly as effective or communicative without this element.

With regard to the aesthetic dimension of gendér wayang, this idea has been echoed in my interviews with Balinese musicians and scholars and in the sastra written on Balinese music. Several authoritative works and lontar discuss the symbolism contained within gendér wayang music and its relation to larger conceptions of Balinese pantheon and cosmos, and some of these symbolic connections are also connected to the particular musical aesthetic that is thought to come through in different ensembles.[161] In my experience, I have encountered two lontar on Balinese music, the lontar *Prakempa* and the lontar *Aji Ghurnita.*[162] For my purposes here, I am only going to draw briefly on *Prakempa*, as Heimarck has already published a detailed account of the work.[163] I have also chosen to exclude the *Aji Ghurnita*, mainly because its contents are similar to those found in the *Prakempa*.[164]

[161] This was already discussed briefly in chapter two with specific reference made to DeVale 1991 and Heimarck 1991.

[162] Brita Heimarck has mentioned a third Balinese text on music entitled *Gong Wesi*, but I was unable to locate this text (Heimarck 2003: 187).

[163] When drawing on the *Prakempa* lontar, I am mainly referring to I Made Bandem's 1986 translation from Kawi to into Indonesian. Other versions of *Prakempa* and *Aji Ghurnita* are discussed in Heimarck's 2003 book in pages 186-188.

[164] I have consulted a translation of the *Aji Ghurnita* by Dr. Thomas Hunter and discussed it in depth with him, but a discussion of the *Prakempa* will suffice for the task at hand.

The *Prakempa* lontar presents an esoteric understanding of Balinese musical knowledge (different ensembles, modes and scales) through cosmological and natural associations. It presents the mythical origins of sound and gamelan music and even mentions the sacred role of particular instruments; for example, the name of the gong in a gamelan ensemble is *Sorga Tiga* (Three Heavens), as its sound is so powerful that believed to unite the three heavenly realms of Wisnu Lokha, Siwa Lokha, and Brahma Lokha (Heimarck 2003: 192). According to Heimarck, "these numerous associations add depth, breadth and a sacred resonance to particular sounds, instruments, and musical ensembles, connecting them to the natural elements of human life, and to the protective and creative forces of the universe" (Heimarck 2003: 192).

In my interview with ISI Denpasar professor I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, it was relayed to me that music, like gendér wayang, that is tuned in the *slendro* scale has an aura of spirituality and magic.[165] That is why gendér wayang is used to accompany wayang, and indeed why it is used in all rituals, for example, tooth filings, cremations, temple ceremonies, etc.[166] As mentioned in chapter two, the *Prakempa* lontar also describes how gendér distinctions are related to musical scales and, in turn, particular ensembles. The *pelog* scale, which is considered male, is called *Panca Tirtha* (the five waters), and because the god of love, Bhatara Semara, represents it, the pelog scale is thought to arouse desire. Conversely, the slendro scale, which is thought to be female, is called *Panca Geni* (or the five fires), and because the goddess of love, Bhatari Ratih, represents it, the slendro scale is thought to inspire good thoughts and enliven one's senses (Heimarck 2003:192). Given that the aesthetic of the slendro scale is though to inspire good thoughts and enliven the senses, gendér wayang is a ritual requirement of all ceremonial

[165] Other ensembles like gamelan *angklung* and *selonding* also used for ritual and ceremonial purposes are tuned in this scale.

[166] Interview with I Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, 29 April 2014.

proceedings (the panca yadnya), as this aesthetic buttresses the authority and the spiritual importance of the event. Because the Balinese people have come to associate the gendér wayang aesthetic with ritual and ceremony, hearing gendér wayang also helps to support the authority of a dalang as he is performing, because in some way, perhaps unconsciously, this music helps to remind people that they are entering into a space of spiritual reflection.

Conclusion

Before moving on to a discussion of traditional authority within the context of *dresta tah*, or authority pertaining to the customs of particular villages, I would like to take a moment to sum up a few points about traditional authority and the Balinese concepts of sastra tah and taksu. When considering the information presented above, we can see that the Balinese wayang and the dalang are credited with a great deal of authority within Balinese sastra and authoritative writing. In some cases, this authority is more apparent than others, in that it is explicitly stated in stories and myths. At other times, authority must be viewed in a more abstract way when considering how people relate to aspects of a ritual and ritual media and their own ability to understand them. We have seen how a redundant form of communication serves a utilitarian function and helps the dalang tell a story. It has also been argued that musical aesthetics can help support authority by its nature as a mode of meaning, and that it can function in Balinese society to prepare a worshipper for a spiritual experience. All of these factors also support the degree to which a dalang is thought to have taksu and skill, in that taksu is directly connected to how a viewer *relates* to the performance being given and how elements of a ritual speak to the inculcated values and ideology of the Balinese people. Traditional authority and taksu are explored on yet

another level in the next chapter dealing with the third Balinese concept of traditional authority, that of *dresta tah.*

Chapter 4: Traditional Authority and Dresta Tah

This is the third in a series of three chapters dealing with Balinese conceptions of traditional authority, taksu (Balinese spiritual power, or performance charisma), and the wayang sapuh leger ritual. In particular, this chapter examines traditional authority within the Balinese concept of *dresta tah*. *Dresta* means "unwritten rules," or *peraturan yang tidak tertulis* (Indonesian). The Balinese recognize that there are unwritten rules (dresta) governing the specific ways in which traditions are carried out in each village.[167] In a sense, dresta tah asserts that traditional authority can be accorded to actors on a small scale (versus the entire tradition) based on the customs of a particular village. With this in mind, this chapter examinese traditional authority and dresta tah within a case study of a family of dalang from the village of Mas in Gianyar regency. Through an examination of both performative and extra-performative elements of the Mas wayang tradition, this chapter demonstrates how authority and taksu are attributed through both performance and the local religious and political histories. In addition to discussing the Mas dalang family's role in ritual activities during the week of wuku wayang, I aim to demonstrate how social organization and social hierarchies entangled in dresta tah create "sites of memory" and ideology within Balinese society, and, in turn, function as causal criteria in the legitimation of authority attributed to Balinese performers. In structuring a discussion of traditional authority and taksu within the concept of dresta tah, I focus on four areas, namely: 1) authority and the Mas dalang family; 2) ritual activities in Mas during wuku wayang; 3) authority, taksu, and the Mas gendér wayang music; and 4) the hereditary aspect of taksu.

[167] Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 17 March 2015.

Dresta Tah

In formulating an understanding of dresta tah, it is helpful to first touch on the Balinese concept of *desakalapatra*. If we separate out the individual parts of this term we find three words: *desa*, *kala*, *patra*, or "place," "time," and "custom." This concept is important, as all aspects of Balinese life and ritual ceremonies are conducted and influenced by this tripartite idea. The concept also holds great value for a researcher, as theoretical interpretations of rituals are inevitably influenced by the place, time, and customs beings observed. Personally, I find this concept extremely important, as my knowledge of the Balinese shadow theater tradition is largely informed by my experience working in the village of Mas. The questions I have chosen to ask, and my familiarity with one particular kind of wayang performance, stem from the many years I spent observing ritual wayang and the customs of the Brahman people of Mas village. If we combine the three elements of desakalapatra, these three variables constitute the third form of Balinese traditional authority, that of dresta tah. Dresta tah refers to the customs of a specific village (desa) and how those customs are carried out in specific situations or circumstances (patra). Since we are already familiar with when (time, or kala) the ceremonies for wuku wayang take place in the Balinese calendar, I explore the desa and patra aspects by presenting how the dalang family from Mas village carry out ritual activities during wuku wayang. My examination of dresta tah and the Mas dalang family starts by exploring aspects of lineage and kinship to point out how social histories and social hierarchies play a great part in the attribution of authority and taksu.

Authority and the Mas Dalang Family

When examining the traditional authority of Balinese artists within the concept of dresta tah, it is important to recognize that authority is credited and legitimated through factors beyond elements of performance. In this section, I explore how concepts such as lineage, caste, and *dadia*, or kinship groups, have bolstered and legitimated the authority of the family of dalang from Mas. Drawing on my research on Balinese dalang lineages and the development of the Brahman caste within Balinese Hinduism, I demonstrate how a great deal of authority attributed to the dalang of Mas stems from their familial roots and religious position as Mas Brahmans. From this analysis, I present a hypothesis suggesting that the center for Balinese shadow puppet theater may have at one time resided in Mas village. I then ask why the center for Balinese shadow theater today seems to reside in the village of Sukawati. Invoking Hobsbawm's notion of "invented tradition," I also suggest that dalang from Mas may at one time have been the premier dalang of the island, or, at the very least, have greatly influenced the wayang tradition found in Sukawati today.

Lineage

My discussion of the traditional authority, dresa tah and the Mas dalang family begins by examining aspects of their lineage. This is done in two ways: first, by detailing the long line of dalang from which they come, and second, by discussing their hereditary connection to the great priest Danghyang Nirartha, also known as the "father" of the four Brahman caste lineages of Balinese Hinduism.[168] If we are to remember the definition of "tradition" as being derived from

[168] The four branches of Balinese Hinduism are: Brahmana Kemenuh, Brahmana Manuaba, Brahmana Keniten, and Brahmana Mas. Each of these branches of the Balinese Brahman caste is descended from the priest Danghyang Nirartha, but they are categorized based on the wife from whom they come. Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 17 March 2015.

the Latin word *tradere* meaning "to transmit" or "give to another for safekeeping," we are immediately reminded of how important transmission is in the creation of tradition and traditional authority (Giddens 2003: 39). This idea is reiterated by the sociologist Edward Shils, who reminds us that in defining tradition "the decisive criterion is that, having been created through human actions, through thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next" (Shils 1981: 12). The above statements become particularly important when observing the traditional authority of my teachers from Mas, Ida Bagus Made Geriya and his son Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, and how their authority and knowledge has been transmitted through one of the oldest dalang lineages of Bali.[169]

As often happens with the cultural traditions in Bali, Ida Bagus Made Geriya inherited his trade from his father and was trained to be a dalang from childhood. The dalang lineage in Mas is said to be one of the oldest in Bali, with Ida Bagus Made Geriya being the 10th generation of dalang in his family and his son Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan the 11th.[170] The importance and authority of Ida Bagus Made Geriya and the lineage of dalang from which he comes have been documented in several Indonesian-language sources on shadow theater in Bali. For example, a government-funded project on Balinese shadow puppeteers in 1979 produced the manuscript *Kehidupan Dalang Bali* (The Lives of Balinese Shadow Puppeteers) (1979/80). This manuscript

[169] For now, I will focus specifically on Ida Bagus Made Geriya, as a majority of the research I conducted between 2007 and 2013 was with him. I then continued my studies with his son Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan. I have come across several ways of spelling Ida Bagus Made Geriya's name, including Geriya, Gria, and Geriya, but I have chosen to use the spelling "Geriya" because this is what his family has chosen to carve on his burial stone. It is also important to note that *gria*, *Geriya*, or *geriya*, can also refer to the name of a Brahman caste compound. When translated, this term means "benefactor," and refers to the idea that commoner Balinese turn to the inhabitants of a Geriya for advice and assistance in all areas of life and relgion.

[170] I have been told that Singaraja (an area in north Bali) also has a very old lineage as well, but I have not found anything supporting the idea that one is older than the other. Brita Heimarck also mentions an old lineage in Sukawati, but as I will discuss below, she states that they can only trace their lineage back five or six generations, versus the ten or eleven generations of the Mas family.

provides accounts of thirteen dalang from throughout the island; however, it significant that ten out of the sixty pages of the manuscript are devoted to the dalang lineage of Mas, in particular, to my teacher's father, the esteemed dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug.[171] This document also provides a wealth of information on the earlier generations of dalang from the Mas lineage who were influential in Ida Bagus Berata Baglug's development as a shadow puppeteer. In order for the reader to begin to get a sense of how important these puppeteers have been to the Balinese people, I have translated and included relevant sections of this document that discuss the fame of this family of dalang. In doing so, I attempt to make a rare Indonesian-language document accessible while also capturing the Balinese voices that serve as a testament to the great deal of power and authority that has been attributed to the Mas dalang family.

> During the time of Kertha kingdoms around 1857, there emerged an important puppeteer who had a great impact on the field of puppetry, literature, and spirituality. This dalang was named Ida Bagus Made Dalang [he was the grandfather of Ida Bagus Berata Baglug and said to be the seventh generation of dalang in the family]. Ida Bagus Made Dalang had skills in puppetry, spirituality, and drawing and making puppets, and his influence greatly affected Balinese society. Ida Bagus Made Dalang was cherished by Cokorda Negara, the leader of the local government in the village of Ubud at the time. Elements that had a prominent role in his staging of puppetry included storytelling, philosophy, and his ability to play the clown characters such as Twalen, Merdah, Delem, Sangut, Condong and to create new puppets. This is what brought his name fame. In addition, Ida Bagus Made Dalang's level of spirituality made him a prominent figure of mysticism, and he was very familiar with the concept of *kanda empat* (Arthanegara 1979/80: 50).[172]

[171] This manuscript was most likely a product of the initiatives to uphold Balinese arts set in place by Governor Ida Bagus Mantra in 1978.

[172] Translation of this document from Indonesian to English is my own. *Kanda empat*, from *kakanda* meaning "older brother" and *empat* meaning "four," refers to the four elements that accompany a child at birth, namely *ari-ari*, or placenta; *yeh nyom*, or amniotic fluid; *rah*/*getih*, or blood; and *lamas/banah*, or vernix caseosa (the yellow salve that coats a new born). After birth, these "four brothers," which are deified as Anggapati, Prajapati, Banaspati, and Banaspatiraja, are buried in a special place in the family compound (mostly the placenta) so that they can accompany the newborn throughout their life, protect them from sickness, ward off evil spirits, and ensure that they grow into a healthy adult. See Eiseman 1990: 100-107.

This paragraph of the document already establishes that the dalang family from Mas extends back many generations and was held in great esteem by the royalty and political figures of the time.

Other parts of this document establish how the authority of this lineage was passed down, and how Ida Bagus Made Dalang's carving of traditional puppet figures was part of the way in which the fame of the Mas dalang legacy was continued. For example:

> It is said that Ida Bagus Made Dalang often meditated (*bertapa*) in haunted [or very sacred] temples, including the Pura Taman Pule in the village of Mas.[173] He received inspiration and blessings to creation new wayang images for puppets such as Sangut, Kayonan, and Condong.[174] These wayang creations continue to bring fame to the descendents of Ida Bagus Made Dalang, to the point that one can still hear people mention the popularity of the Sangut puppet from Mas.[175] The soul and blood (*bakat*, or talent) of the art of puppetry was passed down from Ida Bagus Made Dalang to his fourth son, who was named Ida Bagus Ketut Alit [the father of Ida Bagus Berata Baglug] (ibid.: 52).

Continuing, this document then discusses the great fame of Ida Bagus Made Dalang's son (Ida Bagus Ketut Alit), and compares his fame to that of dalang in the village of Sukawati at the time. From this passage it can be ascertained that Ida Bagus Ketut Alit was no less influential in the field of wayang performance than his father, and that he stood as an important example for other dalang. It also mentions that Ida Bagus Ketut Alit had a son, Ida Bagus Berata Baglug (my teacher's father), and that the Mas dalang lineage rivaled the Sukawati lineage. The passage to which I am referring is translated here:

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[173] The Pura Taman Pule temple has a deep significance for the authority of the Mas village dalang and Brahman people, as it was once the home of the "father" of the four Brahman caste lineages of Bali. This is discussed in more detail below.

[174] Sangut is the name of one of the four clown (*panakawan*) characters in Balinese shadow puppet theater. Kayonan is the "tree of life" puppet. Condong is the name of a maidservant character.

[175] Some of the wayang puppets that Ida Bagus Made Geriya inherited, such as the Sangut puppet, are already torn and have been copied. The old Sangut puppet is now always placed in the *pemerajan* (the name for the family temple in a Brahman compound) as a spiritual symbol during ceremonies on holy days for the Hindus of Bali (wuku wayang, for example) (Arthanegara 1979/80: 53).

> According to the Balinese public, the late puppeteer Ida Bagus Ketut Alit was one of the leading puppeteers who lived around 1900. He was a renowned teacher of the Balinese community and society. During the career of dalang Ida Bagus Ketut Alit from Mas, there appeared a rival, the late puppeteer I Wayan Krekek of Sukawati village, who had no less of an influence in the art of puppetry. I Wayan Krekek then gave birth to the dalang I Nyoman Granyam, who also became an example for the younger generation of dalang. Just as the late dalang I Wayan Krekek gave birth to the dalang I Nyoman Granyam, who also became popular, so too did the late dalang Ida Bagus Ketut Alit give birth to the dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug, who also became famous. During his time, Ida Bagus Berata Baglug became an example for dalang who were the same age, and for those in the younger generations, for example, dalang Ida Bagus Ngurah from Buduk, dalang Ida Bagus Gede Sarga, and others. They followed the style of wayang performance from Mas [the one promoted by Ida Bagus Berata Baglug]. Meanwhile, several dalang in Tabanan, Gianyar, Badung, Karangasem, and Klungkung followed the style of performance of the dalang from Sukawati [that performed by the dalang I Nyoman Granyam]. The dalang whom younger generations chose to follow depended on talent and their compatibility with the famous dalang mentioned above (ibid.: 54).

In discussions with my teacher and his family it was often relayed to me that Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was thought to be a reincarnation of his grandfather Ida Bagus Made Dalang, as Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was born on the same day as his grandfather and as a child had been blessed with special offerings to embody the spirit of his grandfather (ibid.: 55). Many believed that he was indeed a reincarnation, as he was just as renowned and influential as his grandfather. Evidence of his success is found in the same document I have been discussing: the idea that Ida Bagus Berata Baglug might indeed represent an incarnation of his grandfather is present in the information on his performances and his renown across the island.[176] For example:

> Ida Bagus Berata Baglug could really control the technique of the wayang. He is one of the dalang figures who could function as a giver of information or to spread the word about village obligations through his means of explaining the philosophy of religion and the sciences. Therefore, dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug functioned as an educator of society, and it was proven that his plays contained 30% humor, 30% entertainment, 30% education, and 10% social critique regarding government apparatus and elements of society. Furthermore, the informant I Gusti Ketut Kaler asserted that dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was able to control the opinions of society and help align people to societal values (ibid.: 55-56).

[176] Ida Bagus Berata Baglus also received an award of recognition from Listibya (also known as the "Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan," or the Advisory Council on the Development of Culture of Bali, formed in 1967) in 1979, as did his son Ida Bagus Made Geriya (Arthanegara 1979/80: 60).

The informant who provided this information goes on to say that Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was so good at performing that he never told the same story twice and that he was an expert in creating atmosphere and arousing emotions. In fact, Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was known for telling stories that were so sad and for getting the audience so involved that he could make them cry. He could also arouse feelings of desire and love within romantic scenes so much so that the king of Gianyar, who was having trouble becoming aroused and lustful, invited Ida Bagus Berata Baglug to perform wayang for him in his palace so that he could make love to his wives (ibid.: 56).

Testimonials in the document I have been discussing also mention how important the dalang lineage from Mas was, and how at one time their performances were unparalleled. For example:

> The informant I Ketut Guweng from Denpasar (a leader in Hindu Buddhist politics) claimed to know the truth about the Ida Bagus Berata Baglug [Mas], Dalang I Wayan Krekek [Sukawati], I Nyoman Granyam [Sukawati] and Dalang Bongkasa [Bongkasa]. According to I Ketut Guweng, Ida Bagus Berata Baglug was unparalleled, and he did not have a single flaw in his performances. His performances were so great from the beginning to the end that audiences were always left wanting more. He likened his performances to eating rice with savory side dishes, as one always wants to have more when they are finished. Ida Bagus Berata Baglug's puppet voices were amazing and without fault, and he could portray any variety of characters even though he was a thin, small man. Ida Bagus Berata Baglug always appeared in Badung if there was a special religious ceremony of the highest level going on, and the people organizing the ceremony always made a great effort to invite Ida Bagus Berata Baglug to perform. Therefore, it is apparent that Ida Bagus Berata Baglug had a very big impact, because religious ceremonies such as these had to be balanced with a dalang who was of highest quality (ibid.: 60).

These passages that I have translated and cited suggest that the Mas dalang lineage was once one of the most esteemed lineages on Bali. This did not change during Ida Bagus Made Geriya's life, as he too has been recognized alongside other famous dalang in Bali in the Indonesian language written document *Pakem Wayang Parwa Bali* (Stories for the Balinese Wayang Parwa) (1986). This manuscript was also produced from a project undertaken by the Balinese government to present and preserve information on Balinese *seni budaya*, or cultural arts, in 1986. Included in

the manuscript is a description of *wayang kulit*, accompanied by stories given by various respected *dalang*. Concluding the book is a short biography of my teacher, Ida Bagus Made Geriya, along with one of his shadow play stories. Since I have not found any information about Ida Bagus Made Geriya in any text written in English, I have translated this biography titled *"Mangku Dalang* Ida Bagus Made Geriya From Mas Village, Sub-district Ubud, Gianyar Regency," and include it here as an introduction to his life. This text describes the significance of my teacher's lineage and outlines many of his accomplishments. Ida Bagus Made Geriya's presence in a government-funded manuscript such as this demonstrates his importance to the Balinese people and that he is a respected authority on his art (see figure 4.1 for a photo of Ida Bagus Made Geriya).[177]



Figure 4.1: IB Made Geriya making holy water after a performance. Photo by the author. 2010.

> Born on 22nd August 1927, Ida Bagus Made Geriya was the son of a mangku dalang who was famous during the period of the Dutch and Japanese occupation. This dalang was the late Ida Bagus Berata Baglug, and he was married to Jero Gria.
>
> Ida Bagus Made Geriya was an only child who was indeed from ancestors who had art in their blood, especially in the subjects of *pedalangan* (art of puppetry), dancing, and woodcarving. The grandfathers of this mangku dalang were the late Ida Bagus Ketut Alit and the late Ida Bagus

[177] These manuscripts could have been considered in the chapter on sastra tah, but I have included them here as they relate to my discussion of Mas village. Translation of these texts is my own.

Ketut Ngurah [this was his great uncle actually], who were a group of well-known dalang during the period of the kingdoms in Bali around the 18th and 19th centuries. This has been proven through cultural artifacts in the form of one *kropak* [box of wayang puppets], several instruments, and writings and collections that have connections with Balinese wayang kulit, inherited by Ida Bagus Made Geriya.[178] In addition to this, Ida Bagus Made Geriya's ancestor, named Ida Bagus Made Dalang, had already passed down the products of his work in the form of wayang stories that often became the example for other dalang and made up the writings in collections on wayang kulit.[179] In the meantime, people who have worked with dalang from the lineage have said that because they don't know from whom or from where the wayang came, the origins of this art are not known for sure. Ida Bagus Made Geriya is a graduate of the Vervolg School during the period of the Dutch occupation.

Because Ida Bagus Made Geriya is the descendent of artistic people, the artistic information he possesses now has already been built up and cultivated since he was a child. His only inheritance was receiving the talent of his ancestors. This can been seen in his service of activities in the world of the arts. Because of the popularity of his late father [Ida Bagus Berata Baglug] in the art of puppetry, the regional government of Bali gave Ida Bagus Berata Baglug an art award in 1979. Now, Ida Bagus Made Geriya has received the aforementioned art award. His experiences in the arts include a variety of activities. For example, when he was a child, his hobby of wayang was supplemented with a combination of activities like studying *baris* dance and playing *gendér wayang*, *gamelan gong*, and *angklung*. Between 1935 and1942 he focused specifically on the art of puppetry, and in 1942 was officially given the title of mangku dalang.[180] This title was conferred after completing the *pawintenan* ceremony [same as mewinten, or ceremonial initiation], which was officiated by a *sulinggih* [a high priest] and his father. In 1948, he started to study *topeng* and *prembon* dancing.[181]

Around the years 1945-1949 Ida Bagus Made Geriya entered into the organization *Pemuda Republic Indonesia* [PRI, or youth organization of the republic of Indonesia], which fought to defend the proclamation of independence in the new republic of Indonesia.[182] In 1950, he continued his devotion to the arts and also made an effort to increase his household economy by starting to sell statues. In this year, he also worked with his uncle, the late Ida Bagus Glodog, developing the *gabor* dance with gamelan angklung.[183] In 1953 he developed a *kecak* group for

[178] A *kropak* is the name given to the special box that holds the *wayang kulit* puppets. Lisa Gold mentions Granyam from Sukawati becoming famous because of "the loosening of the dovetailed joints of the puppet box" that enabled the *dalang* to create rhythmic patterns with the box (Gold 1998: 167). The old *kropak* mentioned above has the same sort of dove-tailed joints, and it is possible that this was a Mas invention.

[179] I Made Dalang was Ida Bagus Made Geriya's great-grandfather and the 7th generation of dalang in his family. He is also said to be the teacher of the famed Krekek, hence the link of transmission from Mas to Sukwati.

[180] This title and ceremony gave him the right to perform more priestly functions such as making holy water and performing *wayang sapuh leger* and *wayang sudamala*.

[181] *Topeng*, or "mask," refers to masked dance performance, and *prembon* dance is another form of topeng dance that draws from the Arja dance drama and *topeng bondres*, or masked dance of clown characters.

[182] Ida Bagus Made Geriya would often tell me stories about running away from soldiers and throwing grenades. I have also seen a knife he used to carry that has the inscription PRI on the back.

[183] A welcome dance for women similar to *pendet.*

> tourism reasons, and during this time he also developed drama arts.[184] In 1958, together with Dr. Murdowo, he started a *parwa* [dramatization of the Mahabharata] group in Banjar Teges Kanginan in Peliatan village. In 1970 he started a group of *kecak* dances in Banjar Teges Kanginan. In 1973, for one month, he taught the *calonarang*, *topeng*, and *barong* dances in Krambitan village, Tabanan district. In January 1974 he taught dancing lessons in Solo (Surakarta) by request from the private party of Mr. Paluardi Sasono Mulyo (for 26 days). Around February in 1974, he taught dance arts at the TIM [Taman Ismail Marzuki is an art and cultural center] in Jakarta. Besides his activities in developing the arts within his country, Ida Bagus Made Geriya traveled abroad, most frequently to Europe. For example, from February 24th, 1974 until 1975 he went to Paris, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Iran, and Italy with an arts group from Banjar Teges through the invitation of private business.[185]
>
> Around August 1976, through the same program, he brought that arts group to Iran, and around September 1976, they went to the arts festival in Germany. The types of dance that were brought on their journey include all of the types of Legong, Barong, Semar Pegulingan, Kecak, Topeng, and puppetry.
>
> That is the short biography of mangku dalang Ida Bagus Made Dalang. He is one of the continuing generations and will definitely become a person to train and pass down the arts to the new generations. Through his work in the arts he has realized how important the arts are, especially the art of puppetry, in mental and spiritual development, and believes this to be the key to uniting the people of Indonesia and helping them to realize their dreams (Yayasan Pewayangan Daerah Bali 1986/87: 196-198).

This biography touches on only a fragment of the more than seventy years of experience that Ida Bagus Made Geriya had working in the performing arts of Bali; however, it does reiterate how he is a descendant of an important dalang lineage. While the Mas dalang family cannot remember all of the names of the preceding dalang in their lineage, it is known that Ida Bagus Made Geriya is the 10th generation of dalang in his family. Based on information found in Balinese texts on wayang kulit and on oral accounts given to me by members of Mas village, I have compiled a family tree for the dalang lineage from Mas. Also included on this chart is a list

[184] Ida Bagus Made Geriya has also told me stories of working with Walter Spies to develop kecak, so he may have had a big hand in adapting the art form from its original ritual purpose into a show for tourists.

[185] It is a strong possibility that IB Geriya's extensive traveling and involvement in other arts is one of the reasons why the Mas *gendér wayang* tradition has not thrived as strongly as it could have. As a matter of fact, when he first began to train the *gendér* player I Made Reda, he was suddenly whisked abroad for a year. IB Made Geriya claims that his absence at that time is why I Made Reda plays with some variation. He had forgotten some of the music and changed it as he was practicing. This explains some of the variation between Pak Geriya's playing and the way that I Made Reda and I Wayan Gede Diatmika usually perform in ceremonies. Conversely, the musicians sometimes argue that Pak Geriya has forgotten in his old age, which is also very probable. In my chapter on transcription I have done my best to document Pak Geriya's variations, and the variations and modern ornaments of his musicians.

of gendér wayang musicians who have accompanied Ida Bagus Made Geriya, his son (Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan) and his father (Ida Bagus Berata Baglug) in their performances of shadow theater. From this, one can immediately see a major decrease in the number of gendér wayang players between the generations (see table 4.1).[186]

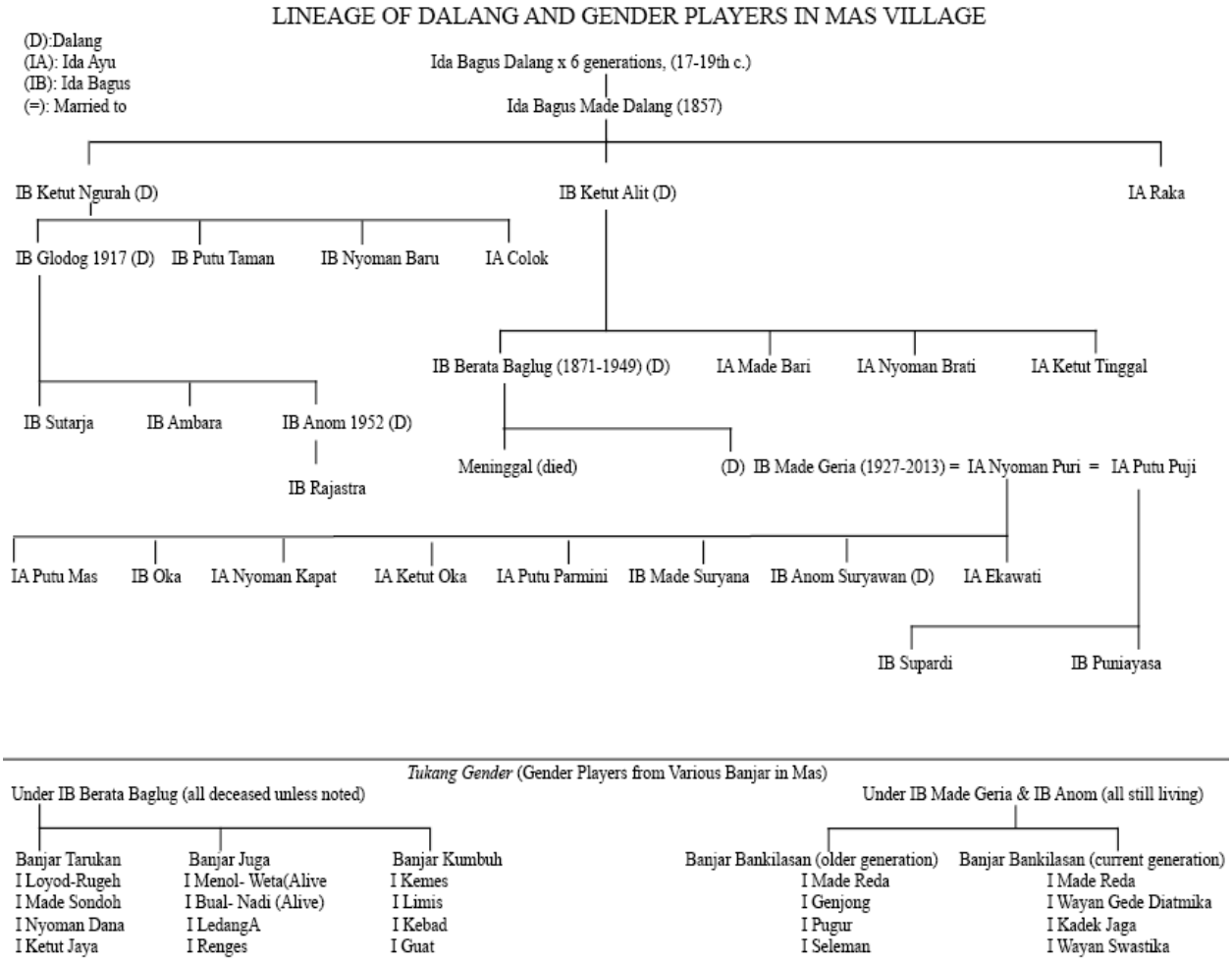


Table 4.1: Lineage of dalang and gendér players in Mas village[187]

[186] The two main gendér wayang players in Mas now are I Made Reda and I Wayang Gede Diatmika from Banjar Bangkilasan. I Kadek Jaga and I Wayan Swastika will still sometimes play for longer performances. I Wayan Swastika's son (also named Wayan) and Ida Bagus Rekha have also begun to learn the repertoire and perform for small ceremonies in the village.

[187] The abbreviation IB means Ida Bagus and refers to men of the Brahman caste. Similarly, the abbreviation IA means Ida Ayu and refers to women of the Brahman caste.

In her book *Bima Swarga in Balinese Wayang* (1981), Heidi Hinzler comments on the instruction of prospective dalang and also touches on the fame of my teacher's family of dalang from Mas. She says,

> Prospective *dalangs* may ask an old *dalang* for some form of instruction on the movements of the puppets; in addition he [a prospective dalang] may attend the performances given by famous *dalang* very much admired by him. Many older *dalang* in South Bali always mentioned in this connection that they used to attend the performances of I Granyam and his son I Krekek from Sukawati, or of Ida Bagus Ketut Alit from Mas.[188] These three, who seemed to have enraptured the Balinese in the twenties and thirties, served as a model for many present-day *dalang* (Hinzler 1981: 42).[189]

When considering this quote by Hinzler and how old and important the dalang lineage of Mas is said to be, I quickly became intrigued to learn why Sukawati village had become the center for wayang and gendér wayang music and not Mas village. It was not uncommon when I told Balinese people that I was studying gendér wayang music that they assumed I was studying in Sukawati, and some seemed to wonder why I was studying shadow theater in Mas at all (Mas is more known for woodcarving and mask-making than anything else).

After conducting significant research and considering the economic influences surrounding this perception amongst the Balinese, I don't believe I would be incorrect in saying that it is possible that the Sukawati tradition either grew out of or was greatly influenced by the great spiritual adepts and dalang from Mas. I have come to this hypothesis for several reasons, first, because my former professor, Brita Heimarck, has written extensively on the history of the dalang and gendér players of Sukawati village, and according to Heimarck, many of the family of dalang in Sukawati can only trace their lineage back five or six generations (Heimarck 2003:

[188] This is actually incorrect: Granyam is the son of Krekek.

[189] Brita Heimarck (2003) goes into great detail about the *keluarga dalang* (dalang family) lineage of dalang from the village of Sukawati, so I will not spend time discussing them here. See Heimarck 2003: 43-50.

43). In my research, I have been told that the Mas dalang family can trace their lineage back ten or eleven generations, a good few more generations than what Heimarck has documented in Sukawati.

I have heard many stories of how dalang from Sukawati used to come to Mas to learn from the dalang there. As noted earlier in the quotation from Heidi Hinzler, the Sukawati dalang Krekek was famous at the same time as the Mas dalang Ida Bagus Ketut Alit. I have been told by Ida Bagus Made Geriya, his family, and other villagers of Mas, that Ida Bagus Made Geriya's grandfather, Ida Bagus Ketut Alit, and his great-grandfather, Ida Bagus Made Dalang, were responsible for training the Sukawati dalang Krekek. According to Ida Bagus Made Geriya, I Krekek would often come Mas to study the wayang stories and gendér wayang music, thus demonstrating a clear influence on the dalang lineage in Sukawati. As mentioned earlier in the above biography, Ida Bagus Made Geriya's great-great-grandfather, Ida Bagus Made Dalang, was so renowned that his performance style often became the example for younger dalang and collections of wayang stories. The sharing of information was very common during Ida Bagus Made Dalang's time, unlike today when many dalang create their own style and keep it secret to prevent it from being stolen. It is therefore highly probable that Ida Bagus Made Dalang trained or, at the very least, collaborated with Krekek.[190] More thoughts on the reasons behind this change are presented below.

[190] Other famous Balinese dalang have also been cited as training with the Mas dalang lineage. In an Indonesian-authored biography of pemangku dalang I Made Sidja from Blahbatuh Gianyar, it is noted that he learned from dalang Granyam from Sukawati and dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug (Ida Bagus Made Geriya's father) from Mas ("Yayaysan Pewayangan Daerah Bali" 1986/87: 189). The same is said of Dalang Sumandhi from Tunjuk, who was known to have come to Mas to study with Ida Bagus Berata Baglug. In my conversations with Ida Bagus Made Geriya and his son, Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, it became apparent that transmission of material from Mas to Sukawati also took place in ceremonies. Depending on the patron of a religious ceremony, sometimes there would be two simultaneous performances of wayang occurring at one time. Ida Bagus Made Geriya told me he can remember

Interesting questions concerning the transmission of material from Mas also arise when researching times of war, especially during the establishment of the Sukawati kingdom. According to *Babad Bali Agung: K.G.P. Bendesa Manik Mas* (babad are chronologies of family histories), Mas had once been the center for the Pasek Bendesa Manik Mas clan.[191] For many years the area flourished and prospered until the Kingdom of Gelgel set up a kingdom in Sukawati in the early 18th century.[192] Throughout the 18th century, control of the areas around Ubud and Gianyar passed back and forth between the Sukawati dynasty and the Gianyar dynasty. Seeking to create a kingdom based on the ideals of Majapahit Java, the ruler of the kingdom in Sukawati drew the finest musicians, dancers, carvers and artisans to his court. Therefore, it is very possible that these historical circumstances are part of the reason why Sukawati has become the most famous area for gendér wayang music and shadow puppet theater, as the Sukawati kingdom became the main patron of the arts in the area, and it was here that it was able to develop and flourish. Many of the dalang from Mas were also called upon to play for the kingdom of Sukawati, and this may have been when much of the collaboration began. It is possible that the dalang lineage of Mas extends back before the development of the Sukawati kingdom, as Brita Heimarck's tracing of the Sukawati dalang lineage only extends back five or six generations to the period of the kingdoms. While it is hard to discern where the origins of

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performing wayang kulit right next to the famous Sukawati dalang Granyam, and it is very likely that these practices promoted the sharing of performance material.

[191] See Mas, Dhanu, and Gingsir 1996.

[192] When the Kingdom of Gelgel fell, and its remnants regrouped in Klungkung, secondary kingdoms arose throughout the island For example, in the early 18th century, a descendent of the Gelgel line established a kingdom in Timbul, south of Ubud. His ambition was to create a kingdom based on the ideals of Majapahit Java, and therefore drew the finest musicians, dancers, carvers and artisans to his court. His cultural accomplishments were so great that upon witnessing them, people would exclaim "*sukahatine*," or "my heart's delight." This term later evolved into "Sukawati" which is now the name of the village where this visionary king built his palace.

Balinese shadow theater truly began, there are reasonable grounds to believe that the dalang family from Mas was one of the oldest and perhaps at one time the most influential, and that the shadow puppet theater later grew from Mas's influence as the arts flourished under royal patronage.[193]

Although Sukawati village is now home to the most widely known and most skilled shadow puppet makers and gendér wayang players, and in economic terms has drawn a lot of business to the area because of this connection, I believe that this is a relatively new association. This idea that Sukawati is a main center for wayang kulit in the perception of the Balinese people is surely based on the thriving shadow theater tradition that once existed within the courts andthe fact that there are a number of great shadow puppet makers and impressive and virtuosic gendér wayang teachers there; in addition the gendér wayang music taught at the arts university is from Sukawati. Even so, I do no think it is wrong to have suspicions about whether the roots of the tradition were in fact in Sukawati. It is important to consider that shadow puppetry was, first and foremost, a profession taken up by spiritual adepts. As mentioned in chapters two and three, a dalang is a representation of Siwa and is the *guru lokha*, or "teacher of the world." The spiritual and esoteric knowledge that a dalang needed, especially to become a pemangku dalang, was known to be held by the Brahman caste people, and I don't think it is wrong to assume that some

[193] These assumptions are also based on comparison of Mas gendér wayang music to the Sukawati style music. The Mas style has become more about ritual, whereas Sukawati is now known to be used for both ritual and entertainment. Please see the appendix for musical evidence and more about this. The Mas style is much slower and does not employ as complex interlocking as the Sukawati style does; however, when comparing a piece like "Tulang Lindung" between both styles, one can easily see how the more basic melodies of the Mas style might have been developed to become faster and more complex through modification and the addition of interlocking in the left hands. The attached appendix goes into more detail on the Mas style music and includes a number of transcriptions; however, I have not included a transcription of "Tulang Lindung" because it is not part of the wayang sapuh leger ceremony. I intend to make these stylistic comparisons by utilizing one of Brita Heimark's transcriptions of the Sukawati "Tulang Lindung" in a future publication. For now, see appendix for more information on music from Mas and Sukawati.

of the first shadow puppeteers came directly from the Brahman caste (like that found in Mas). In fact, Christiaan Hooykaas states that in most cases the pemangku dalang have originated from the *griya siwa,* the compounds of the Brahman Siva priests, and that they have shared the Astu Pungku mantra between them, while others (who are not pemangku dalang or Brahaman) have borrowed it from them (Hooykaas 1973: 284). With regard to Balinese religion, the Brahmans are known to be the carriers of spiritual knowledge and esoteric mysticism, and it is hard to doubt that such a spiritual art as Balinese shadow theater would have started or developed elsewhere.

As will be discussed below, my teacher and the dalang family from Mas are direct descendents of the great priest Danghyang Nirartha, who is said to have once resided with the Bendesa Mas clan in village of Mas before the development of the Sukawati kingdom. It was from this priest that the four Brahman caste lineages of Bali were formed, and my teacher and the Brahman people of Mas are accorded a tremendous amount of authority based this familial connection. The idea that authority stems from a long line of practitioners and the extent to which these practitioners can claim a closeness to an origin of a tradition is described at length by Josef Pieper. He states,

> It seems to belong to the nature of the process of tradition that not only the one who is at the moment the last in line, but *all* the links are supported by and rely on someone of whom it is supposed that he is directly closer to the origin of the *traditum* and can testify to and vouch for its validity. Therefore, this closeness to the origin of the tradition provides the proof and basis for the authority of the one who is handing down tradition—the authority, of course, not of the penultimate in line, but the first (Pieper 2008: 24).

Given that my teacher and his family are direct descendants of this priest, who is arguably at the origin of Balinese Hinduism, it is very likely that the shadow theater tradition grew up around the development of the spiritual tradition as it began in Mas. This connection

also provides another example of how socio-cultural factors like caste and kinship groups (*dadia*) might bring a performing artist authority. This is now developed at more length below.

Caste and Dadia

To better understand how conceptions of caste and kinship might contribute to the authority of the dalang lineage of Mas, we must first understand how these social constructions play an important role in the ideology of the Balinese people. A detailed examination of kinship in Bali can be found in Hildred and Clifford Geertz's *Kinship in Bali*, where they point out that although one might conceive of the Balinese social systems in terms of the Hindu caste system, it is really organized in terms of kinship relations or *dadia. Dadia* can be roughly defined as "lineage," "clan," or "kindred," but at its core refers to a group of people convinced that they are the descendants of one common ancestor (Geertz and Geertz 1975: 5).[194] When defending why they focus on this term, Geertz and Geertz state that while the concept of dadia might be conceived of as religious groups or microcastes, the Hindu concept of caste can be inappropriate and confusing for defining Balinese status distinctions, even though the Balinese use this term to explain their own system to themselves. Part of the reason for the variation in Balinese kinship practices lies in the fact that "community" has a different significance for the gentry and commoners and that the methods used for attaining social prestige and political power take on different forms within these two groups (ibid.: 7).[195] Part of what helps to organize kinship relations is also connected to a "cultural dimension"—or shared beliefs, ideas, and values—as well as aspects of religion, social rank, and place of residence (ibid.: 2-3).

[194] *Dadia* is the term used amongst common Balinese people. The high caste gentry, or *triwangsa*, use the word *batur*.

[195] The Balinese gentry, or *triwangsa*, consisting of the upper three castes of Brahman (priestly caste), Satria (warrior caste), and Wesia (merchant caste) make up a mere ten percent of the population, as opposed to the Sudra populations, also known as the low-caste people, or commoners (ibid.: 6).

Without going into too much detail, one can better understand what Hildred and Clifford Geertz were trying to get at when examining caste and dadia, or *batur* (since the Brahmins from Mas are considered gentry), within the dalang family from Mas. It is not simply the fact that they are Brahmin caste that gives them an added measure of authority, but because they are considered *Brahmana Mas*, or Brahmin descendents of the great priest (*pedanda*) Danghyang Nirartha, who resided in Mas sometime in the late 15th or early 16th century. To really understand this significance we need a little bit of history.

As the great Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit fell to the Islamic sultanates (1478), many of the princes, scholars, and priests fled to Bali, bringing with them their religious lore and literature, and establishing themselves as Bali's cultural and political elite (ibid.: 9). Mas village is thought to be particularly important for the Hindu religion in Bali, as one of the most important priests carrying the religion from Java to Bali (during the time of the fall of the Majapahit empire), Danghyang Nirartha (The Unworldly), resided for a time in Mas village. It is from Danghyang Nirartha that the four branches, or *catur brahmana*, of the Balinese Brahmana caste are said to have originated (Rubinstein 2000: 80).[196] My teacher and his family are direct

[196] Danghyang Nirartha is also known as Dang Hyang Dwijendra (Lord of the Twice Born), Pedanda Shakti Wawu Rauh (The Newly-Arrived, Supernaturally Invulnerable Priest), and Twan Sumeru (Lord of Mount Meru) (Rubinstein 2000: 72). For accounts of Danghyang Nirartha's travels and miracles see Manik Mas 1996 and Sastrodiwiryo 1999. Rachael Rubinstein also discusses Danghyng Nirartha a great deal in her work on the ritual of Balinese *kekawin* (Kawi poetry written in Sanskrit meters) composition (see Rubinstein 2000). In Bali there are two kinds of Brahmana lineage *Brahmana Siwa* (coming from Danghyang Nirartha) and *Brahmana Buddha* (coming from Danghyang Astapaka). In this way, there are two kinds of priests, Siwa and Buddha (also spelled *boda* or *buda*). Those who praise Siwa have Siwa at the center of their stories and vice versa (Interview with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, 18 May 2014). Unlike the Brahmana Siwa, who can trace their ancestry and geneology through the *Babad Brahmana* and the *Dwijendratattwa* manuscripts, the Brahmana Boda do not possess their own babad (genealogical writings) aside from the *Palalintih Brahmana Buddha* (Rubenstein 2000: 82).

descendents of this priest, and are therefore credited with a great deal of spiritual authority through their familial connection to this great ancestor.[197]

As mentioned above, Hildred and Clifford Geertz state that kinship relations are often formed around religion and place of residence, but they also mention that social groups and dadia are formed around temples. A discussion of the great Pura Taman Pule temple in Mas helps to reinforce the idea that the Mas lineage of dalang gain authority through their familial relationships while also providing some history behind the priest Danghyang Nirartha.[198] According to a manuscript resulting from a Balinese government project on four unique temples in Bali, the temple Pura Taman Pule gains its significance from once being the home of the priest Danghyang Nirartha (Wesnawa 1984:1-3). The significance of this temple is bolstered by the great importance this priest had for spreading Hindu and tantric practices to Bali. A great deal of information about Danghyang Nirartha and Pura Taman Pule can be found in this document, and I have translated and included the beginning of this manuscript to provide an introduction to Danghyang Nirartha's life and to demonstrate the great importance of the Mas Pura Taman Pule temple (see figures 4.2 and 4.3 for photos of Pura Taman Pule Temple.).

[197] More information of the four branches of the Balinese Brahman caste can be found in Manik Mas and Gingsir 1996.

[198] Pura Taman Pule (temple of the garden of pule trees) is also called Pura Taman Sari (temple of the garden of essence). Information about this temple can be found in the lontar *Dwijendra Tattwa* and *Usana Dwijendra*, and in the *Babad Brahmana Catur* (Wesnawa 1984:1).




Figure 4.2 (left): Balinese people praying in the innermost courtyard of Pura Taman Pule temple. Figure 4.3 (right): Carved entrance to Pura Taman Pule temple. Photos by the author. 2011.

Dang Hyang Dwijendra (Danghyang Nirartha) was from Daha (Kediri) in east Java. After Daha he moved to the Majapahit empire while it was under the rule of Girindhrawardhana (1474-1519AD). Later he moved to Pasuruhan and after that he went to Brambangan. After this he then set out for Bali and landed on the beach of Puruncak in the Jembrana regency (the easternmost regency of Bali). At that time, Bali was governed by Dalem Waturrenggong (1460-1550AD). He was from the Sri Kresna Kepakisan dynasty and had a palace in Suecapura Gelgel in the regency of Klungkung. From Puruncak, Danghyang Nirartha continued east until he reached Gading Wani, and during that time, Gading Wani was suffering from a great plague. When Danghyang Nirartha arrived, it is said that he performed miracles, and thanks to his great power, the plague was eradicated. All of the inhabitants were extremely grateful, so the Gading Wani clan begged the priest to become their teacher and instruct them in the ways of spirituality and mysticism and create a hamlet of religion.

While he was with the Gading Wani clan, the people told the priest that there had been three other people who had come to Bali from the Majapahit Empire. They were: Tan Kober, who lived in Mas and had started the Bendesa (clan) Mas clan; Tan Mundur, who lived in Gading Wani and created the Bendesa Gading Wani clan; and Tan Kawur, who lived in Gobleg and started the Bendesa Gobleg clan. After hearing the stories of the Gading Wani clan, Danghyang Nirartha decided that he would go visit the village of Mas. When the Bendesa Mas clan heard about the priest's intentions they came to get him and brought him to Mas. Once the people of Mas had heard of what Danghyang Nirartha had done in Gading Wani and experienced his great miracles for themselves, they too turned themselves over as his students and begged him to be their teacher and instruct them in his sacred knowledge.

As a sign of their thanks, the head of the Bendesa Mas people offered the priest his daughter, and they made him an ashram to live in that was surrounded by a garden of flowers and pule trees. After a while, the priest and the daughter were married, and she gave birth to a son named Bukcabe. It is from Bukcabe's descendents that one of the branches of the Brahmana caste in Bali comes (the Brahamana Mas branch). A temple was erected for Bukcabe and called Pura Bukcabe. This temple is located on the west side of the main road in Mas in the banjar called Batanancak. Danghyang Nirarth eventually moved on to spread his teachings, and the old ashram

> that was once his home was turned into a temple and called Pura Taman Pule. It was called Pura (temple) Taman (garden) Pule (a kind of sacred tree) because just next to it was a garden of pule trees (Wesnawa 1984: 1-3).[199]

When considering this information, we can begin to understand the subtlety that Hildred and Clifford Geertz were trying to explain, in that although the Brahman caste might be considered the highest of the gentry and gain authority due to their priestly function, an even deeper level of significance lies in the dadia (batur), or kinship group, connection founded on their connection to this particular ancestor and their residence in Mas village. The Brahman caste from Mas is one of the most renowned and revered, given that Mas was an important stop in Danghyang Nirartha's travels and the Brahman caste of Mas started there. This importance continues to be evidenced by the thousands of people who come to pray at the Pura Taman Pule temple in Mas every 210 days during its odalan (temple anniversary).

As direct descendants of the Brahman caste lineage from Mas, my teacher and his family have a tremendous amount of religious authority and responsibility, and regardless of whether people are aware of these religious roots, being a Brahman in general accords them a great deal of spiritual authority. Balinese religion stresses the ritualistic and dramatic aspects over the philosophical and mystical ones, and has made ritual and purification through sanctified water (*tirtha*) one of the pillars of the system. This is why Balinese religion is often called "the holy water religion," or *agama tirtha* (ibid.: 9-10). Balinese brahmans therefore become extremely important, as they are the keepers of this knowledge. The idea that ritual knowledge is of the utmost concern has also been pointed out by Hildred and Clifford Geertz, who say that "the entire social structure is suffused with religious concern, and almost every kind of social relationship, from the most collective to the most personal, is either necessitated by or validated

[199] Pule is considered a sacred wood in Bali and is used to make masks and other religious artifacts. Dibia and Ballinger have discussed the myth behind why pule wood is so sacred (see footnote 21 in chapter three or Dibia and Ballinger 2004: 68).

by ritual. A full study of Balinese religion would entail close investigation of virtually every aspect of the society—from farming and marketing methods to government and kinship" (ibid.: 12).

As the highest level of the Balinese gentry, the Brahman caste are charged with guarding the sacred knowledge of ritual detail, philosophy, and mythic history, and, in turn, credited with the greatest spiritual authority (ibid.: 28).[200] It is therefore not surprising that one of the oldest and most revered lineages of dalang came from the Mas village Brahman lineage. While it is nearly impossible to know for sure, I do believe that the importance placed on Sukawati village as a center for shadow puppet theater is probably something that has only come about in the past few generations. This "invented tradition" and invented idea that Sukawati village and the Sukawati style of gendér music is one of the most important has had detrimental effects for the Mas style of gendér wayang music, as those wishing to study gendér wayang tend to go to Sukawati to learn it, leaving very few people to carry on the Mas style. This will be discussed in more detail below, but first I would like to continue emphasizing the authority of the Brahman pemangku dalang from Mas by examining how Tumpek Wayang is observed in Mas village, within both the dalang family compound and the larger family temple Pura Taman Pule.

[200] This authority is constantly reinforced as levels of gentry authority accompany one from birth, and those who are born into the Brahman caste are given a gentry title. For men it is Ida Bagus, and for women it is Ida Ayu. Therefore, one can immediately identify one's position in society merely by giving one's name. Possession of a title never gives one an exclusive right to an occupation, except for Brahman priests, who must come from a Brahman family (Geertz 1975: 21). Evidence of these gentry distinctions and the fact that they are taken very seriously and are constantly being reinforced is also found in Balinese language. Balinese language is stratified into three registers, namely *halus*, or refined (this has many elements of Sanskrit and Javanese); *media*, or medium, and *kasar*, or low-level, market speak. If a common Balinese person is addressing a Brahman, a priest, or a member of the royal caste, they must use the refined, *halus* language (ibid.: 20).

Authority and Ritual Activities in Mas During Wuku Wayang

In light of the aspects of lineage and caste discussed above, the authority of the Mas dalang lineage is further exemplified when considering the ritual activities conducted in Mas during the week of wuku wayang. The authority of the Brahman caste and figures like my teacher is evident, as people constantly call upon my teacher's family to officiate their ceremonies, to ask for spiritual advice, and to seek their permission and suggestions on auspicious days to marry, hold a tooth-filing ceremony, conduct rituals, etc. In their work on kinship in Bali, Hildred and Clifford Geertz discuss the role of the Brahman caste and Brahman priests and state that this dependence upon the Brahman caste to officiate religious life "structurally parallels the traditional political tie between lord and subject" (Geertz 1975: 29). This idea is further elucidated when exploring the activities of the Brahman-caste pemangku dalang from the village of Mas during the week of wuku wayang, as those who are under the protection of my teacher's family and born during wuku wayang will come to the house seeking blessings.[201]

Every 210 days, as wuku wayang draws near, the women in Geriya Astina (the name of my teacher's compound) are busy preparing offerings and decorating the family temple, or *merajan*.[202] The *kropak*, or box of heirloom puppets, is put under the large temple *bale* (similar to an elevated altar) and offered colorful *canang* (offerings of flowers in a palm-leaf box),

[201] It is not just those who are born during the week of wayang who report to the Mas dalang family as if they were subjects, but all of the people residing within the village of Mas who have questions about ritual or religion. I have often heard my teacher and my teacher's son-in-law speak of how many people they "have" when referring to how many people in the village and surrounding *banjar* (village hamlet) they must cater to, protect, and advise.

[202] A *Geriya* is the name for any Brahman-caste compound. These are considered holy compounds, because they are often the homes of priests or Brahman religious figures. *Astina* is the name of the kingdom of the Pandawa brothers in the *Mahabharata* epic. So, even in the name they have chosen for their household the Brahman dalang family of Mas is living as if their life and home is a reflection of the great Hindu epic *Mahabharata.*

incense, and holy water (see figures 4.4 and 4.5). Under the temple bale one can also find the holy water used for blessings and a special secret puppet, thought to hold the taksu (spiritual power) for the family of dalang in Mas. This special puppet is kept in a box and never opened, as it is believed that if one opens the box the taksu will escape.





Figures 4.4 and 4.5: The temple *bale* decorated for wuku wayang and offerings given to the box of puppets. Photos by the author. 15 February 2014.

This box is brought out every 210 days during wuku wayang to be blessed and given offerings. See figures 4.6 and 4.7 for pictures of holy water and the box that holds the taksu puppet. The

box holding the secret puppet is positioned behind the puppet shown in the picture and is wrapped with white cloth as a sign of its sacredness.





Figures 4.6 and 4.7: Holy water used for purification (left). Taksu puppet box and offerings (right). Photos by the author. 15 February 2014.

In the Pura Taman Pule temple, the masks used for the *wayang wong*, or human-danced wayang, are also taken from the place they are stored and put out in the innermost courtyard and given offerings.[203] The wayang wong performance that is danced during the temple anniversary (*odalan*) for Pura Taman Pule is one of the most famous in Bali and is only performed once every 210 days for the special occasion.[204] This performance is quite an event, because, as mentioned above, this temple was once the home to the priest Danghyang Nirartha, and people

[203] Wayang wong performances enact the *Ramayana* story and are accompanied by an ensemble called the *batel Ramayana* or *batel gendér wayang.* This ensemble consists of the usual four gendér wayang instruments, but is augmented with drums, ceng ceng, and a small gong to add dramatic effect (see Tenzer 2000: 292).

[204] I Made Bandem's book on wayang wong (2001), surprisingly, does not pay very much attention to the wayang wong performance in Mas village. This performance is thought to be one of the most sacred, as the masks are ancient and the Pura Taman Pule temple is so important for Balinese Hinduism.

come from all over the island to pray at the temple during its anniversary. See figures 4.8 and 4.9 for a photos of the wayang wong masks laid out in Pura Taman Pule during wuku wayang.





Figures 4.8 and 4.9: Wayang wong masks laid out at the Pura Taman Pule temple to celebrate Tumpek Wayang. Photos by the author. 15 February 2014.

On the Saturday of wuku wayang (*Saniscara Kliwon*), also known as the day of Tumpek Wayang, people who are born during wuku wayang and live in Mas village and the surrounding villages travel to the dalang compound to pray and be cleansed with holy water. From morning until night, people trickle into the compound bringing offerings and wait for their turn to be purified. On the day of Tumpek Wayang, the dalang family from Mas will purify dozens of people born during wuku wayang.[205] Upon arriving at the compound, parents with their children will make their way to the family temple and pray. After they have prayed before the sacred puppets, the person who was born during wuku wayang will wait until it is their turn for *melukat*, or a kind of ritual cleansing with holy water. When it is their turn, the person being cleansed might remove their shirt (if a man) or *kebaya* (an ornate, lace garment worn by women), but in some cases, no clothing is removed, and the person receiving the water accepts that they will get very wet. They then come before the pemangku dalang, who has a container filled with holy

[205] This duty has now been taken over by Ida Bagus Made Geriya's son, Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, since Ida Bagus Made Geriya passed away in 2013.

water and fragrant flowers. The recipient of the water bows before the pemangku dalang, and the dalang begins to recite the Astu Pungku mantra as he pours the holy water over the back, neck, and head of the recipient in a sort of ritual baptism. Some of the water is also ingested in a gesture of transubstantiation to embody cleanliness and holiness (see figures 4.10 and 4.11).





Figures 4.10 and 4.11: Ida Bagus Made Geriya (left) and Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan (right) giving a blessing and holy water to a young boy born during wuku wayang. Photos by the author, left 2011; right 15 February 2014.

This ritual cleansing is performed for people born during wuku wayang every 210 days. When a family has saved enough money, they will come to the dalang and request that he perform a wayag sapuh leger ceremony for them.[206] On the day chosen (usually during the week of wuku wayang), the dalang, his offerings, the four gendér wayang musical instruments (Ida Bagus Made Geriya often only used two), his assistants, and his four musicians (or two if only two instruments are being used), are picked up and taken to the house where the ritual will take place. They then set up and perform the wayang sapuh leger story (The order of musical pieces along with their transcription is presented in the appendix). When the dalang is finished, the gendér players will begin playing the gendér wayang piece "Astu Pungku" while the dalang

[206] A family needs around six to eight million rupiah for this ceremony (about six hundred to eight hundred dollars). This is quite a lot considering that the average monthly wage for a Balinese citizen in the service industry is about two million rupiah or two hundred dollars.

recites the Astu Pungku mantra and makes holy water. During the making of the holy water, the dalang will offer several of the puppets flowers and incense and then stir the bottom tip of each of the puppets in the water while he continues to recite the mantra. This is done with the belief that the sacred wayang puppets will infuse the water with its power to protect the person born during wuku wayang (see figure 4.12). The dalang then blesses the person concerned with the holy water.



Figure 4.12: Ida Bagus Made Geriya stirring the end of the Sang Hyang Tunggal puppet while making holy water. Photo by the author, 29 October 2011.

The vibrations of the gendér wayang music act in a similar way, and I was told by Dalang Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan that the slow, rubato aesthetic of the gendér wayang music is thought to bring the dalang into more of a meditative state so that he can properly recite his mantras and make holy water (similar to how a Balinese priest rings a bell while reciting mantra at a temple ceremony).[207] The idea that gendér wayang music, and more specifically the gendér wayang music from Mas, has a power and authority of it own is discussed below.

[207] During my time in Bali I attended seven wayang sapuh leger ceremonies, which is quite a lot considering that they only happen every 210 days. I was even lucky enough to play the music for one or

Traditional Authority and the Mas Style of Gendér Wayang Music

Within this discussion of traditional authority and dresta tah, an examination of the Mas style of gendér wayang music can also reveal how musical styles from a particular place hold their own power and authority. In this section, I explore aspects of the Mas gendér wayang tradition to demonstrate how this musical style helps bolster the power and authority of the dalang and the wayang tradition from Mas. This discussion of music becomes an important part of my exploration of dresta tah as I show how particular pieces of music are said to have taksu, and how one such piece from Mas is an important traditional element for the wayang sapuh leger ritual.

As noted above, although Mas village is home to one of the oldest dalang lineages in Bali, it is not as renowned for shadow puppet theater or gendér wayang as Sukawati village.[208] The streets of Mas village are lined with furniture and handicraft shops, and the village is generally known throughout the island to be home to some of the island's best wood carvers and mask-makers (see figures 4.13 and 4.14 for photos of Mas village wood carvers and shops).

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two of them, but when it came to playing the Astu Pungku piece, it was always done by the Balinese gendér players so that they could properly convey the aesthetic and ethos of this part of the ritual. I also got the sense that the family for whom the ceremony was being performed was relieved when I stepped down and the others took over, thus proving to me that they viewed the music as an important part of the ritual's efficacy.

[208] It was not uncommon when I told Balinese people that I studied gendér wayang for them to assume I was studying in Sukawati village.





Figure 4.13 (left): Ida Bagus Oka carving in Mas village. Figure 4.14 (right): Close up of Ida Bagus Anom carving a mask. Photos by the author. 2012.





Figure 4.15 and 4.16: Wood carving shops along the main road in Mas. Photos by the author. 10 July 2015.

This is not to say that there aren't talented wood carvers and mask makers in other parts of the island, but various villages throughout the island have become known for specific trades. For example, Mas is known as the woodcarving and mask-making village, Celuk is known for its silversmiths, and Sukawati is known for its puppet makers, gendér wayang players, and shadow puppeteers.

Given the historical connections between Mas and Sukawati and the sharing of material between Mas dalang and Sukawati dalang, one might think that there are many similarities between the Mas style and the Sukawati style of gendér wayang music; however, while there are some, the Mas style and the Sukawati style are very different. Over time, Mas village has managed to retain and promulgate the older style of gendér wayang music found there, but as ethnomusicologist Brita Heimarck has documented in her book on the Sukawati style of gendér wayang, the *kuno*, or old style, of gendér wayang music from Sukawati has been significantly innovated and sped up to the point that it is very much a style of its own with its own aesthetic. This, she points out, has been largely due to the influence of the renowned *juru gendér* (lead gendér player) and gendér wayang teacher I Wayan Loceng. Pak Loceng began his lifelong playing of gendér as he accompanied Dalang Granyam and is known for being a key figure in developing the fast complex style of gendér wayang found in Sukawati today. Brita Heimarck mentions that Loceng still remembered some of the old style of gendér wayang he played to accompany Dalang Granyam, but that he had since recreated many of the pieces, making them into the style of music that is found in Sukawati today (Heimarck 2003: 92).[209]

Throughout her work, Heimarck asserts that Loceng's innovations and the general metamorphosis of the Sukawati style into a faster and more exciting musical style, have paralleled changes and modernization within Bali itself. Through interviews and a dialogic approach, she shows that life and entertainment in Bali have themselves changed and sped up, and in order to keep the interest of the audience members watching shadow puppet theater, gendér wayang too has had to change to keep up with the tastes of the people. These changes

[209] It is possible that this old style from Sukawati is quite similar to the one found in Mas, and if we were to compare the two they would probably have many similarities. A surface comparison of the Mas style and Sukawati style reveals many similarities, including nearly identical melodies, such as those found in "Tulang Lindung," and the exact same left-hand ostinato, or *jegogan*, part for many pieces; however, uncovering the kuno style in Sukawati would be difficult considering the passing of Pak Loceng in 2006.

within gendér wayang music and Balinese shadow theater in general are part of what has made Sukawati village such a recognized center for shadow puppet theater and gendér wayang music. It is also part of the reason why the Mas style of gendér wayang and shadow puppet theater are not nearly as famous as they once were. Today, students wishing to learn gendér wayang music tend to go to Sukawati village to learn the music, first because they seem to favor the faster, more exciting style found there, and second because this is one of the main styles that people are aware of and think to study when they endeavor to learn gendér wayang music. This has been in large part due to the fact that the styles of gendér wayang music taught at the Balinese arts university, ISI Denpasar, are from Sukawati or Denpasar (*kayu mas* style).[210] Learning one of these more popular, or common, styles also enables musicians to get together with musicians that they may have just met and play music together.

Without going into too much detail about the Sukawati or kayu mas styles of gendér wayang, these facts mean a number of things for the authority of the Mas style of gendér wayang. If we are to recall the theoretical perspectives suggested by Maurice Bloch, the Mas style of music takes on a level of traditional authority because this style is now seen as a style of music that is outside the capabilities of most gendér wayang players. This was often proved to me when I was studying the Sukawati or kayu mas style and my gendér wayang teachers were eager to learn the Mas village style. It is also because the Mas style of music is reserved and

[210] Even though Mas style is not taught at the Indonesian college of the arts (ISI), or the high school for performing arts (KOKAR), Ida Bagus Made Geriya has told me that many of the teachers and students from these institutions would often come to his house and inquire about the art of *pedalangan*. Again, the lack of Mas style at these institutions is one of the reasons why Mas style is endangered, but IB Geriya has still had a hand in the education of up-and-coming performers. This is very fitting, as the name "Geriya" means "benefactor."

promulgated for the purpose of accompanying rituals under Brahman-caste pemangku dalang, so that it seems to have an air of power and authority of its own.[211]

Unlike other villages in which gendér wayang music has been recorded and distributed commercially or has been developed for the purposes of making a dalang and his wayang performances more popular, the musicians in Mas have kept their style in its traditional form, so that it is proper for accompanying wayang that have a ritual purpose. This became clear to me when I would go and watch my teachers in Mas perform wayang, as they were always called upon to perform wayang for rituals and almost never performed for entertainment. They were also very secretive about their style and did not have any inclination to commercialize, record or reproduce their music for consumption. The Mas musicians have recognized that keeping this music to themselves has helped to retain the power and authority of their style, versus making recordings of the music to be disseminated to the public where they can be copied and reproduced.

In 2008, I had proposed that the Mas musicians make a professional recording of their music for preservation purposes and to perhaps add to their income. I even offered to fund the project, but was immediately told that the Mas style was *terlalu suci*, or too sacred, to be recorded and disseminated in such a way. At the time, this seemed odd to me, as many villages with established gendér wayang styles had made CD recordings.[212] In retrospect, the decision of the Mas gendér players to not record their music is very clear, as they wanted to retain the power and authority of the music by keeping it secret. Gendér wayang is already an extremely sacred

[211] Not all dalang are of the Brahman caste, in fact, there are far more dalang that are not of the Brahman caste than there are dalang from the Brahman caste.

[212] For example, *Music of Bali Gamelan Gendér Wayang: Banjar Babakan Sukawati* is a famous recording of the music from Sukawati distributed by Maharani records. Another is *Gendér Wayang Kayu Mas: Kaja Denpasar*, of which there have been 4 volumes distributed by Bali Records.

form of music, and few Balinese choose to learn it because it is so difficult. When combining this factor with the idea that the Mas style is only known to a few musicians for the express purpose of accompanying ritual, the musical style really does have a power and authority within the context of ritual performance.

When considering how gendér wayang music can help contribute to the authority of the Mas dalang within the context of dresta tah, an examination of particular pieces also becomes important. Considering that the dalang in Mas are from a Brahman lineage and are pemangku dalang who often perform purification ceremonies, a few words must be said about the authority of particular gendér wayang pieces within the context of this village. For example, I have often been told that the gendér wayang piece that accompanies the dalang when he is making holy water is the most sacred. Within a performance, this special piece is played to accompany the dalang in his recitation of ritual mantra while he is making *toya panglukatan*, or holy water. In the village of Sukawati this ending piece is called "Tabuh Gari" and is used for both ritual and entertainment wayang; however, in the village of Mas there is only one piece used to accompany the making of holy water, and it is called "Astu Pungku." This piece is not played in any other contexts, and as discussed earlier, the name "Astu Pungku" is also the name of mantra that the dalang is reciting when he makes holy water. The fact that the musical piece and mantra share the same name suggests that the musical piece is also helping to send cleansing and purification out into the "eight directions." The first part of the musical piece Astu Pungku is also played quite slow to create an aesthetic that is introspective and meditative, and this is said to help the dalang focus and move into the proper meditative state for reciting mantra and making holy water. When learning gendér wayang, I was told that this is usually one of the last pieces that someone learns, first because it is only used on very special occasions, but second, because the

slow, elongated phrases can make the piece seem formless and challenging to memorize and learn.[213] This suggests that the gendér wayang player themselves must have great spiritual power and clarity to even learn the piece, let alone master it to the point that they can play it in a ritual. I was only introduced to this piece after a year of very intense musical study, and even after I could play it through, I did not get the opportunity to perform it in a ritual.[214]

The idea that musical pieces have power and authority also relates to the discussion of taksu, as works of art and music (*karya*) can also be said to have taksu. According to scholar of Balinese architecture Bagoes Wiryomartono, "any work of composition is conceived by the Balinese people to contain taksu so that we experience its expressiveness, its uplifting effect, its pleasurable experience, and its vitality" (Wiryomartono 1995: 72). Use of sacred instruments like the gendér wayang can help an artist reach taksu during a performance, and particular pieces are thought to be especially effective in reaching this state (Laskewicz 2003: 3.7). Such is the case of "Astu Pungku" in Mas village, as this piece helps the dalang to reach a state of spirituality and cultivate a taksu, or magic power, to make effective holy water. The idea that "Astu Pungku" and other gendér wayang pieces from Mas have been passed down and unchanged through the

[213] This was one of the very last pieces I learned, and it did take quite a while (perhaps a year) to learn both parts of the piece. I never got to perform this piece in a ritual, as wayang sapuh leger ceremonies happened very infrequently and it always seemed best that the Balinese musicians play this important piece when the dalang was making holy water. Although I could play the piece well, it was as if the efficacy of the ritual and the traditional authority of the performance rested not only on the traditional music and ritual elements, but also who was performing them. Because I am not Balinese, my stepping in to play the sacred music for the ceremony seemed to be a little jarring; perhaps it even made those for whom the ritual was being performed question how effective the ritual would be now that aspects of the traditional way of doing it had changed (i.e. a foreigner was playing).

[214] Although the Mas style is not nearly as popular as other styles around the island, the people of Mas still really value the music and want to preserve it. When I went to Bali for my doctoral fieldwork in 2014, I was approached by a Brahman mangku and asked if I would teach his son the style, because my teacher had just passed away and my former gendér wayang teacher was too busy working to support his new wife and two children. Over the course of six months I was able to teach Ida Bagus Rekha seven gendér wayang pieces, and I have heard that he is now starting to play the style in ceremonies with the Mas dalang Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan (one of his distant cousins).

generations also suggests that they have taksu, as taksu compositions remain for decades or hundreds of years because they are thought to be creations of the ancestors (Harnish 2001: 30). Musical pieces that remain in spite of rampant innovation inherently are thought to have taksu, as only those pieces deemed worthy make it through the selection process of time. This is especially so in oral traditions like gendér wayang.

The gendér wayang piece "Astu Pungku" is one of the most unique aspects of the Mas gendér wayang style, and it is a musical piece that is thought to hold great power for the pemangku dalang from Mas. Given the authority of the pemangku dalang as important spiritual adepts and ritual officiants, this piece in Mas is part of what gives them an air of authority and power. Arguably, the traditional repertoire of Mas village in its entirety could help to bring the Mas dalang a great deal of authority, and I have therefore included a complete transcription of the Mas style of gendér wayang music and a guide to reading the transcriptions in appendix A.

The Hereditary Aspect of Taksu

The information presented above on authority and the dalang lineage from the village of Mas can also contribute to our discussion of taksu, or Balinese spiritual power and performance charisma. In chapters two and three, I have already discussed how skill and spiritual knowledge contribute to the accrual of taksu (these were the first and second elements that Dr. Wenten mentioned), but while we are on the subject of lineage and caste, this is an appropriate place to discuss the third element on Dr. Wenten's list of taksu components, that of taksu being connected to hereditary tradition and bloodline. Just to recap, taksu is that ineffable quality, similar to a spiritual aura, that can help one performer stand out amongst other performers even if they have the same knowledge and ability. To some extent taksu can be described as "a special

something" that someone possesses and that comes through when a person is performing. It is an energy, a steadfastness, a presence or glow, or an air of confidence that sets one performer above the rest. As mentioned earlier, both skill and spiritual knowledge conveyed with pure intention are part of what can help a dalang appear to have taksu, but according to Dr. Wenten, being part of a hereditary tradition (*keturunan*) or a family with *darah seni*, or "art in their blood," can also help one to have taksu.[215]

In addition to magical idea that taksu is passed down through family and blood, there is also the practical aspect of how being a child within a family of artists or performers might help someone cultivate skill and later be attributed with taksu. When discussing this idea with Dr. Wenten, I was first told that audiences might recognize or watch one dancer over another if they know that that dancer comes from a long line of recognized dancers. For example, Dr. Wenten's grandfather was a very renowned dancer in the regency of Tabanan, and when Dr. Wenten began dancing at a very young age, everyone immediately looked at him and watched him with an air of respect because they knew that he was being trained by his grandfather. Similarly, Ida Bagus Made Geriya and his son Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan are held in high esteem given their direct familial relationship to the great dalang Ida Bagus Berata Baglug and previous ancestral dalang. Spiritually, they are also thought to have a great deal of taksu given their caste status as Brahman and their familial relationship as descendents of the great priest Danghyang Nirartha.

The idea that a performer accrues taksu due to their being a descendent of an artistic family is also logical, as these performers are exposed to the most revered experts of their art from the time that they are born. During the first few years of my field work with Ida Bagus Made Geriya (2007-2009), his young grandson Ida Bagus Abhimanyu (who at the time was two years old) was so fascinated with the gendér wayang music and the shadow theater that I was

[215] Interview with Dr. Nyoman Wenten, 3 February 2015.

often given lessons from my teacher with his grandson on his lap (see figure 4.17). Many times, my teacher would also bring his grandson with him to a wayang performance and allow him to sit with him as he performed.



Figure 4.17: Ida Bagus Made Geriya teaching his 2-year-old grandson (Ida Bagus Abhimanyu) gendér wayang music. Photo by the author. 2008.

From an extremely young age, Ida Bagus Abhimanyu was already getting first-hand experience of what it was like to play the gendér wayang instruments and perform wayang at temple ceremonies. If he chooses to play gendér wayang and become a dalang he will already have a great sense of the art form, because he has grown up around it and integrated its aesthetics into his being.

Part of what will give a person taksu as they grow older within a hereditary tradition is the fact that they have been exposed to and have been practicing their art for their whole lives. According to Dr. Wenten, this gives the performer a great deal of confidence and sense of ease, so that when they are performing they can forget about the technical skill aspects of the performance, let go, and be creatively and expressively free. This confidence that someone exudes is part of what gives them an aura of greatness, and people recognize it. It only takes a split second or the slightest shift in the performer's energy for the audience to realize that they

have made a mistake or to see that the performer is not confident. Dr. Wenten also explained that this is part of what differentiates taksu from talent (*bakat* in Indonesia), as many people have talent, but if you don't have taksu, people wont recognize you. Many people have the capacity to be great performers, but it is only through intense cultivation of skill and knowledge (*ngangsu kawuruh*) that one can then bring these elements to a performance in such a unique way that they really captivate an audience.[216] This is why being part of a hereditary tradition can be such a defining aspect of taksu, because it helps to cultivate a comfort and skill that can move beyond the ordinary and allow an artist to put on an extraordinary performance.

Conclusion

As the last in a series of chapters addressing traditional authority, this chapter has focused on the Balinese concept of dresta tah as a means of discussing a more subtle level of authority that pertains to the customs and traditions of particular villages. It was first demonstrated that within the concept of dresta tah is another Balinese notion, that of *desakalapatra*, and that "time," "place," and "custom," not only play a big part in when, where, and how rituals take place, but also have a role in the accrual and legitimation of traditional authority of Balinese performers. Within this chapter, this was explored through extra-performative factors such as lineage, caste, and dadia (or batur), and how social hierarchies can play a major role in determining the respect and authority attributed to performers who play spiritual roles. It was also demonstrated through performative factors such as the specific style of music played in the village of Mas and in the particular ritual activities conducted in Mas during the week of wuku

[216] Dr. Wenten explained that *ngangsu kawuruh* refers to collecting all of the knowledge and skills available to one's art. From *ngangsu*, or digging or pulling up of water from a well (on a pulley system), and *kawuruh*, or knowledge, this concept expresses the idea of constantly pulling knowledge and skills toward you, so that when you are ready to perform you have such a handle on the material that you can be a confident and profound performer. Interview with Dr. Nyoman Wenten, 3 February 2015.

wayang. The hereditary nature of authority also led to a discussion of a third aspect of taksu, and how performers who come from a family of artists might be more likely to cultivate taksu in their performances. Considering all of the ideas on traditional authority that have been presented in chapters two through four, it is my hope that readers now have a better understanding of traditional authority, taksu, and the traditional religious sense of Balinese shadow puppet theater. Using these three chapters as a point of departure, we are now ready for a discussion of legal authority and how elements of Balinese shadow theater have begun to change due to this form of authority.

Chapter 5: Legal Authority and Change in Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater

With a better understanding of traditional authority and the Balinese wayang kulit in place, this chapter draws on Max Weber's concept of legal authority to observe how developments within postcolonial Indonesia have had an impact on Balinese shadow theater, shadow theater music, and the authority of Balinese ritual specialists such as the pemangku dalang. According to Weber, "legal authority rests on enactment; its pure type is best represented by bureaucracy" (Weber 1958 [1922]: 2). Couching an examination of legal authority within national development is apropppriate, as "the historical development of the modern state is identical indeed with that of modern officialdom and bureaucratic organization, just as the development of modern capitalism is identical with the increasing bureaucratization of economic enterprise. The part played by bureaucracy becomes bigger in all structures of power" (ibid.: 3). Given that all areas of social organization are increasingly being affected by bureaucratic forces, legal authority can be conceptualized not only as modern structures of state and city government, but also as the power relations involved in private capitalist enterprises, public corporations, voluntary associations, public and private organizations, and collegiate and administrative bodies. In other words, where there is a hierarchy of staff and functionaries, there is legal authority (ibid.: 2-3).

Keeping this definition in mind, this chapter discusses the emergence of the modern Indonesian state and how the new structures of legal authority arising within the new nation led to national, religious, and economic developments that have had significant repercussions for Balinese arts and ritual. To best explore the relationship between legal authority and Balinese shadow theater development, I have organized my discussion into three contexts, namely: 1) Indonesian nationalism and cultural politics; 2) religious reforms and the *wayang sapuh leger*

massal (mass renditions of the wayang sapuh leger ritual); and 3) institutionalization, innovation, and standardization.

Indonesian Nationalism and Cultural Politics

The extent to which legal authority has had an impact on Indonesian arts and Balinese shadow puppet theater is first considered in relation to the nationalistic ideology and cultural politics that arose after Indonesian independence in 1945.[217] The period following Indonesia's emancipation from hundreds of years of colonial rule (1950-) can be viewed as a nexus of change, as new political forces sought to gain control, policies were enacted to create an Indonesian national identity, and efforts were made to help the country progress economically. These developments both deliberately and inadvertently affected Indonesian arts and can easily be felt and understood through an examination of the development of ritual. As ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger reminds us in his research on Suyá ritual, "ethnic identity is a process, not a state," and rituals are a means by which people continually enact and portray their changing cultural identity (Seeger 2004: 132). By examining legal authority and Balinese shadow theater in the context of important historical changes in Indonesia, we can get a better sense of how arts and ritual mirror national and ideological developments, because although ritual performance can aid societies in developing a sense of time, place and self, it also creates a space for them to understand their history and their strategies for the present political situation (ibid.). This is particularly true for shadow puppet theater, as theatrical productions are shaped

[217] A number of studies have been conducted on cultural politics and the performing arts in Indonesia, for example Bowen 1986, Buhran 1988, Feinstein 1995, Foulcher 1990, Hatley 1991 and 1993, Hellman 2003, Kartomi 1993, Lindsay 1995, Picard 1990, Sutton 1995, Warren 1990, Yampolsky 1995, and Zurbuchen 1990.

by and reactive to other contemporary constructions of cultural tradition and participate in a kind of competition to interpret the meaning of such tradition for the present day (Hatley 1993: 50).

Although forces of legal authority have influenced the development of shadow theater for hundreds of years, my analysis begins with Indonesia's emancipation from colonial rule. On August 17, 1945 the *Proklamasi Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, or the "Proclamation of Indonesian Independence," marked the start of the Indonesian National Revolution. It was only after several years of armed resistance that Indonesia was officially granted independence and formally acknowledged by the United Nations on December 27, 1949. Following independence, Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, was challenged with bringing together an extremely diverse nation and solving conflicts between Muslim and Christian parties vying for religious dominance. In an effort to solve this problem and form a constitution for the new country, Sukarno created an ideology, a set of philosophical principles for the new nation to live by, and thus the *Pancasila,* or "five principles," were born. The Pancasila principles were created to serve as the foundation for Indonesian nationhood and included: 1) belief in one supreme God; 2) just and civilized humanitarianism; 3) nationalism based on the unity of Indonesia; 4) representative democracy through consensus; and 5) social justice (Aragon 2000: 311-312).

As anthropologist Carol Warren states, "the Pancasila principles were conceived as the key to national integrity in a multi-ethnic, multi-religious polity and became enshrined in the constitution as the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state" (Warren 1993: 278). A recurring theme in Sukarno's speeches about the Pancasila was unity of ideology and leadership, and great efforts were made to forge the link of common societal values so that the legitimacy of the revolutionary elite would be assured (Weatherbee 1966: 30). The importance of ideology in achieving political ends has been eloquently stated by anthropologist Donald Weatherbee:

> Ideology has a political function. It is a mode of thought that systematizes a description of the present and a prescription for the proper ordering of society in accordance with absolute values. It contains the definition and justification of the political order, the roles in it, and the direction of change. It justifies, promotes, and supports authority. Ideology, in other words, is a principle agent of political legitimation. It is in ideology that the political roles and acts of leadership can be associated with the values and predispositions of the society in such a way that society will approvingly appraise them (ibid.: 8).

The value of a unified ideology and culture was immediately recognized from the beginning of Indonesian independence, and Article 32 of the 1945 Constitution stated that the Indonesian government would develop a national culture as an expression of the personality and vitality of all the people of Indonesia (Hooker 1993: 4).[218] According to anthropologist Virginia Matheson Hooker, this national culture was theoretically defined as a combination of the high points (*puncak-puncak*) of all the regional cultures within the nation; however, given the extreme diversity existing amongst the people of Indonesia's 16,000-plus islands, the concept of an overarching national culture was felt to lack the depth of tradition that nourished many of the regional cultures (ibid.) Thus, Indonesia's utopian vision of nationalism through national culture almost immediately ran into a cultural politics that had to solve the problem of how to create a unified identity and ideology while also incorporating Indonesia's cultural diversity. It was quickly realized that the vitality and creativity of Indonesia's cultural traditions could only be sustained by recognizing the richness of the many traditions of Indonesia's ethnic groups (ibid.). This recognition actually became the key to remedying the problem, and a national culture and

[218] The concept of a national culture is often considered an essential part of nation-building. This has been discussed at length in a number of ethnomusicological works, for example Bohlman 2004 (Europe), Largey 2006 (Haiti), Merchant Henson 2006 (Central Asia), Schultz 2013 (India), and Turino 2008 (Zimbabwe). It should be noted that this is just a small selection of a very broad variety of works on the subject.

ideology was founded on the nation's plurality by adopting the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or "Unity in Diversity."[219]

In trying to cultivate a national ideology, the authority of Indonesian shadow puppetry and puppeteers was looked upon as a tool for disseminating the Pancasila principles and legitimizing the new government following the revolution. From time to time, puppetry was utilized by rulers and political parties as a means of directing people to follow the nation's new values and was an easy way for Sukarno to disseminate the Pancasila principles to the people (Darmoko 2009: 2). Shadow theater was a natural choice for reaching such goals, as the traditional role of shadow puppeteers was to promote a unified set of values and predispositions within society, and puppetry implicitly and explicitly reinforced the value of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice (ibid.: 3).

It was also because of the inherent power and authority of shadow theater to reinforce nationalistic goals and ideology that wayang was looked down upon during certain points of Indonesian postcolonial development. Following the struggle for independence, Indonesia's Communist Party (PKI) re-emerged on the political scene, and over the period 1950-1965 PKI viewed wayang as a major threat to Indonesia's nationalistic goals (McVey 1986: 23). During the rise of the PKI and communist ideology, communist supporters largely avoided wayang, as it presented three major openings for the attack on the communist spirit, namely: 1) wayang was very Javanese and not all-Indonesian in character; 2) wayang had an aristocratic and not

[219] *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is an Old Javanese phrase and is inscribed on the Indonesian national symbol (the mythical garuda bird gripping the Pancasila scroll). The phrase is mentioned specifically in article 36A of the Indonesian constitution (Santoso 1975: 578).

working-class orientation; and 3) wayang had a feudal, and not modern, spirit (McVey 1986: 23).[220]

Although the communist party supported Sukarno, the rise of the PKI within this period threatened Sukarno's balancing act between the communists, the nationalist factions, and Islamic groups. In 1965, as the PKI began to resent Sukarno's undemocratic handling of governmental affairs, many of Sukarno's top-ranking generals were killed in a coup that was initially blamed on the PKI party (whether this is true is inconclusive). The coup weakened Sukarno's military, and recognizing this weakness, General Suharto took control of the army and put down the uprising. He blamed it on the PKI, though some believe the coup was an elaborate scheme by Suharto to gain control by using the communist party as a scapegoat.[221] This eventually led to an Indonesia-wide anti-communist propaganda campaign and a period of mass genocide in which somewhere between 500,000 and one million people were killed between late 1965 and the end of 1966 (Cribb 1990: 8).[222]

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[220] Although wayang kulit is very important in Balinese ritual and culture, the shadow theater that is normally drawn upon to represent Indonesia comes from the Javanese tradition. One must remember that shadow theater came from Java and that Java is the political seat of the nation. The idea that wayang is still very Javanese and not all-Indonesian in character is evidenced by the fact that the UNESCO website only shows pictures of Javanese wayang, and large puppetry organizations such as Sena Wangi are located in Java.

[221] Evidence linking the PKI to the killing of Sukarno's generals was inconclusive, leading some to believe that the assassinations were staged by General Suharto and blamed on the PKI party. In time, Suharto was able to outmaneuver Sukarno both politically and militarily and was appointed president in 1968.

[222] The worst of the killing occurred in Central Java, East Java, and Bali, but it is believed that Bali was the province that was hit the hardest (roughly 80,000 people, or 5% of the two-million-person population were killed) (Robinson 1995: 273). The possibility of someone being a communist was often a site of contention during this time. In Bali, it was not uncommon for jealous neighbors or enemies to accuse people they didn't like of being communists so that they would be killed. This led many to not trust anyone, and many Balinese became victims whether they were communist or not. In other parts of Indonesia, some were accused of being communist if they did not conform to the nationalistic values or practiced a religion outside the norm within the community. For example, many orthodox Javanese Muslims would accuse less orthodox Muslims of being communist so that they would be killed. As in

The extent to which shadow theater was recognized as a powerful tool for ideological dissemination is evidenced by the fact that Balinese shadow puppeteer I Made Jangga (a famous performer of Balinese *wayang cupak*) was a noted target in the killings.[223] During the rise of the PKI party, Dalang Jangga and other inhabitants from Dukuh Pulu Tengah, Mambang Village, East Selemadeg District, joined the PKI, thinking they were following the Pancasila principle of unity and nationalism and wanted to maintain political harmony in the local community. As a result, they became trapped in the political unrest of the anti-communist killings, and Dalang Jangga along with eighteen other members of the community were rumored to be local PKI leaders and killed. The communist ideology contained in Dalang Jangga's plays, especially the story of *Lakon Cupak Ke Swargan*, was viewed as a powerful force in the society and therefore made Dalang Jangga an important target when action was taken to subdue the communist party in Bali (Murtana 2010: 1-4).

Following this period and Suharto's rise to power, Sukarno's Pancasila principles were still maintained as a unifying element of the Indonesian nation under the new leader, but it was under President Suharto's *Orde Baru*, or "New Order," initiatives (1968-1996) that a big push toward modernization and economic progress was made. It was also during the New Order that great efforts to utilize shadow theater in disseminating political affairs were made, and the progressive ideology engrained in the New Order vision eventually led to changes in the arts on

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Bali, many Javanese were victims and killed due to local grievances that had little or no political grounds. Many local Chinese were also killed and claimed to be communist sympathizers due to anti-Chinese racism (Ricklefs 2001: 287-288). For more on the PKI and mass killings of 1965-1966 see the edited volume by Robert Cribb (1990) and Ricklefs (2001).

[223] *Wayang cupak* enacts the stories of the *Cupak Gerantang*, or tales of the journeys in the lives of Brahma's two sons.

several levels.[224] For example, Suharto's New Order government promoted and financially supported several organizations devoted to wayang in Indonesia (Van Groenendael 1985: 1971). By realizing that the promotion and development of Indonesian puppetry was one means of strengthening national identity, national pride, and national unity, puppetry organizations such as Pepadi (*Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia*, or "The Association for Indonesian Dalang"/"The Dalang Union of Indonesia") (1971) and Sena Wangi (Sekretariat Nasional Pewayangan Indonesia, or "The National Secretariat for Indonesian Puppetry") (1975) were formed (Weintraub 2004: 38).[225] In Java, this led to Semar (one of the clown characters in Javanese wayang) being used as a symbol of the people, and several stories were created to promulgate the ideological and political interests of the government. In Java and Sunda, these stories included *Semar mBabar Jatidiri* (Java) and *Sang Hyang Wiragajati* (Sunda) (Darmoko 2009: 2). Another wayang character, Gathutkaca (the son of Bima in the *Mahabharata* epic), became a symbol of the spirit of the president, as Gathutkaca is a character with courage, valor, agility, magic, and extraordinary strength and capabilities.[226]

Throughout the New Order Puppetry was seen as a vehicle for disseminating the new ideology of the Orde Baru, and Indonesian puppetry scholar Darmoko cites examples of the

[224] This progressive ideology was committed to achieving political order and economic development. It also meant a slimming down of public and mass participation in the political process.

[225] Sena Wangi is a national non-profit organization that coordinates various activities for the preservation and development of the art of puppetry. It was founded on August 12, 1975 in Jakarta. Its membership consists of puppetry organizations, educational institutions, arts and culture enthusiasts, and public figures, and one of its main goals is to support wayang as one of the pillars of Indonesian culture. Funding for the organization is provided by companies, government bodies, foundations, institutions and prominent figures in society both within Indonesia and abroad ("Sena Wangi"). Given that select people and parties with money fund this organization, it comes as no surprise that the interests of these parties have been promoted through the wayang.

[226] With regard to Bali, ISI Denpasar professor of puppetry Dr. I Nyoman Sedana states that the intention of Indonesianizing and therefore nationalizing wayang was implemented in 1978 in the wayang performance of *Death of Niwatakawaca*, in which all the clown servants (Wredah, Twalen, Sangut, and Dalem) spoke in the Indonesian language (Sedana 2013: 3).

president directly addressing puppetry organizations with a nationalistic message. For example, on January 21, 1995, a group of Balinese, Javanese, and Sundanese puppeteers stood in front of President Suharto at the state palace. During the meeting, the president gave a speech to the puppeteers about how they could use puppetry to promote the values of the Pancasila so that these values could be lived and practiced in real life by the people (Darmoko 2009: 2).[227]

In Bali specifically, the New Order gave rise to a number of arts organizations, most notably, Listibya, or *Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan* (Advisory Council for the Development of Culture in Bali), which was developed and devoted to monitoring, advising, and fostering a range of Balinese artistic performances. Listibya was formed early on in the New Order (1967) by the Governor Ida Bagus Mantra (he was also the initiator of the Bali Arts Festival, PKB).[228] In addition to promoting the arts in the villages, the Listibya fostered Balinese dance groups, gamelan groups, and art clubs to perform at the Bali Arts Festival (PKB). The organization was very involved in developing the performing arts for the tourism industry and sought to maintain the quality of dance and gamelan performance by awarding groups an official certificate or plaque called a *Parama Patrem Budaya*. Under the supervision of Listibya, all groups wishing to undertake cultural missions abroad were required to have this certificate to be deemed suitable representatives of Balinese culture ("Listibya").

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[227] Several studies on the Pancasila values in Indonesian shadow theater have been written. In his book *Wayang, Kebudayaan Indonesia, dan Pancasila* (Wayang, Indonesian Culture, and the Pancasila), Indonesian puppetry scholar Pandam Guritno describes how the Pancasila and the new nationalistic ideology are revealed in the *wayang parwa* (wayang kulit that dramatizes stories from the *Mahabharata*) (Guritno 1988: 94-108). According to Guritno, shadow theater inherently portrays the values of the nation, as it has long functioned to educate the people in the ways of unity, peace, and moral virtue. Guritno systematically breaks down the five Pancasila principles and discusses how each one can be found in all wayang. In Bali, specifically, Dwadja 1991 discusses the Pancasila principles in the *lakon*, or story, of *Kunti Yadnya*.

[228] The Bali Arts Festival, or *Pesta Kesnian Bali* (PKB), was initiated in 1979 as an annual festival for Balinese arts and emerged with the growth of regional conservatiories in the middle of the New Order (McGraw 2013: 73).

Tourism in Bali also became a site for cultural politics during Suharto's New Order regime. In fact, tourism was such an important part of the New Order regime that Suharto's Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) stressed international tourism as a major factor in economic development.[229] The Five-Year Plan laid the foundation for a national tourism policy and used Bali's image as a tourist paradise as a model for development of tourism in the archipelago (ibid.). This connection between art and national development led New Order performers to have to simultaneously strive to maintain indigenous forms while also developing new ones in response to the pressures and incentives from government policies and programs (Sutton 1995: 697). Many questioned whether traditional religious Balinese arts would survive such an onslaught of Western influence, and cultural tourism (*parawisata budaya*) presented a challenge for the Balinese to find a way to develop the tourism industry without damaging Balinese culture. This eventually led to a clear separation of religious ritual on the one hand and performance for tourist entertainment on the other. The extent to which tourism has had an effect on Balinese arts and ritual lies outside of the scope of this dissertation; however, these small examples of legal authority begin to demonstrate how national development directly impacted the arts.[230] With a better sense of the state of affairs in postcolonial Indonesia, I will now examine how the movement toward national identity and progress had an impact on religion and ritual in Bali.

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[229] The beginning of mass tourism to Bali was marked by the opening of the Ngurah Rai international airport on August 1, 1969 (Picard 1990: 5).

[230] For more on cultural tourism in Bali see Picard 1990 and 1996 and Macy 2010. In a sense, shadow theater is still functioning as a tool for national identity and pride, as UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) proclaimed the "Wayang Puppet Theatre" a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in November 2003. I'd like to argue that cultural politics is still in evidence here, as many of the examples shown on the UNESCO website are from Java. Again, the political dominance of the Javanese has led to an inadvertent Javanization of the archipelago.

Religious Reform, Ritual Reform, and the Wayang Sapuh Leger Massal

Coinciding with the policy-making and nation-building activities in postcolonial Indonesia were efforts to unify the nation through religious tolerance and economic equalization. New developments set in motion by Sukarno's Pancasila principles and Suharto's New Order vision led to big changes in Balinese religious construction and the performing of rituals. In this section, I examine some of the causes of religious and ritual reforms in Bali and draw upon the recent development of the *wayang sapuh leger massal* ritual as an example of how these changes led to modifications in wayang ritual and controversy concerning the religious authority of the pemangku dalang.

Religious Reform

In order to fully understand the extent to which legal authority and nationalism have had an impact on ritual Balinese shadow theater, it is necessary to outline the historical and religious background of the island.[231] This is especially so considering that much of the esoteric and conceptual basis of music and ritual in Bali is related to cultural elements of Hindu-Buddhist and Hindu-Javanese origin (Heimarck 1991: 11). According to noted Bali historian Robert Pringle, the three most important features of Balinese history were the development of irrigated rice agriculture, the adoption of Indian religion and civilization, and the growth of tourism. But, Pringle states, of these three, it is the Hindu religion in its distinctive local form that famously defines Bali today (Pringle 2004: 41). This variation of Hinduism developed from a long process

[231] According to the 2010 census, Bali's population had reached 3,890,757, with 84.5% of the population adhering to Balinese Hinduism, 12% to Islam, and the small remaining percentage to Christianity ("Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Agama Dianut"). Other sources now estimate the population to be over 4.22 million. As the most popular tourist destination in Indonesia, Bali derives its largest source of income from tourism; however, agriculture is still the island's biggest employer, with swidden rice cultivation being at the forefront ("Bali Faces Population Boom").

of Indianization dating back to approximately the 5th century A.D., when Buddhist and Hindu influences moved along trade routes throughout the archipelago.[232] Indonesian rulers, wishing to associate themselves with Indian culture and cultivate status and dignity, invited Brahman priests to their kingdoms to help model their courts after the Indian ideal (Heimarck 1991: 11). Remnants of these influences still remain in Java, the most famous examples being the Buddhist monument Borobudor and the Hindu monument Prambanan (Pringle 2004: 41).

The first Hindu colony in Bali was formed around 1343 as the reigning Hindu kingdom in Java at the time, the Majapahit (1293-1520 A.D.), unseated the Balinese monarch and gained control (Pringle 2004: 59). The Majapahit rulers sent Buddhist and Hindu priests to Bali, and when the Majapahit kingdom fell to Islam in the 16th century, many artists, priests, intellectuals and musicians fled from Java to Bali. Over the next several centuries, indigenous animistic beliefs melded with those Buddhist and Hindu influences coming from Java, amalgamating into a Balinese religious practice that can best be described as an orthopraxy of rituals devoted to the worshipping of ancestors and deities to ensure prosperity and fertile rice fields (Geertz 1973: 186, Pringle 2004: 57).

This orthopraxy of rituals continued to flourish throughout the Dutch and Japanese occupations,[233] but amidst the political ferment of the early twentieth century, Balinese intellectuals began to think about how they might construct their religion in a new way. This was influenced by several factors, namely "their desire to make sense of their own situation in a rapidly changing world, criticisms by Dutch colonial officials and Muslim scholars concerning the content and status of Balinese religion, the need to counteract the growing threat posed by

[232] The famous Dutch scholar J. L. Swellengrebel discusses evidence of Indian influence in Bali as far back at the first century A.D. (Swellengrebel 1960: 18-19).

[233] The Dutch occupation of Indonesia spans from the 1800s to 1950; the Japanese took over for a short time from 1942 to 1945 (Ricklefs 2001: 247).

Muslim and Christian proselytizing, and their admiration for Western notions of democracy and equality, acquired in part through education in Dutch schools in Bali, Java, or Holland" (Pringle 2004: 63).

This need for change was further emphasized after Indonesia became an independent nation in 1945. As noted above, following independence, Sukarno was charged with bringing together an extremely diverse nation and solving conflicts between Muslim and Christian parties vying for religious dominance, and the Pancasila principles were an effort to solve this problem. Under Sukarno, the Pancasila guided democracy and undermined Islamic parties vying for an Islamic state by legislating that all political organizations adopt the principles as their basis (Tarling 1999: 220). The first of these principles, "belief in one supreme God," invoked monotheism to reach several political ends. As anthropologist and Indonesian religious specialist Lorraine V. Aragon writes, "This call for monotheism was a compromise solution in the face of Muslim groups advocating an Islamic state and other leaders advocating a secular state, given important populations such as the Hindu Balinese and Chinese Buddhists and Christians" (Aragon 2000: 281). The philosophy was also viewed as an effort to eliminate communism and neutralize religious sects that might take issue with the new government.

While the Pancasila principles were designed to protect non-Muslim religious minorities, the embedded ideology of monotheism was a subversive means to "civilize" less developed minorities by rooting out and destroying religions that did not easily support movement toward modernization (Aragon 2000: 312). Following the establishment of the Pancasila principles, Indonesian citizens were required to state their religious affiliation on their identity card, and absence of a recognized religion was viewed as a rejection of Indonesian nationalism (Atkinson 1983: 178). Initially, many indigenous religions, including Balinese Hinduism, were not included

on the list of acceptable monotheistic religions outlined by the government.[234] This was because the Indonesian Ministry of Religion only recognized those belief systems having a name, a rational doctrinal philosophy, a monotheistic God, and scriptures as being classified as religion, or *agama*.[235] Jane Monnig Atkinson explains in her article "Religions in Dialogue: The Construction of an Indonesian Minority Religion" that the term *agama* was adopted by Muslim and Christian traders and associated with learning, literacy, wealth and cosmopolitanism. Later, agama carried a similar feeling of economic and political privilege, internationalism and education under the Dutch (Atkinson 1983: 174). Therefore, as the new republic of Indonesia emerged and Bali looked for its place within progress, modernization and religious legitimacy, its process of religious reconstruction was carried out with the same sentiments.

At the outset, obtaining religious legitimacy presented a problem, as the Balinese orthopraxy of rituals was said to be *belum beragama,* or "not yet to have a religion," and classified as "tribal" (Pringle 2004: 64). This classification, also applied to many indigenous religions throughout the archipelago, imposed the notion that if one's religion did not meet the standards of state policy it was in a backward stage of development. This "tribal" designation became a problem in many parts of the country and forced many Indonesians to either convert to one of the major religions or devise some way to legitimize their own. In some cases, those who did convert were able to maintain their indigenous rituals by labeling them *adat*, or custom, so that they could be practiced alongside their new *agama,* or religion.[236]

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[234] The religions on the list were Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Buddhism (Pringle 2004: 64).

[235] The word *agama* is derived from Sanskrit and refers to a traditional body of precepts or doctrine, handed down and fixed by tradition.

[236] For examples of this in Sumba and Sulawesi, see Hoskins 1987 and Adams 1993.

The Ministry of Religion deemed the practice of rituals constituting Balinese Hinduism adat in 1952, making Bali a potential target for Muslim and Christian proselytization, as it was the duty for recognized, state-sponsored religions to convert "tribal" religions (Pringle 2004: 65). Soon after, the Balinese provincial government began to work with Balinese intellectuals to legitimize Balinese Hinduism by systematizing its doctrines and scriptures. During this time, several reformist organizations worked to assert that Balinese religion was a variant of Balinese Hinduism, simplifying rituals, creating a systematized doctrine and theology, translating Indian religious texts into Indonesian, and promoting the previously "shadowy high god" Sang Hyang Widhi as their monotheistic deity (Pringle 2004: 65). As a result of these efforts, a modified Balinese religion was created, and in 1958, *Agama Hindu Bali* was recognized as the new religion of Bali. Following this, *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia,* the unified organization of Hinduism in Indonesia, was created to oversee additional ethnic groups from Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and others wishing to join the classification of *agama Hindu* in Indonesia (Pringle 2004: 65).[237]

Converting Balinese Hinduism into a "monotheistic" religion was easier than might be expected, as Balinese Hindus already recognized a unifying force, or god, that presided over all of the deities of the Hindu pantheon, Sang Hyang Widi. Sang Hyang Widi, as the supreme god, was already at the forefront of the religion, and an image of the figure could be found in Balinese temples and art (see figure 5.1). With regard to representations of the supreme god in wayang, Pandam Guritno states that the one high god, which in Indonesian is called *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* ("The One High God"), was not represented as a wayang figure in Javanese wayang;

[237] The Parisada Hindu Dharma was established in 1959 by Ida Bagus Mantra and was initially intended as an anti-communist organization. It later came under New Order religious bureaucracy in 1968 and was then closely associated with Golkar (*Partai Golongan Karya*, or The Party of Functional Groups), the ruling political party under Suharto's New Order Regime (Nordholt 2007: 22). See also Picard 2001.

however, in Bali, the puppet Sang Hyang Tunggal (also called Acintya) has stood to represent the one high god (Sang Hyang Widi) for some time (see figure 5.2) (Guritno 1988: 97).[238]





Figure 5.1 and 5.2: Sang Hyang Widi temple relief (left) and Sang Hyang Tunggal puppet (right). Photos by the author. 2011.[239]

In light of these political and religious changes to legitimize Balinese Hinduism, the Parisada had to make adjustments to customary Balinese rituals, and the Balinese shadow puppet theater was one of them. Once heralded as a priestly figure responsible for performing purification rituals and acting as a mediator between the seen and unseen world (especially in his role as a pemangku dalang in the wayang sapuh leger ritual), the dalang's role was re-categorized

[238] Although a majority of Java's population is Muslim, there are pockets of Hindu peoples. Islamic practice on Java is often thought to be syncretic, as many of the Hindu beliefs that existed in Java before the Muslim conversion are still a major part of the people's worldview and belief system.

[239] Sang Hyang Tunggal, or "The Great One," is represented by an anthropomorphic figure in a yogic tree pose. Before beginning a performance, the dalang will recite several mantra asking the gods to descend into him. The *pasikepan* mantra (a spell for performing) demonstrates this and recognizes Sang Hyang Tunggal as the supreme god (Hooykas 1973: 51). Hobart et al. (1996) have translated the mantra as follows: "Yes, supreme god, Sang Hyang Tunggal, grant me magical power, [so that] demons and witches are happy, [so that] the people are happy, [so that] the gods are happy, all that exists in the world be happy and worship and so depart in happiness. AM AH [sky earth]" (Hobart et al. 1996: 154).

as *adat*, or custom, and rituals like the wayang sapuh leger were eliminated from Hindu doctrine, scripture, and the category of *agama* (Umeda 2006: 121).

In her article "Between *Adat* and *Agama:* The Future of the Religious Role of the Balinese Shadow Puppeteer, *Dalang*," Japanese anthropologist Hideharu Umeda explains how the dalang was stripped of his religious title amidst the cultural and political changes outlined above, and describes his role as one that is now "oscillating between *adat* and *agama*" (Umeda 2006:122). Umeda also asserts that the role of the dalang emphasized in Bali today is "purely that of a performer," and states that many of the younger generation of dalang have almost no idea of the priestly aspect required to properly carry out the rituals that a dalang should perform (Umeda 2006: 122). Anthropologist Ruth McVey supports this assertion, saying that "over the years there has been a gradual but noticeable decline in the leeway allowed the dalang for criticism, a result not just of increased official surveillance but also of diminished regard for the dalang's role" (McVey 1986: 41). This is not surprising considering the competitive claims to legitimacy following independence, in which political powers sought to get rid of all of the indigenous magical authorities and promote political authority (Warren 1993: 278).

Based on my field observations and interviews with Balinese pemangku dalang, it became clear that Umeda's assertion was an overstatement, as although the dalang may no longer be classified as agama in religious doctrine, many dalang are unaware of this minor change to the religious doctrines. Balinese people have continued observing rituals like the wayang sapuh leger in which the dalang plays a clear religious role, and most still recognize that the pemangku dalang has an important priestly function. This shows the importance of ideology and belief in determining the actual attribution of power and authority, because although the dalang is no longer classified as a "religious" authority, the Balinese people still believe he is.

Umeda's notion of the dalang's role as switching from agama to adat does hold some truth, as we shall see when we examine change and innovation within the context of institutionalization below; however, ritual reforms and developments in ritual Balinese shadow theater such as the wayang sapuh leger massal seem more suited to demonstrate the supposed threat to the Balinese pemangku dalang's authority in light of national growth and progress.

Ritual Reforms and The Wayang Sapuh Leger Massal

Concurrent with the changes in Balinese religious construction in the 1960s were widespread reforms aimed at simplifying and standardizing rituals. These reforms were conducted in response to the economic hardship of the times, the plight of the poor, and the nation's agenda of moving toward egalitarian reforms, but they were also an integral part of the program of change for the new Balinese religion (Agama Hindu Bali) (Howe 2006: 66).[240] In line with the new nation's goals of progress and a utopian desire to close socio-economic gaps, Balinese rituals and religion came under scrutiny as being wasteful; they were sometimes thought of as a religion of burning money, due to the major expenses incurred in conducting cremation ceremonies. It was during this time that religious officials of the Parisada began to reform religious ceremonies and search for ways to conduct cheaper and simpler ceremonies.

Anthropologist Leo Howe traces the start of these reforms to the 1960s and the performance of the gigantic purification ceremony at the mother temple (Besakih) on the volcano Gunung Agung (ibid.) This ceremony was only held every one hundred years and required that the island be purified by the cremation of all buried corpses. This, in turn, created an enormous economic burden on the people of Bali, as many had already been facing economic turmoil and

[240] Connor 1996 traces reforms to simplify Balinese rituals, especially cremations, back to the 1920s; however, this was more related to the structure of Balinese society than it was to religious reform.

had not been able to cremate their dead due to lack of funds. Given the insurmountable financial hardship this placed on the people, reforms were made to allow for ceremonies that involved minimal offerings and collective collaboration so that families could share the responsibilities of organizing the rituals (ibid.).

These reforms brought about controversy regarding several issues. Many high priests resisted the changes and viewed the reforms as undermining their authority as spiritual guides. The fact that these changes meant a smaller income for the priests was probably also a major factor in this resistance (ibid.). Other issues regarding religious hierarchy, the sharing of funeral pyres between castes, where to acquire holy water, and which priests to have officiate the rituals became major concerns. Nevertheless, simpler and economically viable rituals involving many people were created. Ritual collaborations in which a large number of people are involved are today known as *massal*, or mass rituals, and have become common practice, especially for conducting cremations or tooth filing ceremonies.

In addition to being an economically more viable option for poor families, massal rituals promote group collaboration (*gotong royong*) in preparing for the ceremony and are even looked upon as being more favorable spiritually. It is often the case, especially with regard to mass cremations, that an entire village might bury their dead and wait for a revered member of the community to pass before they decide to dig up their deceased family members and cremate them. In this way, the villagers can piggyback on the ritual for the revered member of the village (normally a priest or important social figure). Not only does this allow them to work together and save money, but also it is thought that this special person will lead the others to the realm of the ancestors and that the others will follow, or *ikut.* Those of a lesser status in such a ritual are called the "followers," or the *pengikut.*

Many of the observations made by Howe about ritual reforms tie in to the current discussion of legal authority and developments in Balinese shadow puppet theater. In particular, the addition of the wayang sapuh leger massal to the list of ceremonies conducted en masse further supports a growing concern for economic awareness in carrying out Balinese rituals. Research on the wayang sapuh leger massal also reveals that artistic organizations and bureaucracies are involved in the process. For example, an arm of legal authority can be found here, as ISI Denpasar Professor and head of the Himpunan Seniman Kabupaten Badung (Organization of Artists in Badung Regency, HSKB) I Nyoman Catra was directly responsible for one of the first wayang sapuh leger massal rituals in Bali.[241] Although Catra could not provide me with an exact date of the first wayang sapuh leger massal ceremony, news coverage on the events seems to indicate that the first ceremonies were conducted sometime around 2010 and 2011 at the Puspem Badung.[242]

A news article published in the Hindu magazine *Raditya*, on March 6, 2010, gives an account of the Maha Gotra Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi (MGPSSR), or high sage, of the district of Gianyar organizing a wayang sapuh leger massal ceremony for 195 Hindu people from the districts of Gianyar, Klungkung and Bangli.[243] The budget reached nearly 20,000,000 rupiah (roughly $2,000, or $11 per person) and was funded by the participants who were unable to

[241] Apparently, only Denpasar (badung) has this position. There are other organizations like Listibya (Gianyar has a Listibya and so does Denpasar) or a Dewan Kesenian (arts council). The Listibya is a huge council, but HSKB is a much smaller organization and more proactive in its activities. The Listibya is more like a big council responsible for thinking and conceptualizing the role of the arts, but this organization (HSKB) is more operational in character (interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014). It is from interviews with Nyoman Catra that a majority of my information about this topic has been derived.

[242] News coverage includes articles from the newspaper *Bali Post*, magazine articles in the Hindu Magazine *Raditya*, the online news forum *Antara News*, and the government website for the district of Jembrana.

[243] The ceremony was held for those born during the week of wayang between January 31, 2010 and February 5, 2010.

financially hold the ceremony on their own ("Bebayuhan Mpu Leger"). This is in contrast to the hundreds of dollars it can cost to hold a ceremony on one's own.[244] Officiating the ceremony were several priests and a man by the name of Ida Pandita Mpu who had the qualifications of a pemangku dalang and was able to draw upon the appropriate sastra and mantra required for the ritual. It is unclear if Ida Pandita Mpu was a dalang or merely a priest with the proper knowledge and qualifications, but the substantial number of priests organizing and executing such an event has become a site of controversy. Controversies surrounding the wayang sapuh leger rituals will be discussed at greater length below.

Other accounts of wayang sapuh leger massal ceremonies around the island, including the districts of Badung, Jimbrana, Tabanan, and Buleleng, mention participants numbering anywhere from 42 to 2,000.[245] Caste distinctions are not recognized in the ceremony, and participation in a wayang sapuh leger massal is open to the general Balinese Hindu public. The issue of gathering holy water for cleansing has been solved by obtaining water from some of the holiest water temples of the island, such as Tampak Siring, Segara, and Campuhan. In all of the reports I have encountered, the cost for attending one of these ceremonies has been no more than 500,000 rupiah per person (about $50), which is still far less expensive than holding the ceremony on one's own.

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[244] A single price for an individual wayang sapuh leger ceremony cannot be determined. The price for a ceremony depends on the compensation required by the dalang, how much money a family wants to spend on offerings, and how much money the family spends on food and decorations for the event. Even if a family were to try to hold the most inexpensive ceremony possible, it would still be far more than the contribution required for the wayang sapuh leger massal.

[245] See "Tabanan Gelar Sapuh Leger Massal," "Ratusan Umat Hindu Gelar 'Sapuh Leger'," and "Bebayuhan Mpu Leger." According to email correspondence with ISI Denpasar professor I Nyoman Sedana on May 29, 2015, the large wayang sapuh leger massal involving hundreds of participants is usually held in Puspem Badung. The smaller wayang sapuh leger massal ceremonies are usually held in the Windu Segara temple in Padanggalak, Sanur and the Sivamanik Dalang temple in Pemaron Singaraja. These seem to be the two most common venues for the ceremony to take place; however, wayang sapuh leger massal ceremonies are being held in various places throughout the island.

According to Catra, there has long been the practice of mass rituals (cremation, toothfiling, haircutting, etc.), but because he is the head of HSKB he was able to be of aid to the people and help create a wayang sapuh leger massal. Catra and the HSKB decided to have a wayang sapuh leger for three reasons: first, because of the expense; second, because of the times (as in the West, life in Bali has sped up and times have changed, leaving people with less time and less interest in rituals like the wayang sapuh leger); and third, because a massal ceremony meant that the greatest and grandest ceremony could be conducted.[246] As Leo Howe notes, "reforms of ritual practice are also underpinned by new interpretations," and Catra had good reasons behind why a wayang sapuh leger ceremony was not only more economical, but also better spiritually (Howe 2006: 66). His reasons were presented through an analogy. If one were to go to the great mother temple of Besakih on the volcano Gunung Agung, there are many ways to get there. Rituals, he said, are like transportation, and there are many methods, or vehicles, to achieve the goals of the ritual. If one were to walk, it would require a lot of time. If one were to ride a bicycle, this would also take time. Many people could pile into the back of a truck, but it would be bumpy and hot, and this, too, is not so optimal and comfortable. On the other hand, if everyone rides a big bus with air conditioner, they will also arrive, yet the ride will be comfortable. Likewise, one could drive a Mercedes Benz and get there in comfort and style. So, if we think of it this way, there are a variety of ways for the individual, the family, or a large group to go to a ritual together. The same can be said about rituals like the wayang sapuh leger. One can hold the ceremony alone, with a couple of people, or with a large number of participants. What is important is the goal. Rituals are carried out because they are a way of speaking to and pleading with God. Each person is responsible for their own thoughts and

[246] All information in the section comes from an Interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014. The interview was conducted in Indonesian, and all responses included in this dissertation were transcribed by the author.

actions, and there isn't anyone that can help a person except for themselves. So, whether you go alone or with a group is unimportant, because everyone has to face their problems alone anyway. The wayang sapuh leger massal is therefore like a big bus. It is a vehicle to bring many people to God, and the biggest, most grand offerings can be used, because so many people are contributing.

While these rituals have been designed to help Balinese people save money, controversy has arisen, as those unaware of the intricacies of the ritual worry that the performances are being officiated by a Balinese priest and that it is the Balinese priests who are distributing the holy water rather than the dalang. In my interviews with Catra, dalang have been at the forefront of the ritual, but some have viewed the dalang's involvement more as a symbol than as the traditional religious authority of the ceremony.[247] Similar to the controversy amongst priests at the start of holding mass cremations in Bali, many dalang feel as if their religious authority is being undermined. Massal ceremonies like this one do pose a threat to pemangku dalang who make their living by conducting rituals. If many families are electing to do the massal ritual rather than hire a pemangku dalang independently, there are fewer opportunities for a pemangku dalang to make money. While I have not heard this mentioned explicitly from any of the pemangku dalang I spoke with (money is not openly talked about, especially amongst religious figures who are expected to perform rituals with or without pay), I expect that an underlying current in this controversy has to do with who is reaping the financial benefits of such reforms.

[247] Catra explained that if we read the *Kalatatwa* sastra, those who are born during Tumpek Wayang need to have a wayang sapuh leger ceremony. The person who has the power to conduct this ceremony is the dalang. Therefore, when he organized the ceremony the dalang was at the forefront. After the dalang was the *pendeta*, or priest, even though the priest knows more about the rules of offering. Therefore, he said, it is actually better if the priest does it, but in this case there is a need for wayang as an icon to legitimize the ritual. The performance, too, acts more like a symbol than a way to convey a myth or lesson, and as long as the wayang puppets Acintya, Siwa, Twalen, and Kayonan are present, they can serve as the symbolic content for when the holy water is made by the dalang.

With regard to Umeda's assertions that the dalang's spiritual role is waning and in a liminal space between adat and agama, the wayang sapuh leger massal demonstrates that the pemangku dalang's spiritual authority is still intact, as he is a required component of the wayang sapuh leger ritual; however, his role as more of a symbolic element rather than ritual officiant does suggest an element of truth to her observations. In other cases, some might argue that the dalangs' role is perhaps even more powerful than ever, given that they are now called upon to cater to hundreds of people at a time, but amidst the testimonies provided to me by pemangku dalang, the wayang sapuh leger massal is just a way to filter more money into specified pockets, thus resulting in fewer chances and rewards for those who conduct the ritual in the villages.[248]

What the wayang sapuh leger massal does demonstrate is an increased involvement of government organizations and bureaucracies in making rituals simpler and more affordable. This involvement of legal authority parties parallels the shift in ideological values accompanying a push toward modernization and progress in the New Order government of Suharto, as part of the New Order national ideology was to transcend the ethnic, socio-economic, and religious divisions widely perceived as a threat to Indonesian nationalism (Warren 1993: 278). The final place to explore the effects of legal authority on the development of Balinese shadow theater and is in officially established Balinese arts institutions.

[248] Not all Balinese follow the wayang sapuh leger ritual. It depends on their beliefs. If they still believe in the ritual, then they will do it. In Dalang Nardayana's village, there are many people who do not undergo the wayang sapuh leger ritual, even though they are born during wuku wayang. Some just come and ask for holy water and consider that that is enough. Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

Institutionalization, Innovation, and Standardization

In this final section, I will examine how the growth of regional conservatories during the middle of Suharto's New Order era represents an arm of legal authority that was directly aimed at organizing art for nationalistic purposes. The resulting institutionalization of art forms taught at the new conservatories reveals how the university has functioned to both deliberately and inadvertently affect Balinese arts, especially Balinese shadow theater. Following a discussion of the establishment of arts universities in Indonesia, I then examine the universities' policies and how they have provided the impetus for much of the innovation and development of Balinese wayang. Short mention of Balinese puppetry contests is included here as well. Finally, I address the issue of standardization of Balinese gendér wayang music within the context of institutionalization and argue that the local university's policies promoting innovation have posed a threat to traditional shadow theater music.

Institutionalization

Amongst President Suharto's initiatives in New Order Indonesia was a government document that stated the basic goals for national development known as the Five-Year Plan. This exercising of legal authority was not only an ideological statement on behalf of the government, but also a testament to how important the arts would be in the context of national development (Hellman 2003: 26). One of the conditions for the development of a national identity outlined in the Five-Year Plan called for a program to organize art (ibid.: 92). In his work on cultural politics in New Order Indonesia (particularly Java), anthropologist Jörgen Hellman describes how several centers were to be established for promoting art and culture (*Pusat Kesenian dan Kebudayaan*), and exhibitions, competitions and seminars on art were to be encouraged (ibid.:

27). In addition, Hellman states, "the connection between art and national development made the organization of art production, the building of art schools, cultural centers, museums, and related organizations a national concern" (ibid.: 15).

Although Hellman's work examines how cultural politics interacted with the performing arts of Java, specifically the theater group Longser Antar Pulau, his analysis of how New Order politics and legal authority had an effect on Indonesian arts is very applicable to what took place in Bali.[249] Amongst the ways in which Bali began to "organize art" to support the Five-Year Plan was the development of the Balinese Arts University (ASTI, STSI, now ISI Denpasar) in 1966, the establishment of the high school for the performing arts (KOKAR, now SMA3) (1974), events such as the all-Bali wayang competitions (1971), and festivals like the Bali Arts Festival (PKB) (1979).

When considering these developments within the context of the current discussion on Balinese shadow puppet theater, direct correlations between national development and wayang development have been made. According to ISI Denpasar Professor I Nyoman Catra, the development of the Balinese arts university was extremely important during the New Order period for establishing education in the arts, including the art of puppetry, or *pedalangan.* Part of the university's goal was to disseminate what the duties of a dalang were in Balinese society and to enable dalang who did not come from a family lineage of dalang to study the art form.[250] The Balinese arts university, ISI Denpasar, has since become the breeding ground for much of the

[249] The term *longser* refers to a specific genre of heart-stirring Indonesian theater from West Java, which reached its peak between 1920 and 1960. *Antar pulau* means "inter-island." Hellman's work focuses on the revitalization of traditional Longser theater through a project named Longser Antar Pulau.

[250] Interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014.

innovation in Balinese shadow theater, and many of the innovative styles that are found in Bali today had their start within the walls of the institution.[251]

Umeda's assertion that the dalang's role now occupies a liminal space between adat and agama is also relevant here, as she argues that changes were in part due to the continued push toward progress and modernization that accompanied religious reform in Bali and the implementation of an official cultural policy. This, she says, was symbolically marked by the start of wayang education at the Conservatory for Traditional Music (Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia, now the Balinese Arts University, ISI Denpasar) in 1960.[252] ISI Denpasar was the first public educational institution offering specialization in Balinese performing arts, and texts such as Sugriwa's 1963 *Ilmu Pedalangan/Pewayangan* (Knowledge of Wayang Puppetry and Performance) began to emerge, which Umeda finds responsible for excluding parts of the dalang's religious role and beginning to standardize aspects of wayang performance (Umeda 2006: 127). While I take issue with Umeda's interpretation of Sugriwa's text, as many aspects of the dalang's spiritual role are mentioned, I do agree that the university has contributed to increasing standardization and institutionalization; however, in my research, it seems as though this is a more a product of the practicalities of running the institution and the university's policies and requirements for graduation than anything else.[253] These policies and requirements and the

[251] The Balinese high school for the performing arts should not be left out here (KOKAR, SMKI, and now SMA3). Professor I Nyoman Sedana notes how the high school began a puppetry program in 1974 and allowed equal access to dalang education for both men and women from several teachers at a time. This was a radical development, as students normally would learn from a single teacher in their village. Sedana notes that these changes at the arts high school were directly responsible for the first woman dalang in Bali in 1976, Ni Ketut Trijata (Sedana 2013: 3).

[252] In Bali, the Academy of Indonesian Dance (*Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia Denpasar*) was opened in 1966, and in 1986 became a university called *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, Denpasar* (ISI Denpasar) (Umeda 2006: 128).

[253] Sugriwa's text provides the mantras for making holy water, or *tirtha,* and also mentions aspects of performance that are holy, or *suci.*

ways in which they have provoked change and innovation in Balinese shadow are discussed below.

Innovation

Perhaps the most important contributing factor to development and change in the Balinese arts is the university's curriculum that encourages reinterpretation, innovation, creativity, digitalization, transformation, redefinition, and repositioning (Sedana 2013: 1). This is such an integral aspect of the institution that students within the *pedalangan* department (dalang department) are trained to master traditional theatrical forms and are also required to create a new unique shadow theater of their own in order to graduate. This, in turn, has led to even more musical and theatrical movement away from "tradition," in the name of the social capital that having a degree from the university affords.

According to I Nyoman Catra, there are two tracks within the pedalangan program at the university, namely, *jurusan pengkajian seni*, or a major in research in the arts, and *jurusan penciptaan seni*, or a major in the creation of art. If following the first track, students conduct research and write a paper on a specified topic, whereas those on the creative side of the major have to create an entirely new form of shadow theater in order to graduate. According to I Nyoman Sedana, this campus curriculum has been the catalyst for puppetry innovation in all seven of Indonesia's arts universities (Sedana 2013: 5).[254]

During my dissertation fieldwork in Bali in 2014, I was invited to come and watch the final exam (*ujian terakhir*) for students who created new works for their graduation project. This yearly event is free and open to the public; it often draws interested young artists from the

[254] The seven arts universities are: ISI Denpasar Bali, STKW Surabaya, ISI Surakarta, ISI Yogyakarta, STSI Bandung, IKJ Jakarta, and STSI Padang Pajang (Sedana 2013: 5).

villages who are eager to see what new innovations the university students have come up with. Student dalang present their works in front of dozens of selected examiners and must present a performance script and pass an oral comprehensive exam in order to earn their puppetry degree (ibid.).[255] Works presented at these performance exams usually span forty-five minutes and draw upon puppet traditions from all over the world. For example, one performance I witnessed closely resembled a Vietnamese water puppet show, as the dalang and his assistants sat behind a curtain and manipulated 3D figures through a system of pulleys and rods connected to the bottom of the puppets (see figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: Wayang kulit combined with Vietnamese water puppet-styled puppets at the ISI Denpasar final exams for puppetry. Photo by the author. 9 May 2014.[256]

When discussing innovation, it is important to remember that wayang puppet theater has been innovated endlessly since its original version rooted in animisitic cultures of the prehistoric era; however, dynamic innovation, particularly in Bali, is notable only since the 1970s (Sedana 2013:1). This, Sedana suggests, is in large part due to the university and the first all-Bali wayang

[255] A bachelor of arts degree (BA) was awarded by the institution while it was called ASTI, until 1988. While it was called STSI, students received a degree of *Seniman Sarjana Pedalangan* (SSP), until 2003. Students now receive a degree of *Seniman Seni* (S.Sn.) under the university's current title of ISI Denpasar (Sedana 2013: 1).

[256] Unfortunately, I do not know the name of the student puppeteer who created this innovative form of puppet theater. The date of the exams was May 9, 2014.

puppet competition in 1971, which created "dynamic impulses" for Balinese shadow puppeteers to innovate. Sedana has described at length how the pressure to innovate from the university and the desire to win such competitions has led to the creation of a variety of new forms and the revitalization of others. Among the examples he provides is the *wayang tantri*, a form of wayang that enacts stories with animals, which was first performed by the dalang I Made Persib for the IKI National Art Festival in Bandung, West Java, in 1981; however, the genre did not gain popularity until the dalang I Wayan Wija from Gianyar regency performed a more innovative and advanced version in 1983. The genre was later ascribed to Wija when the Bali Cultural Division held the all-Bali wayang competition in 1999.

Similarly, the student dalang Serama Semadi created a form of *wayang babad* (chronicle-based puppetry performed by a dalang pointing to figures on a large painted or sketched illustration) in 1988, but this form really only gained popularity when the Bali Cultural Division again held the wayang competition in 2000. One additional example concerns the *wayang arja* (wayang depicting the Panji tales), which was created by the dalang I Made Sidja in 1976. The new puppets created for this genre were stored in the Bali Art Museum in 1986. As an undergraduate in the pedalangan department, I Nyoman Sedana (now a professor at ISI Denpasar) revitalized the wayang arja for his degree from ISI Denpasar in 1988. Since then, the genre has been performed by a number of other dalang and spread through Bali during an all-Bali wayang arja competition that was held from December 4 to December 29, 1996 (Sedana 2013:5).

In addition to the excitement about innovation stimulated by contests, the vast number of creative projects conceptualized by students and graduates of the ISI Denpasar program has arguably given birth to many of the contemporary forms of shadow theater found in Bali

today.[257] Nearly every aspect of the wayang puppet theater has been developed or innovated. Noteworthy changes and experimentations include: 1) the integration of wayang shadow theater with other forms of puppetry found throughout the world, such as rod puppets, hand puppets, Rajasthani string puppets, and marionettes; 2) the incorporation of Balinese, Indonesian, Old Javanese, and English language;[258] 3) the integration of dance and masks; 4) innovative lighting and stage effects such as lightning, colored lights and fog; 5) electronic and computerized special effects utilizing animation and synthesized sounds; 6) the creation of new puppets (for example, inanimate objects, animals, weapons, and landscapes) and modification of traditional puppets by altering the size, shape, color, and material that puppets are made from;[259] 7) the use of unconventional musical instruments such as semar pegulingan, geguntangan, selonding, gong kebyar, gambang suling, gong gede, angklung, combinations of Balinese and Javanese metallophones, Chinese gongs, and even other world musical instruments such as Indian drums

[257] In his paper for the Bali Puppetry Festival and Seminar in 2013, ISI Denpasar professor I Nyoman Sedana provided a lengthy explanation of some of the contemporary forms of shadow puppet plays found in Bali today, which in Indonesian have taken on a variety of names, including: *wayang eksperimen* (experimental wayang), *wayang inovasi* (innovative wayang), *wayang kontemporer* (contemporary wayang), *wayang kreasi baru* (new creation wayang), *wayang garapan baru* (new creation wayang), *wayang listrik* (electric wayang), *wayang modern* (modern wayang), *wayang kolaborasi* (collaborative wayang), *wayang drama modern* (modern drama wayang), *wayang dramatari* (wayang dance drama), *pakeliran layar lebar* (widescreen wayang), *pakeliran padat* (short screen wayang), *pakeliran layar dinamis* (dynamic screen wayang), *pakeliran multimedia* (multimedia screen wayang), *pakeliran jangkep* (complete? wayang), etc. (Sedana 2013: 1). Sedana 2013 goes as far as to group these forms as post-traditional puppet theater in the context of global capitalism (ibid.: 2).

[258] According to Sedana, wayang puppet shows by Balinese dalang in English began in 1977 and were mostly performed overseas. Noteworthy dalang who did this include I Nyoman Sumandhi, I Nyoman Sedana, I Wayan Wijia, I Nyoman Catra, I Made Sidia, and the child dalang I Made Georgiana Triwinadi (Sedana 2013: 3).

[259] Some dalang have added more seams at the joints to allow for more advanced manipulation and movement of arms, feet, knees, neck and waist (some puppets can even do flips). For animal puppets, new joints allowed a bird puppet to flap its wings.

and Western keyboard;[260] 8) watered down versions of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and the creation of branch stories (*lakon carangan*) that allowed a dalang to branch off from the epics and incorporate new stories and relevant social issues; 9) performances with women or children acting as the dalang;[261] 10) multiple screens; 11) performances with foreign dalang from the Netherlands and America; 12) performance duration, in that many plays are now less than three hours, versus the traditional practice of performing all night and into the morning; 13) innovation of dramatic structure to include flashbacks and new ways of story-telling; 14) the use of a microphone to amplify the dalang's voice; and 15) the addition of *gerong* singers (female vocalists similar to *pesindhen* in the Javanese tradition) from the dance drama tradition (Sedana 2013: 3-11).

There has been considerable controversy surrounding the supposed move away from "traditional" wayang kulit forms, especially given demands for entertaining wayang outside the Hindu temples in today's globalized world. The changes made to wayang for the sake of amusement or commercialization and the reduction of Kawi language in favor of the vernacular languages of Balinese and Indonesian have led some to believe that the spiritual, religious, magical, and symbolic dimensions of the plays have been reduced. Even so, experts on Balinese wayang have argued that change and innovation are inherent to the wayang tradition. I Nyoman

[260] Semar pegulingan is an older style of Balinese gamelan that dates back to the 17th century. It utilizes seven tones and is thought to be a sweeter and more reserved style than newer gamelan like gong kebyar. Geguntangan is the musical ensemble that accompanies the Arja dance drama. Selonding is a rare and sacred Balinese gamelan ensemble that comes from the village of Tenganan. Gong kebyar is the most popular form of gamelan in Bali and is known for its explosive changes in tempo and dynamics. Gambang Suling refers to an ensemble of wooden xylophone-like instruments and suling flutes. Gong gede, or "gamelan with large gongs," is a form of ceremonial gamelan that dates back to the period of the kingdoms in the 15th and 16th centuries. Gamelan angklung is a four-tone, slendro-tuned gamelan usually used for cremation processions and ceremonial occasions. Sedana mentions the creation of a new form called wayang suling in 1975, which used bamboo flutes as the musical accompaniment (Sedana 2013: 3).

[261] The first competition for women puppeteers was held during the Bali Arts Festival in 1979 (Sedana 2103: 4).

Sedana has argued that "in the face of modern global entertainments, the reliable key to sustain wayang as the oldest extant theatrical form until this time is the creative tradition known as *kawi dalang*, which invariably urges . . . creativity and innovation" (ibid.: 10).[262] This creative element within wayang performance has been termed *kawi dalang*, which means the creativity (kawi) of the puppet master (dalang). In his dissertation on creation and improvisation in Balinese shadow theater, Sedana draws on the term *kawi dalang* to signify the dalang's creativity and improvisation in his/her performance.[263] Sedana explains, "The kawi dalang is not only crucial in perpetuating the genre, but it also allows each production to be distinct and unique, even though the dalang may perform the same story over and over again. Kawi dalang demands that each performance change in accordance with the fluctuating place-time-circumstances (desa-kala-patra)" (Sedana 2002: 2).

So, although there has been controversy over changes being introduced, it is understood by masters of the art form that creativity and innovation have always played a major role in the way the dalang puppet master shapes a performance. The need to recognize place, time, and circumstance (desa-kala-patra) when performing also demonstrates the distinction between sacred and secular performance, justifying the need for creativity and innovation in the creation of wayang for entertainment as opposed to wayang performed for ritual and religious purposes. What hasn't been addressed, though, is how institutionalization and the acceptance of innovation

[262] Sedana wrote his doctoral dissertation on this topic while studying at the University of Georgia. See Sedana 2002.

[263] According to Sedana, "kawi refers to two different things: an action of aesthetic creation and the name of a language. With reference to the action of aesthetic creation, kawi means creation, improvisation, invention, or modification. One who composes a play is called pangawi, meaning creator or composer (poet). This term is composed of the prefix "pa" (a tool or an agent who does the work of . . .) added to the root word 'kawi' (creation)" (Sedana 2002: 2).

have had repercussions for the music that accompanies traditional Balinese shadow theater. This is now explored below.

Standardization

Amongst the repercussions of establishing of a shadow theater department at the Balinese arts university is an inadvertent standardization of the gendér wayang repertoire and, as I will argue, a policy of innovation that has put the gendér wayang genre in danger. The first problem with standardization arises because the gendér wayang that is taught at the arts university is almost always from the kayu mas style from Denpasar or the Sukawati style from Sukawati, Gianyar.[264] When I inquired why this was so, it became clear that this was mostly for practical reasons, as the experts of these styles lived close to the university and could feasibly be there to teach unlike other masters from Buleleng, Tabanan or Karangasem, who live hours away.[265]

Standardization has also begun to happen because students at the university prefer to learn the Sukawati style and its complex interlocking, as it is more entertaining and preferred amongst audiences across the island. It is also in the students' interest to learn either the kayu mas or Sukawati style, because these have become the two most common; thus there is a good chance that the musicians can meet with other gendér players and be able to play gendér wayang music together. This was a problem I encountered when conducting my own fieldwork on the Mas style of gendér wayang, as I would often travel to Denpasar and meet musicians, but I was

[264] Kayu mas refers to the gendér wayang style from Denpasar that is usually associated with I Wayan Suwecca and his late father Pak Konolan. The Sukawati style is so named because it comes from the village of Sukawati.

[265] The same goes for much of the gendér wayang education at the high school for the performing arts SMA3; however, I must note that some of the gendér wayang teachers at these institutions do know repertoire from a variety of styles from throughout the island. I Made Subandi, who teaches gendér wayang at KOKAR, told me that he teaches the Sukawati and kayu mas styles (Interview with I Made Subandi, 30 May 2014).

unable to play gendér wayang with them because the styles I had learned were completely different from the ones they knew. It was only after spending several more years learning the kayu mas style that I was able to play with musicians I had just met.

The fact that the Sukawati and kayu mas styles have become the two most common at the university has led to a great deal of standardization, even in villages that have their own unique regional style. For example, one of the gendér wayang musicians I worked with in the village of Mas, I Wayan Diatmika, often played the Mas style with Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan, but when working with another dalang in the same village, he was required to play the Sukawati style in order to be able to accompany the performance and play with the musicians. The number of musicians specializing in the more village-specific styles of gendér wayang like the one in Mas has dwindled so much that many of the children in the villages travel to Sukawati or Denpasar to learn gendér wayang music, either because they cannot find someone who has the time to teach them the Mas style, or because they want to be able to play the styles that everyone knows.[266]

I am also under the impression that increasing standardization has resulted from the creation of Balinese gendér wayang contests. I am unsure when these gendér wayang contests were established, and a full report on them is outside the scope of this dissertation; however, I

[266] This was evidenced by work I conducted with a young Brahmin boy from the village of Mas named Ida Bagus Rekha Bayutha. At about 12 years old, Rekha had already been studying the Sukawati style, but was unhappy with his teacher and the distance he had to travel each week for his lessons. Rekha was a distant relative of my teacher, and his father knew that I had been studying the Mas style of gendér wayang for many years. I finally realized the severity of the situation in Mas when Rekha's father approached me at a ceremony and asked if I would come several times a week and teach his son the Mas style! He recounted how he had already asked many of the Mas musicians to teach his son, but that they were too busy with farming, their families, or their jobs to dedicate their time. It was ironic, that I, the Westerner, had been approached to teach a Balinese teenager Balinese music, but he saw it as the only way for the Mas style to continue to be passed on. I agreed, and spent the next four months teaching Rekha as much of the Mas repertoire as possible. We then debuted his new skills at the upcoming temple ceremony at the Pura Taman Pule in Mas. The Mas dalang Ida Bagus Anom Suryawan enthusiastically supported my efforts and even allowed us to accompany the beginning portion of the shadow play held that evening. The musicians who knew the Mas style were in attendance and were also very impressed that the young boy had learned so much. As far as I know, Rekha has since been taken under the wing of these musicians and has continued learning and performing the Mas style since I left Bali in July 2014.

believe it is safe to assume that these contests stem from early government initiatives to create arts festivals like the PKB (the Bali Arts Festival) and other performing arts competitions.[267] From what I have observed while studying the kayu mas style with I Wayan Suwecca, who often presides over these competitions as a judge, it is often those students who play gendér wayang in the Sukawati or kayu mas style who win these competitions. One of the major incentives to win one of these competitions is that students can be awarded scholarships and have the opportunity to choose the secondary school that they would like to attend. This makes being proficient in gendér wayang very enticing, as it is often an economic and bureaucratic nightmare for many families to get their students into the best schools, which are limited in space and often more expensive.[268]

In light of these circumstances, more and more young children have started to study the kayu mas style with I Wayan Suwecca and his family, especially his daughter Putu Hartini, because their students have often had success in winning these competitions. The number of students that Putu teaches on a daily basis has grown to the extent that Putu often teaches groups of students from morning until night. This is a very unusual position for a young Balinese woman to be in, as she can not only stay home and watch her son, but also make a living as a music teacher. Although there are other women who teach gendér wayang, such as Ni Ketut

[267] Professor Ako Mashino from the Tokyo University of the Arts is conducting research on gendér wayang competitions in Bali and presented a portion of her work in a paper titled "Displayed Bodies: The Aesthetics of *Penampilan* in Balinese *Gendér Wayang* Competitions" at the 2014 ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia (PASEA) conference in Denpasar, Bali; however, judging from her paper, it seems she is more concerned with the performative and choreographic elements that have come to decorate the musical performances at these competitions. This being said, there seems to be plenty of room for research to be conducted on the impact that Balinese gendér wayang competitions are having on the increasing standardization of Balinese gendér wayang music.

[268] Placement in secondary schools is often determined by students' grades and achievements (like winning a music contest), but it is also more expensive to attend these schools.

Suryatini (she is Wayan Suwecca's sister and teaches at ISI Denpasar), Putu's situation is a very interesting case and deserves future scholarly attention in the near future.

In addition to the university's inadvertent contribution to standardization, students are so focused on innovation and creation and there is very little research and documentation happening. Gendér wayang music at the university occupies a somewhat liminal space between the university's degree programs. Those students who study music in the *karawitan* (traditional Balinese music and composition) department of the arts university often focus their time and energy on learning and composing for the larger gamelan ensembles like gamelan gong, gong kebyar, and semar pegulingan. Students in the karawitan department are also required to compose new works for gamelan, and on the few occasions I have gone to see the performance exams for these students, I have never seen new gendér wayang music or gendér wayang instruments.

Conversely, students in the pedalangan department seem to be more concerned with innovating the content and visual elements of their performance, and often choose to collaborate with friends in the karawitan department in creating the music for their new plays. This often results in new music composed in the medium that the musicians are most comfortable with such as the gamelan gong, gong kebyar, and semar pegulingan modalities mentioned above. The graduation requirement of creating new shadow theater works has had repercussions for traditional gendér wayang music, as many choose to use other forms of music for their plays. In fact, I'd like to argue that this requirement has actually posed a threat to the promulgation and development of Balinese gendér wayang, as more often than not, student dalang choose to innovate their performances by using other forms of Balinese music instead of gendér wayang. In interviews with ISI Depasar professor I Nyoman Catra and the esteemed Batuyang composer

and gendér wayang teacher at the Balinese high school for the arts I Made Subandi, I was told that this has been happening for a number of reasons aside from the novelty that new music might bring to the theatrical impact of the play.

According to Catra, the technique and skill required to play gendér wayang is a major reason why students prefer to use other musical genres. Gendér wayang music requires that musicians be able to interlock between both hands, which can be a very difficult skill to develop even within the traditional standard repertoire. Catra also explained that there is a feeling amongst musicians that the gendér wayang repertoire is already well established and, at this point, boring, so students would rather try to incorporate something new.[269] Another problem arises when considering whether students even have the ability to compose new gendér wayang music, as gendér wayang is one of the most complex musical forms found on the island. If a student is able to compose new gendér wayang in the short amount of time allotted before an exam performance, the next big issue is whether there will be enough students who are able to play the music.[270] As mentioned, most of the dalang in the department ask the music students to help them with the musical aspect of their final project, and many of those students do not have the ability to create new gendér wayang music or prefer another musical medium. This has led to an increasing number of collaborations in which semar pegulingan, gong kebyar, angklung, selonding, and other forms of Balinese music are used.[271] This is also because gendér wayang is looked upon as a limited musical medium that can only play in the slendro scale. It is often the case that dalang experiment with other musical ensembles with the hope that the music might

[269] Interview with Nyoman Catra, 26 June 2014.

[270] Interview with I Made Subandi, 30 May 2014.

[271] Catra did mention the use of traditional gendér wayang music in which *kendang*, or drums, and *ceng-ceng*, or cymbals, are used to heighten dramatic effect similar to the *batel gendér wayang* ensemble used to accompany wayang wong and wayang Ramayana.

better convey their story line. All of these factors have led to more and more movement away from gendér wayang music, preservation, and performance.

Considering these issues, professors at ISI Denpasar cannot fault students if they ask for help from their colleagues and choose to use other forms of gamelan in their performances. In the spirit of creation and innovation, drawing upon new music has actually been looked upon favorably as a means to heighten the dramatic effect of the play. I am unsure if the musical component is part of the criteria by which students are graded; however, I do know that the use of other forms of gamelan music to accompany Balinese shadow theater has become widely accepted and applied by many professional dalang before and after graduation. The extent to which the university's goals of musical and theatrical innovation have played a part in the success of modern professional dalang will be discussed in next chapter on charismatic authority and the contemporary shadow puppet theater wayang cenk blonk, created by the dalang I Wayan Nardayana.

Chapter 6: Charismatic Authority, Innovation, and the Wayang Cenk Blonk

Considering the motivation to innovate shadow theater stemming from Balinese arts institutions and the fact that audience interest has shifted from spiritual enlightenment to entertainment, this chapter examines innovation and charismatic authority within the *wayang cenk blonk*, a wildly famous shadow puppet theater created by the professional dalang I Wayan Nardayana. Drawing on field observation and interviews with I Wayan Nardayana, I present examples of Nardayana's musical and theatrical innovations, his erudite methods of interweaving social commentary into his plays, and his pioneering use of media in an attempt to demonstrate how these elements have helped him to accrue taksu and charismatic authority and become the most famous and successful dalang in Bali.[272] Through an examination of Nardayana's plays and his charismatic opinions about the state of shadow theater in contemporary Bali, I aim to comment on several issues, including: 1) charismatic authority and innovation within modern shadow theater; 2) media and the commoditization of shadow theater performance; and 3) modern expressions of taksu in innovative wayang performance. Where appropriate, I quote large portions of my interviews with Dalang Nardayana, as his responses often exemplify the same charisma that comes through in his plays. By doing so, it is my hope that readers will get a

[272] There are a number of other Balinese dalang who have created innovative forms of shadow theater and become successful as professional shadow puppeteers; however, I have chosen to focus on Dalang Nardayana because he is relatively undocumented (except for Purnamawati 2005) and is by far the most popular dalang on the island at present. Noteworthy examples of other innovative wayang forms and dalang include: *wayang joblar* created by I Ketut Muada from Mengwi (he also graduated from ISI Denpasar and named his new form of wayang after two new clown characters, Jo and Blar); Dalang Karbit from Bangli; Dalang Sidia from Bono, Gianyar; and I Wayan Wija, the innovative dalang who popularized the *wayang tantri* (wayang with animal stories).

sense not only of the exciting innovations that Dalang Nardayana has introduced, but also of how he has been able to win the hearts of the Balinese people.[273]

Charismatic Authority and Innovation in Modern Balinese Shadow Theater

Of particular importance for this chapter is Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority and the idea that charisma and innovation have become the defining criteria by which contemporary dalang have risen to fame and enjoyed financial success. According to Weber, "charismatic authority rests on the affectual and personal devotion of the follower to the lord and his gifts of grace (charisma). These gifts comprise especially magical abilities, revelations of heroism, power of the mind and of speech. The eternally new, the non-routine, the unheard of, and the emotional rapture from it are sources of personal devotion" (Weber 1958 [1922]: 6). Before unfolding the ways in which Dalang Nardayana has been able to cultivate charismatic authority, it is important to note that charismatic authority has always been a factor that determines whether a dalang is successful or attributed with spiritual power, or *taksu.*

In the past, dalang were thought to be charismatic and attributed with taksu based on their ability to embellish the Hindu epics (*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*), impart spiritual wisdom, dramatize the voices of the characters, and insert jokes and political commentary relevant to the time period. Some dalang also became famous because of their creation or modification of the wayang puppets, the way that they danced the puppets to the traditional gendér wayang music, their use of new gendér wayang pieces to build excitement or convey emotion, and other theatrical innovations of the wayang set and stage. Modern dalang like Nardayana are attributed with a measure of traditional authority, in that they continue to participate in the traditional

[273] I conducted two very lengthy interviews with Dalang Nardayana on 10 September 2010 and 11 May 2014. All interviews were transcribed and translated by the author.

aspects of the dalang's role as a performer and *guru lokha*, or teacher of the world; however, their unique musical and theatrical innovations and commentary on relevant social issues also function to bring them a measure of charismatic authority and popularity, which has always been an aspect inherent in the wayang tradition.[274] What becomes important then, is how Dalang Nardayana has been able to combine his traditional authority (as a puppeteer who imparts fundamental truths and acts as a political and religious commentator) with innovation to accrue charismatic authority and capture the interest and attention of the Balinese people. This is presented in a number of ways. I first start by providing a biographical background of I Wayan Nardayana and discuss how the Wayang Cenk Blonk was created. I then discuss some of the theatrical innovations that Nardayana has introduced and finish by discussing Nardayana's collaborations with Balinese composers and gamelan makers that have led to exciting developments in the music used to accompany the Wayang Cenk Blonk.

I Wayan Nardayana and the Wayang Cenk Blonk

I Wayan Nardayana was born on July 5, 1966 in banjar Batan Nyuh of Belayu village in Tabananan regency.[275] Although he did not come from a family of artists or shadow puppeteers, Nardayana was always interested in wayang performance. As a young boy, he would always watch the shadow plays being performed in his village and enjoyed watching behind the screen

[274] In addition to his performances for entertainment, Dalang Nardayana continues to perform wayang lemah for religious and ritual purposes; however, he does not perform wayang sapuh leger, because he says he is *belum berani*, or "not yet brave enough." Wayang sapuh leger is the most sacred form of wayang in Bali, and in that ritual the dalang acts like god. To perform this ritual, he says, one needs to prepare oneself mentally and spiritually.

[275] A banjar is the smallest social unit of Balinese society. Each village is separated into banjars (also called a village hamlet or community center) and can consist of anywhere between 20 to 500 families. The banjar acts as a form of organization to handle village affairs, community events, and religious ceremonies.

to observe what the dalang and the musicians were doing.[276] Nardayana became so interested in wayang that whenever he had free time he would draw the wayang figures, and in 5th grade, began making wayang puppets from cardboard until he had created a complete set of wayang characters. In my interviews with Nardayana, he recounted how he and his friends would always gather together and sleep under a large *wantilan* (an open air building usually used for banjar meetings or performances) and put on their own pretend wayang performances. They made a lamp by putting oil or gas in an old paint can, constructed a screen from an old piece of tattered white cloth, and built a *keropak* (puppet box) from thin plywood to store the puppets. Nardayana was always the dalang, and on the nights that he would perform, all of the children in the village enthusiastically came to watch. It was with this makeshift set of puppets that Nardayana got a very young start performing behind the screen; however, as he began putting more time into his pretend puppet plays, his grades in school suffered, and his father eventually burned his wayang set.

Despite his father burning his puppet collection, Nardayana never lost interest in the arts. He continued making wayang puppets and sold them to his friends, and also formed a masked dance group in which he and his friends created the scenarios and plotlines for performance. After finishing high school, Nardayana began performing at hotels and worked as a parking officer at the market in Gemeh for two years. Eventually, he began to think about his life and wondered what his future would be like if he continued as an amateur performer and parking attendant. It was then that he decided to return to his hobby as a puppeteer and became obsessed with becoming a successful puppeteer; however, because Nardayana did not come from a lineage of dalang he did not have a wayang set of his own. With 100,000 rupiah (about $10 today; a

[276] Dalang Nardayana often watched the plays of I Gusti Sudiartha (from Kukuh village) and Dalang Pan Yusa (from Belayu) (Purnamawati 2005: 69).

decent amount of money in 1989), Nardayana bought some cowhide and carved a set of real wayang puppets of his own. Although his parents were still wary of his hobby, they eventually gave him permission and supported him. Nardayana continued adding to his collection of wayang, and once he had a full set, he asked the local priest in his village to bless his collection of wayang on the day of Tumpek Wayang (the day of the shadow theater that marks the start of the week of wayang, *wuku wayang*) in 1992 (Purnamawati 2005: 68-71).[277] At that point he was 26 years old and had finally become a professional shadow puppeteer.

Although Dalang Nardayana started his performance career relatively late, his experiences working as a parking officer provided him with inspiration and helped him to develop a new philosophy for wayang performance. For example, while riding his bicycle home from work in Denpasar, he rode past a wayang performance at a temple ceremony. Many people had attended the ceremony, but he was sad to notice that the number of people watching the wayang performance could be counted on his fingers. He then asked himself, "what is wrong here? Is it the performance or is it that the people don't want to watch wayang anymore?" While riding home, he continued to think about the reality of wayang performance in Bali and concluded that if he were going to attract an audience for his performances he would have to make some changes that would renew the people's interest.

Nardayana soon began to implement changes in his shows, and because he did not have a teacher to instruct him in the traditional ways of wayang performance, he was free to follow his heart and intuition to implement innovations geared toward renewing audience interest. Nardayana conveyed how it was a good thing that he did not have a teacher, because if he had, the teacher would have directed him to follow in their footsteps. It was because he did not have a

[277] The names for the blessings that the puppets received include *pasupati* (to make alive with special sacred writing), *plaspas* (to purify and make clean), and *bakuh* (another form of blessing to make the puppets holy). Interview with Dalang I Wayan Nardayana, 10 September 2010.

teacher that he was free to develop his creativity and imagination uninhibited; he was also able to listen to people's opinions about the wayang and make the appropriate changes to create a form of wayang that was his own. At first, Nardayana focused on humor, and his goal was to entertain people so that they became interested in his plays, but later he began to think harder about how he would retain the traditional role of the dalang as a spiritual teacher.

During a wayang performance, Nardayana noticed a group of teenagers who were not interested in wayang and asked them why they didn't like watching the show. They responded that they thought the wayang was *katrok* (Javanese for ancient), *kuno* (old), and *nedusun* (village activity), and Nardayana realized that this was why the society had stopped being interested in shadow theater. He then asked himself how he might revitalize wayang so that the young people of Bali would become interested, and thought that if he could only get them to watch the wayang again, he might be able to impart spiritual wisdom and influence them to organize their lives and start acting more responsibly. Nardayana then remembered the wise words of a priest from Bongkasa:

> The times now are crazy. It is a time for drunkenness [amongst the Balinese people and youth]. People like to drink alcohol. You, as a dalang, need to give the people *arak* (a liquor made of fermented coconut flowers, surgar cane, grain, or fruit) and alcohol to attract their attention, but remember, little by little you must add water. Keep adding water little by little. Before long, the people won't know that they are drinking water, and only the smell of alcohol will remain. The alcohol is like humor in your shadow plays. You can bring in humor as much as you like, but remember, after a while you must come back to the original function of the wayang. Add water little by little. Slowly influence your audience little by little [by adding lessons, morals, and virtues little by little], and soon they won't even know that you are teaching them. Get back to the true identity [function] of the wayang.[278]

It was from the priest's recommendation that Dalang Nardayana began to rework his plays, and before long, many young people started to like watching his performances. After this, little by

[278] Interview with Dalang I Wayan Nardayana, 10 September 2010.

little he came back to wayang's function as education and subtly injected *pituah-pituah* (solutions) and *pitutur-pitutur* (lessons or morals) once more.

Nardayana became a dalang in 1992 and eventually married Sagung Putri Puspadhi in 1995. During these three years, he mostly performed in his village, but after he married he began performing in other villages, so finally, in 1995, he started to become famous. At this time, the name for his wayang was *Wayang Kulit Gita Loka* ("Wayang Kulit Song of Nature"), and he had already begun to introduce innovation into his performances. Many people criticized his performances, saying that he was moving beyond the bounds of the traditional stories and structure (*melanggar pakem*) and ruining Balinese wayang (*merusakan wayang Bali*). In 2000, he became sick and had to stop performing wayang for a while. Once he stopped his performances, his schedule and his job started to decline, and he was tired of his style of performance being criticized. He had never really had a teacher of puppetry before, nor did he come from a family of dalang (he learned from watching performances and listening to cassettes), and many thought that his wayang performances were wild (*liar*) and not focused as normal wayang performances usually were. Dalang Nardayana wondered if there was something missing inside himself and his work and decided to go to school to learn the basics of Balinese shadow theater in the *pedalangan* (puppetry) department at ISI Denpasar from 2002 to 2006.[279]

When Nardayana arrived at ISI Denpasar he was immediately surprised by all of the innovations being employed at the university, for example, wide screens, performances with six dalang instead of one, and dalang who sat on wheeled stools so that they could move back and forth quickly. It was at ISI Denpasar that Dalang Nardayana became inspired to start innovating other aspects of his shadow play. About innovation he said:

[279] Nardayana also attended college at the Institut Hindu Dharma (the Hindu Institute of Denpasar, IHD).

> Innovation means moving away from tradition, but not changing tradition completely—it is developing and building on it. It is like the wheel of a car. The wheel is round, but sometimes people innovate it by adding decorations, drawing designs, or adding color. That is innovation. They don't make it square, otherwise it wouldn't be a wheel anymore. Innovation in wayang is the same. We still use a screen and lights and puppets, but aspects of the play are changed and developed. In this world, the thing that is the most permanent is change. Everything inevitably changes, but in the context of wayang, change needs to be monitored a little so that it doesn't completely change the tradition.[280]

Although Dalang Nardayan went to ISI Denpasar to learn the basics, the university actually gave him more courage to use innovation in his plays. The main source of his inspiration to innovate his plays came from the final exams of the dalang students who came before him. Originally his plays were very conventional; he used a small screen and a traditional Balinese lamp, and there wasn't anything new about what he was doing. After arriving at ISI, he learned about the big screen used in Javanese wayang performance and started experimenting with using electric lights to illuminate his plays. Following these innovations, Nardayana's career began to take off again, and he resolved to constantly introduce innovation into his performances. "It is like eating rice," he said. "If everyday we eat rice, of course we will get sick of it (*jenuh*). If we always do something according to specifications of course we will get sick of that too. If people watch the same kind of performance or hear the same kind of gamelan all the time, of course they will get tired of hearing it. People always want something new and alternative, so for me, I have to constantly be innovative, or else I know a day will come when people will be bored with my plays too."[281] This realization has made Dalang Nardayana one of the most famous and innovative dalang that Bali has ever seen. In fact, his innovations were what eventually gave his genre of performance the name *Wayang Cenk Blonk*. How his form of shadow theater came to be

[280] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

[281] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 10 September 2010.

called Wayang Cenk Blonk is discussed below alongside some of the major theatrical innovations he has introduced.

Theatrical Innovation in the Wayang Cenk Blonk

According to anthropologist Stanley Tambiah, regardless of how prescribed media within a ritual may seem, ritual is always linked to status claims and interests of the participants, and therefore, there are always variable components that make the basic core of most rituals flexible (Tambiah 1979: 115). This idea is applicable to my discussion of innovation within Balinese shadow theater, and is first explored by examining the theatrical aspects of the wayang that Dalang Nardayana has innovated. As one can tell from Nardayana's biography, he has always been an innovator. From a very young age he was already creating his own puppets, and one of the first innovations he introduced as a professional dalang was a set of four new *panakawan*, or clown characters, named Nang Klenceng, Nang Cengblong, Nang Ligiran, and Nang Semangat.[282] Nardayana began using these puppets very early on in his career (especially the puppets Nang Klenceng and Nang Cengblong), when his genre of performance was known as *Wayang Kulit Gita Loka*.[283] Nang Klenceng and Nang Cengblong became particularly important because they had starkly different personalities and were good for creating humor in his plays

[282] *Nang* means "father" or "mister" in Balinese. According to Nardayana, the four traditional clown characters (Twalen, Merdah, Sangut, Delem) are sometimes not enough to bring an entertaining aspect to wayang, as they are a bit old and boring; therefore, many dalang have created new clowns for their performances. When creating the Wayang Cenk Blonk, Nardayana tried to create new clown characters that would epitomize other personalities found in Balinese society This is similar to how new *bondres*, or jokester, masks have been created to bring more comedy and entertainment to the masked dance called *topeng*. Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

[283] As noted above, *Wayang Kulit Gita Loka* means "wayang kulit sound of nature." Although this has a different name, Nardayana was still performing the Mahabharata epic. This name for his performances was merely a way to distinguish himself from other forms of puppetry. Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

(See figure 6.1). Nang Klenceng had a high voice and talked very fast, similar to the *ceng ceng*, or cymbals, used in Balinese gamelan. The shape of Nang Klenceng's mouth is very long (picture a crocodile) and illustrates this fast-talking, snappy character. Nang Cengblong is bald, and gets his name from the Balinese term *blong*, which in Balinese language refers to when your car brakes are not working well. This is like Nang Cengblong's character, as he says whatever he likes and has no filter, as if he has no brakes on what is coming out of his mouth.



Figure 6.1: The wayang puppets Nang Klenceng (left) and Nang Cengblong (right). Photo by the author. 2 June 2014.

Nang Klenceng and Nang Cengblong soon became an iconic part of Nardayana's performances, and while setting up for a shadow play in Mengwi in 1995, Nardayana overheard a conversation that would give his genre of performance a new name. Two audience members had arrived early and one asked the other "what performance is happening here tonight?" To which the other responded, "Wayang Ceng Blong" (stemming from a shortening of the names of Nardayana's two famous puppets, Nang Klenceng and Nang Cengblong). Upon hearing this, Nardayana changed the name of his shadow play to Wayang Ceng Blong Belayu (Belayu is the name of Nardayana's village in Tabanan). Eventually the spelling of Ceng and Blong was

changed to Cenk and Blonk to appear more modern and cool (Purnamawati 2005: 72). Thus, the Wayang Cenk Blonk was created.[284]

The Cenk and Blonk puppets have also given Dalang Nardayana more outlets to portray his charisma and were conceived with the idea that they would provide him with an additional edge when communicating to the audience. In traditional wayang performance, the highly refined characters such as Arjuna or Krishna speak in the old Javanese, or Kawi, language, but nowadays, very few Balinese understand this language aside from priests and performing artists who play a ritual role. Even Dalang Nardayana himself has admitted that he does not know very much Kawi. What is important, he says, is that people understand the wayang; therefore, in modern plays like Nardayana's, sections with refined (*halus*) characters that speak in Kawi are being shortened in favor of humorous scenes in Balinese or Indonesian, as nowadays, some Balinese in the cities aren't even that fluent in Balinese, and Indonesian must be used so that people can really understand. Nardayana even inserts a small amount of English, as this is considered a cool and fashionable thing to do and it makes him seem as if he has more intellect. Nardayana's two new puppets (Cenk and Blonk) represent Balinese people. These puppets give the people a character to relate to in the play while also providing Dalang Nardayana with more outlets to speak in the vernacular language of Balinese.

With more outlets to speak to the Balinese people in a language they will understand, Dalang Nardayana is able to inject humor and comment on spiritual and moral values through a

[284] In the past, the name of the wayang was often based on the name of the place or the area that the dalang was from. For example, if the dalang was from Sukawati, the shadow play was called wayang Sukawati. The name for a wayang performance has also been based on the name of the story being performed, for example, wayang trantri, wayang cupak, wayang Ramayana. In other cases, wayang may be labeled based on its function, like wayang lemah and wayang sapuh leger. Finally, it is labeled and classified according to its level of sanctity as *wali* (very sacred, offering), *bebali* (sacred entertainment), *bebalihan* (purely entertainment).

discussion of relevant social topics such as HIV, drugs, polygamy, pollution, alcohol, TV, technology, politics, or even tips for finding a girlfriend. An example of this intersection of humor and moral lessons can be found in Dalang Nardayana's play *Calon Gubernor* (Running for Governor), in which the clown character Blonk is thinking about running for governor. An English translation of a segment of this play is as follows:

Cenk: Blonk, where are you running to with a folder?
Blonk: Don't you say anything, I want to apply for a job.
Cenk: Wissss. Where are you going to apply for work? There are many people who have degrees who are unemployed.
Blonk: I'll punch your mouth, then you'll know the feeling. You underestimate my abilities. I will apply to become the governor of Bali.
Cenk: You think it is easy to become the governor of Bali?
Blonk: What is important is that I have money to find voters [this is a jab at how politicians use money to buy votes from people].
Twalen:[285] That's for sure, Blonk. If you become the governor you don't just sit in an office and sign off on projects. Now Bali needs a governor who, foremost, is oriented to the common people and places the needs of society first. Second, he or she needs to be noble, possess morals, be responsible in his or her actions, and be an example for the people. Aside from that the governor should have the ability to resolve different competing views.
Blonk: Wow! There are a lot of requirements to become the governor of Bali. I thought just as long as you had money you could be governor.
Twalen: Maybe just to become a candidate for governor, but to become governor, the people are going to think ten times, because they are tired of just hearing promises. That's why people now are smart in the way that they vote. Your head is already bald. You don't want to be stressed anymore. It's better to just be a voter.
Blonk: Yaa, Yaa.

In this way, Nardayana is able to incorporate moral lessons little by little as the priest from Bongkasa had suggested. This incorporation of moral lessons also speaks to the spiritual aspect of taksu that Dr. Wenten spoke of, although for some, it might unrecognizable because it is couched in modern issues. Again, this supports the idea that taksu, as something that is attributed, is reflective of the ideology of the Balinese people, and that the degree to which someone attributes taksu to a performer depends on the performer's ability to capture their interest and relate to them through language and concepts that they will understand.

[285] Twalen is one of the traditional clown characters of the Balinese wayang.

In addition to the new puppets that have allowed him to innovate the dramatic and didactic content of his plays, Nardayana has also introduced wayang puppets that can do flips (monkey puppets) and new wayang puppets that allow him to portray different scenery. For example, the *candi bentar* and *candi kurung*, literally "temple parentheses," have been incorporated during the *penyacah parwa*, or prologue, section of the play when the dalang is praying to the gods, because a temple setting is an appropriate place for praying to take place. (see figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2: Dalang Nardayana's wayang puppets in the shape of a *candi*, or a temple. 2 June 2014. Photo by the author.

Nardayana has also introduced other variations to the wayang set and stage; however, even these innovations have some connection to traditional aspects of wayang performance and symbolism. For example, Dalang Nardayana has adapted the large screen (*kelir*) of the Javanese wayang kulit, which in wayang philosophy symbolizes the sky (*langit*) or the heavens (*akasa*). In performances of Balinese wayang kulit in the past, the screen was at most one and a half meters long. Dalang Nardayana expanded the length of the screen and now sometimes performs with a screen that is six meters long. The reason behind this is because a screen that is only one and a half meters in length cannot be seen from very far away, similar to a 14-inch TV. The figures on

the screen will look very small. On the other hand, a screen that is six meters long is great for large performances done in a large field or stadium-like auditorium (see figure 6.3).[286]



Figure 6.3: Dalang Nardayana's six-meter screen in front of a large audience at Pura Taman Pule. 2 June 2014. Photo by the author.

Given the enormous success of the Wayang Cenk Blonk, this large screen is often needed to accommodate the massive audiences that come to see Nardayana's plays. For example, Dalang Nardayana has performed several times at the 5000-seat open stage at the Ardha Candra Art Center in Denpasar. ISI Denpasar Professor I Nyoman Sedana has recounted times when he has gone to watch Nardayana perform there and the auditorium was so packed that people had to watch from behind the screen or wait outside the auditorium and settle for just listening to the social criticism and jokes (Sedana 2013: 8). It is not uncommon for Dalang Nardayana to have several thousand people watching his performances, which also makes him particularly sought after during political campaigns to disseminate candidates' political missions during elections (ibid.). Similarly, Dalang Nardayana has been hired to perform and help businesses advertise. In 2010, I witnessed a performance at a large soccer field in Gianyar that was sponsored by Yamaha motorbikes, in which Dalang Nardayana incorporated mention of Yamaha into his

[286] Because the screen is so large, Dalang Nardayana employs five assistants (*ketengkong*) versus the normal two to help him move between the wayang characters and enact busy battle scenes.

show. This also had thousands of people in attendance. Nardayana continues to utilize the large screen for performances in public squares, community meeting halls, campus auditoriums, sports fields, and beaches (ibid.).[287]

In order to hold all of the puppets in front of such a large screen, Dalang Nardayana has innovated the *gedebong*, or banana trunk, that is usually laid at the bottom of the wayang screen. Within wayang symbolism, the gedebong represents mother earth (*pertiwi*) and the land, and its penetrable consistency makes it a great material to stick the sharp ends of the wayang puppets into so that they can stand up during performance; however, it is hard to come by a banana trunk that is six meters long.[288] To remedy this, Dalang Nardayana has substituted rolls of hay that have been permanently tied together for the gedebong (see figure 6.4).

[287] Nardayana also has carvings that surround the frame for the screen, with Cenk and Blonk depicted on the top.

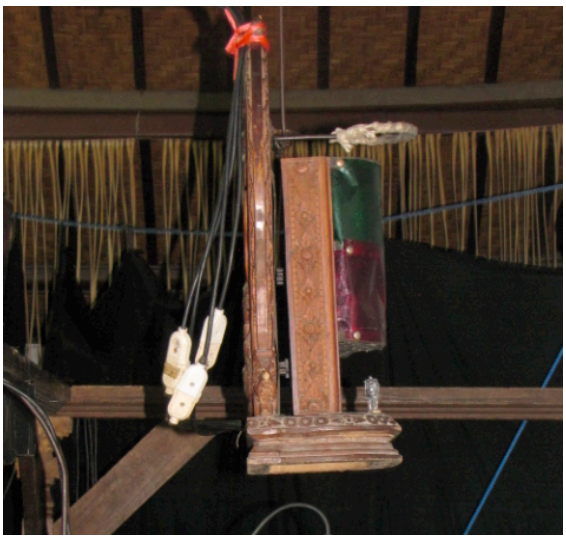
[288] While discussing the symbolism in wayang performance, Nardayana reminded me that "symbolism is made by people. It doesn't just appear out of performance, it is something attributed. Like the *penjor* in Bali (a *penjor* is a tall, curved bamboo pole decorated with coconut leaves and an offering at the base. It is usually positioned in front of Balinese compounds during the Galungan holiday). Some think it is a symbol of the dragon Basuki, some say it is a symbol of rice or the triumph of the Majapahit empire over Bali. Why don't we know the real meaning of the penjor? Because the first person who ever made the penjor never passed down the meaning, or as they did, there were other interpretations. Therefore, although gendér wayang carries great symbolism within wayang performance (four instruments can represent the *kanda empat* (the four substances present at birth) or two can represent the microcosmos or macrocosmos), this is all just something attributed by people." Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014. Thus Dalang Nardayana's use of a large gamelan is not necessarily ruining the magic or sacredness of the performance.



Figure 6.4: Assistants setting up the wayang screen and wrapping the gedebong sheaths around the hay (front). 2 June 2014. Photo by the author.

In keeping with the symbolism embedded in the gedebong (the banana tree is also sacred because it provides food), Nardayana has taken sheaths of the outside of the gedebong log and wrapped the hay, so that it appears as a real gedebong would (Purnamawati 2005: 339).

Another main innovation in the Wayang Cenk Blonk is Nardayana's use of electric lights instead of the traditional *blencong*, or oil lamp, normally used to illuminate the puppets behind the screen. Traditionally, the blencong represents the sun (*surya*) and is considered one of the thirteen witnesses of the world (*Trya Dasa Saksi* [Balinese]). Surya is also considered a manifestation of the supreme god *Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa*, as the ultimate witness in the natural world (this is why surya is the first thing Balinese pray to in their set of five prayers in the temple) (ibid.: 340). In order to keep this symbolism in his performances, Nardayana always affixes a miniature *blencong* on top of the electric lamps that he uses (see figures 6.5 and 6.6).





Figures 6.5 and 6.6: Dalang Nardayana's electric lamp set up (with color films) (left) and Dalang Naradayana performing with symbolic small blencong at top (right). 2 June 2014. Photos by the author.

The electric lights allow him to introduce different colors and better portray the mood of a scene or mimic aspects of weather like lightning. Technology is an important part of the modern age, and Dalang Nardayana feels as if he honors both the present and past elements of culture by including both of these forms of lighting in his performances. About technology Nardayana commented as follows:

> Technology is a tool that people use to make life easier. For example, when people wanted to get water from the well, they used to fill a bucket and pull it up with a rope. Then someone created the pulley, and now today we have electric machines that help us to get the water. Technology keeps changing. In the past Balinese people used to write on stone, then they developed paper and pencil, and now people just press buttons on a screen. The stone was technology, just old technology. An ancient Ipad. In the wayang, the *blencong* is technology. It helps to project the puppets as shadows on the screen, so the lamp was created to contain the fire that would provide the light. But today, we now have electricity. In the past the backstage of the wayang was contained, so that the wind didn't let the fire go out of control, but at the same time the fire needs oxygen to be big and make the puppets appear clear. As a dalang you are moving around a lot, it is hot and you are having to fight the fire for oxygen. With the electric lights you can open the wayang stage and even have a fan and it won't be a problem. It then becomes enjoyable to perform. Some also say that the traditional lamp makes the puppets come alive, but in

> my opinion, it is what draws attention to the wayang and makes people watch them that makes them come alive.[289]

In addition to his use of colored lights, Dalang Nardayana employs a fog machine to add to the dramatic effect. When performing to audiences made up of thousands of people, he will also use a microphone to amplify his voice through a sound system.

Dalang Nardayana's clever use of innovation along with his retention of traditional wayang symbolism allows him to maintain traditional authority while also cultivating charismatic authority in his performances. According to ritual theorist Stanley Tambiah, this retention of symbols and icons and how they are associated with the cosmological plane and the participants in the ritual helps to create, affirm, and legitimate actors' social positions and powers, so it is in this way that Dalang Nardayana has attempted to combine traditional authority and charismatic authority through innovation (Tambiah 1979: 154).

Musical Innovation in the Wayang Cenk Blonk

Dalang Nardayana has also been able to accrue charismatic authority through introducing musical innovations into his plays. Traditionally, wayang performances are accompanied by gendér wayang instruments, and it has even been suggested that in ancient times selonding instruments were used to accompany puppet shows; however, Dalang Nardayana explained that the music for these ensembles is already set, it is already through-composed, and the people are bored with it (*jenuh*). In an effort to make each performance captivating and new, Dalang Nardayana has experimented with a variety of musical forms. In the beginning, Nardayana's use

[289] Some believe in the magical powers of the wayang lamp, and there are even people who will ask for the oil from the wayang lamp as medicine. This is part of the reason why Dalang Nardayana maintains a symbolic blencong even though he uses electric lights. Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

of various gamelan forms was not accepted, because wayang and gendér wayang were already paired and synonymous with each other. He first tried to use *gong kebyar* to accompany his performances, but people felt as if they were watching *sendratari* (dance drama) and not wayang, because the aesthetic of the gong kebyar ensemble reminded them of sendratari.[290] Then he changed the gamelan accompaniment to *semarandana*, and people began to open up to the new sound and be more receptive, because the aesthetic of this gamelan was a little closer to gendér wayang.[291] It was also at this time that he introduced *gerong* (female vocalists found in the Balinese sendratari tradition, similar to *pesindhen* in the Javanese gamelan tradition). Before long, Nardayana's audience accepted these innovations, but he himself was still not content.

While developing the Wayang Cenk Blonk, Nardayana teamed up with the composer I Made Subandi from Batuyang and the *pande* (gamelan maker) Wayan Pager from Blah Batuh, and together they created a gamelan that could retain the gendér wayang aesthetic of wayang performance while also providing the tonal flexibility needed to heighten the dramatic effect of the play. Together, they created Nardayana's gamelan *Sekar Langon*, a gamelan with a scale of eight tones that can be drawn upon to play *gendér wayang*, *gong kebyar*, *semarandana*, *angklung*,[292] and diatonic styles. This ensemble is unlike any other found on the island, to the extent that some people come just to listen to the music.[293] It is modeled after a semarandana gamelan arrangement and combines instruments that can be played with one hand (like gong

[290] A genre of Balinese gamelan (pelog) characterized by explosive changes in tempo and dynamics.

[291] A genre of Balinese gamelan with seven tones versus the usual five. This type of gamelan has the ability to play in a number of modes and is derived from older court and ritual gamelan music.

[292] A genre of Balinese gamelan tuned in the *slendro* scale, usually with about 4 or 5 keys per octave. This gamelan is often carried and played to accompany a cremation procession to the cemetery.

[293] Nardayana has also included *gerong* singers from the *sendratari* (dance drama) tradition as well as electronic sounds to add dramatic effect. Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

kebyar) with two instruments that are played with two hands similar to the gendér found in the gendér wayang and *semar pegulingan* ensembles.[294] This alleviates the problem of having to find people who are talented and skilled enough to play the complex music of the traditional gendér wayang ensemble, which requires two hands and complex interlocking. Instead, many musicians with various skill levels can be involved in playing the music, and a variety of modes and tonalities can be utilized.

The instruments included in Narayana's new ensemble are: 1) two gangsa (these are 16-keyed metallophones that are played with two hands and by two people each. They are the highest in pitch of the metallophone instruments) (see figure 6.7); 2) two calung (also called jublag, these are 8-keyed metallophones that are pitched an octave higher than the jegogan. They are responsible for playing submultiples of the *pokok*, or basic melody of the gamelan piece); 3) two jegogan (these are 8-keyed metallophones and are the lowest pitched instruments of the gangsa family); 4) gong (also sometimes called *gong ageng,* this gong marks the main emphasis of the gong cycle); 5) kempur (or kempul, is another smaller gong that helps to mark and subdivide the gong cycle, whose tuning also depends on the gamelan); 6) klentong (or kemong, a smaller gong that helps to mark and subdivide the gong cycle. Its tuning depends on the gamelan); 7) klenang (a small horizontal kettle that subdivides the beat); 8) kecek (small cymbals); 9) two kendang (barrel drums designated as male and female); 10) suling (bamboo flute); 11) two tawa-tawa (a small kettle held on the lap that is stuck to keep the beat); 12) keyboard (to add synthetic sounds for action); and four gerong (female singers) (see figures 6.7

[294] *Semarandana* is a hybrid gamelan orchestra derived from older court and ritual gamelan that was created in the 1980s. It has seven tones rather than the usual five, giving players the freedom to play in unusual modes. *Semar pegulingan* is another type of 7-tone gamelan dating back to the 17th century. It is characterized by a sweet sound, and substitutes a pair of gendér for the *trompong* as the melody carrier. The original instrument, the *trompong*, is a row of knobbed pots that can be played solo and functions as the melody carrier in certain gamelan pieces.

and 6.8 for photos of this gamelan). Therefore there are about twenty-one musicians who accompany Dalang Nardayana's performances, which is a significant increase from the normal four gendér wayang players of traditional shadow theater plays.



Figure 6.7: Sixteen-keyed gangsa (two octaves of 8 tones each) of Nardayana's gamelan Sekar Langon with keyboard in background. Photo by the author. 2 June 2014.



Figure 6.8: Photo of gamelan musicians preparing for performance. Notice the microphones and jegog (left), tawa-tawa (center), kendang cases (front), gongs (back center and back right), gangsa (right), calung (to the left of the gangsa) and keyboard. Photo by the author. 2 June 2014.

Given the musical flexibility of his unique gamelan, Nardayana can draw upon a sweeter sounding scale, like *slendro*, for the love scenes, a fast, thick *pelog* piece for the battle scenes, or

a happy-sounding gamelan *angklung* aesthetic for celebrations.[295] In this way, he is able to use the music to better communicate his stories and emphasize didactic points to the audience. This brings us back to Stanley Tambiah's comments on music in ritual, in which he calls for anthropologists to delve deeper into the "manner in which media such as chants, songs, dance, music, verbal formulae, material gifts, are employed in the service of heightening communication" (Tambiah 1979: 142). For Tambiah, drawing as he does on information theory, music acts as a redundant form of communication. He adds that communication in a ritual is coming from "persons in 'status marked situations' of authority and subordination, of competence and eligibility, of 'power and solidarity'" (ibid.: 139). He adds saying that we cannot fully understand the connections between unit acts and utterances of the ritual without realizing that they are the clothing for social actions that need to be understood in relation to the presuppositions and social interactional norms of the actors. As a shadow puppeteer, Dalang Nardayana's role is to impart fundamental truths, and it is through musical innovation and its role as a secondary form of communication that he is able to heighten the emphasis of didactic points to the audience. Even though this new ensemble may not be considered as sacred as the gendér wayang music used to accompany traditional Balinese shadow puppet theater, we can see how musical innovation and aesthetics can serve as a charismatic tool to capture an audience's attention and influence whether they consider the dalang as having taksu.

Although Dalang Nardayana has innovated the musical accompaniment for his wayang performances, he still follows the format of a traditional wayang performance. For example, he does have a *tabuh petegak*, or opening piece, that is thirteen minutes long; however, the musical piece that is played during this section does not have a name as gendér compositions would.

[295] Contrary to what one might think, cremations, especially the procession to the cemetery, are lively and exciting events.

Instead, the music functions as the accompaniment for the start of a performance, when the dalang gives offerings and opens the puppet box as the audience is settling down. After the tabuh petegak there is the *tabuh pemungkah*, during which the dalang dances the *kayonan* puppet.[296] Although his music is different and played on a different ensemble, Dalang Nardayana has tried to maintain the same nuance as a pemungkuh would have in a traditional wayang performance when accompanied by gendér wayang. In traditional wayang, the pemungkah is then followed by the *alas harum*, or "the scented forest," but in the Wayang Cenk Blonk, Dalang Nardayana uses two *candi* puppets (outlines of a temple) to invoke the feeling of praying in a temple on the wayang screen. It is in this section of the play that the *penyacah*, or prologue, of the show is performed. Dalang Nardayana has chosen to use candi because the prologue is when the dalang prays for the performance to be successful and for divine guidance. It also tells the audience what story will be told. Because the prologue is focused toward prayer, Dalang Nardayana feels that it is more appropriate to have the symbol of a temple, or palace of the gods, for this section (Dalang Joblar does this also). Following this, the candi are taken away and the wayang puppets come out to portray the rest of the story. It is only this beginning section that is really different from typical wayang performance. The musical pieces retain the same names and have the same function: for example, Dalang Nardayana does employ a *rebong* (a musical piece for love

[296] The *kayonan*, or "tree of life," is divided into five segments and is a symbol of the *pancamahabhuta*, or "five elements" (earth, air, fire, water, ether). Before the dalang begins the performance and dances the kayonan puppet, he will hide his face behind the puppet and recite the *pengideran* mantra (a mantra to the eight directions). While reciting the mantra he is a human, but as he prays to the eight directions and begins to spiral his energy upward (similar to boring into wood with a hand tool, the energy moves clockwise to go down and counter-clockwise to move up) he attempts to achieve a god-like state. The kayonan puppet, as the five elements of the world, shakes (like the big bang theory) until, snap! The world is created. This is why the kayonan has intricate carvings of the natural world on it. Following the kayonan dance, the wayang Acintya puppet (Sang Hyang Tunggal, or the supreme god) is put in front of the kayonan to symbolize that the one high god permeates all aspects of the world. It is then that the story begins and the puppets come out, as the puppets represent people and the story played is similar to an episode of life on earth.

scenes), but the melody and instrumentation are different from the typical gendér wayang repertoire.

The musical innovations that Dalang Nardayana has added have contributed significantly to his charismatic authority and are part of the reason why he has become so successful. After recognizing how music can help capture the interest of the audience, especially young people, Dalang Nardayana has mentioned that he would like to collaborate with Balinese pop singers in his future performances. In this way, he can almost create a concert combined with a wayang performance similar to the Javanese *Wayang Kulit Campur Sari,* in which Javanese songs have been incorporated into Javanese wayang (Purnamawati 2005: 74). Musical innovations such as these are just one of the ways in which Dalang Nardayana remains in the spotlight and continues to be sought after for performances year after year; however, Nardayana has also been able to attain fame through media and by pioneering a Balinese wayang DVD culture, which is discussed below.

Media, Cassette Culture, and the Wayang Cenk Blonk

In addition to the appeal of Dalang Nardayana's innovations, a great deal of his success can be attributed to his use of media and publications in marketing himself and his unique brand of performance. Dalang Nardayana's astute business sense has led him to place significant importance on the production of CDs and DVDs and on performing for massive audiences in large venues and on TV shows. In Bali's modern and competitive art world, Dalang Nardayana has had to be both an artist and a businessman, and it is because of his abilities to succeed at both that he has been able to distinguish himself from other dalang and attain financial stability through his art. When asked if he agreed to be cited and quoted in my future publications and

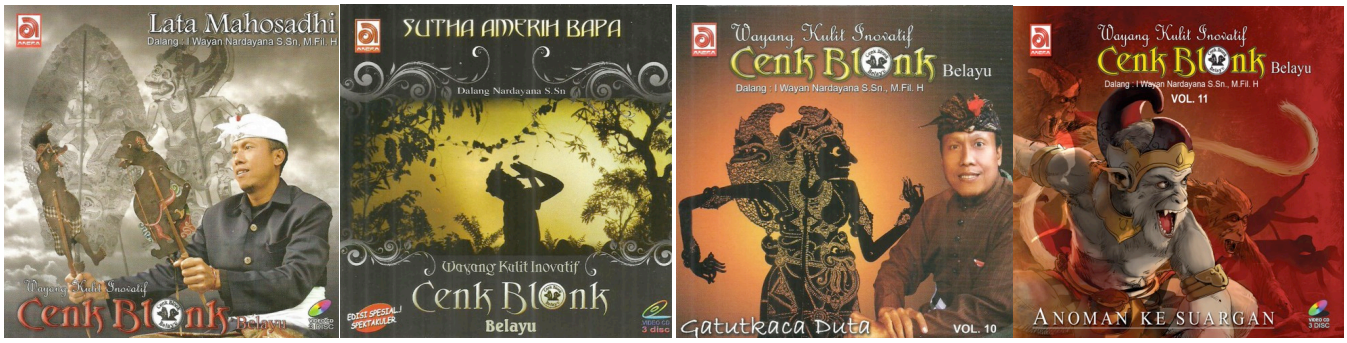
presentations, he not only gave me permission, but also exclaimed that he hoped I would use his words and his work as much as possible, as it is a form of free publicity. Much like the world of pop music, an artist must spread their name and image far and wide so that people know who they are and seek them out for their services.

One way in which Dalang Nardayana has promoted himself is by performing every Sunday evening on Bali Dewata TV. In an age when many Balinese families now have at least one TV in their family compound, this has been an easy way for Dalang Nardayana to publicize his work throughout the island.[297] As mentioned earlier, Dalang Nardayana did not have a wayang teacher, instead learning from listening to cassette tapes and mimicking what he heard on them. As he became a professional dalang, Nardayana made it a point to make his own recordings, and in 1998, he began recording his wayang performances with Aneka Records in Denpasar.[298] This recording had an immediate impact on his career, to the point that he was often performing twice in one night. To date, Nardayana has released eleven DVDs through Aneka

[297] Indonesian State Television became available in Bali in 1977, when the government of Indonesia provided each Balinese regency with a television set (Hughes-Freeland 1998: 44). Social anthropologist Felicia Hughes-Freeland (1998) explores questions of identity and cultural representation through reactions to an Arja performance on the Indonesian State Television station in Bali (TVRI), but besides this, little research has been conducted on media and the arts in Bali. Some of her findings have led to interesting observations for the study of media and cassette culture in relation to wayang performance, for example: 1) live performance gives comic actors more space to establish their characters; 2) comic language is freer in live performance; 3) television relies more on dialogue than improvised gesture and action (ibid.: 55). Religious studies scholar Richard Fox (1972) has explored the relationship between media and religion in Bali, and although he does not focus on the arts, he does bring up a good point that might be applicable to media and wayang—that it is very important to observe the part that media (TV, popular films, and the internet) plays in the formation of contemporary forms.

[298] Aneka Records seems to be the largest producer of wayang recordings at present. Maharani Records and Bali Records also specialize in recordings of traditional Balinese arts, but their recordings are mostly of music and dance; however, when Nardayana first started making wayang recordings he did work through Bali Records. Now he has a record deal with Aneka records to produce one recording a year.

Records and has since become the leading producer of Balinese wayang recordings (see figures 6.9-6.12 for images of wayang cenk blonk DVD covers).[299]



Figures 6.9-6.12: Wayang cenk blonk DVD covers. Taken from http://anekarecord-online.com/

While scholarly work on "cassette culture" (to borrow a term from Peter Manuel [1993]) in relation to wayang has been conducted in Java (see Weintraub 2004), very little has been written on recordings of wayang performances in Bali; however, many of the observations Weintraub has made are applicable to Balinese wayang cassette culture.

Weintraub (2004) dates the beginning of wayang cassette culture in Java to the seventies, when new flows of capital entered Indonesia during the New Order period (Weintraub 2004: 165). This, he suggests, coincided with the rise of other forms of mass culture, including television, advertising, and consumerism. Before the New Order period, there were many mid-level regional dalang actively performing, and more frequent live performances could be found, but as a wayang cassette culture began to emerge, wayang stars began to gain wealth and status, and the field narrowed as the focus began to shift to the newly prominent figures promoted

[299] The titles of Nardayana's recordings are (I could not find translations of all these titles): 1) *Katundung Ngada*; 2) *Ludra Murti* (The Goddess Ludra Transforms); 3) *Suryawati Ilang* (Suryawati is Gone); 4) *Tebu Sala* (Sweet Sound); 5) *Gatutkaca Anggugah*; 6) *Sutha Amerih Bapa*; 7) *Lata Mahosadhi*; 8) *Bimaniyu Makrangkeng* (Bimanyu is Jailed); 9) *Setubandha Punggel*; 10) *Gatutkaca Duta* (Gatutkaca the Ambassador); and 11) *Anoman ke Suargan* (Anoman Goes to Heaven).

through the cassette industry (Weintraub 2004: 170). The wayang cassette culture in Java also played a significant role in the emergence of innovative styles, which Weintraub mentions not only crystallized the tradition, but also created new forms that emphasized humor, musical and theatrical hybridity, and the use of everyday language in performance (ibid.: 166). Furthermore, the availability of cassettes expanded the listening public to those who were not inclined to watch wayang performances in public settings.

While more focused research on the wayang cassette culture of Bali needs to be conducted, it is clear that the emergence of Balinese wayang recordings has had a very similar impact.[300] As a result of wayang recordings, several Balinese dalang "stars" have emerged, and Dalang Nardayana has become one of the most recognized and prolific. Other dalang who have begun to record with Aneka Records include I Made Nuarsa from banjar Semana (wayang kulit D. Karbit) and I Dewa Agung Sutresna Mesi (Wayang kulit inovatif Bangli).[301] The recordings produced by these performers have functioned to situate them as prominent figures within the Balinese wayang world, and because their styles of performance are more geared toward entertainment, their performances emphasize the same humor, musical and theatrical hybridity, and use of everyday language that Weintraub observes in Java. It can also be posited that these recordings have opened up a new and larger listening audience in Bali, as many families can purchase the recordings at a low cost and watch or listen to them at their leisure. I can recall many times when I walked into a Balinese compound or shop and heard a wayang performance

[300] It is hard to pinpoint exactly when Balinese wayang recordings began to emerge, but Dalang Nardayana was the first dalang to make DVD recordings. He has recounted to me that there was already a long practice of listening to cassette tapes (he himself learned a lot from listening to cassettes). This would date the emergence of Balinese wayang DVDs to the 1990s. I am assuming that cassettes emerged sometime in the seventies around the same time that cassettes started to appear in Java. This needs to be researched more thoroughly.

[301] Dalang Karbit has produced two DVDs titled *Asti Suwetha* and *Sangut Dadi Raja*. Dalang I Dewa Agung Sutresna Mesi from Bangli has produced one DVD titled *Kang Ching Wie*.

being played in the background. The presence of these recordings in Balinese homes and daily life suggests that the production, circulation, and consumption of Balinese wayang recordings has indeed become a part of wayang culture in Bali itself.

As Weintraub has noted with regard to wayang recordings in Java, cassettes have led to more recognition and more performances for some dalang, but for amateurs there is a fear that opportunities to become professional have become limited due to the recording of only a select few. Having the opportunity to record is crucial for making it as a professional dalang, as being recorded acts as a form of publicity. It is this publicity that makes a dalang sought after for live performance, and it is from live performance that dalang tend to make their money. One might think that the dalang would make a substantial sum from their recordings, but as with Javanese wayang recordings, Balinese record producers maintain control over the final product, only pay a flat fee to the dalang, and rarely disclose their final profits (Weintraub 2004: 170).[302] Dalang Nardayana, who has a contract to produce one DVD a year with Aneka Records, also only receives a flat fee (this number is unknown). If the DVD does well, then Aneka Records profits from the sales, but Dalang Nardayana does not receive royalites. What is important for Nardayana is that he gets the publicity so that he is asked to do more live performances, as it is from being contracted to do live performances that he really makes money and can be financially stable.

Payment for a wayang performance is also something that has changed quite a bit from how dalang were compensated in the past. According to Nardayana, dalang used to be given food and offerings, and in the offerings there would be a small amount of money called a *sesari*. The amount of the sesari was never agreed upon beforehand, but instead has volunteered by the person hosting the ceremony according to their means. This was because the basic function of

[302] These DVDs usually sell for about 40,000 rupiah (about four dollars).

the dalang was to perform wayang as a selfless service (*ngayah*) to the people, especially ritual performances. As the economy in Indonesia has grown and a consumer market has appeared in Bali, this practice has begun to change. Balinese people now have many more bills to pay (school tuition for their children, phone bills, gas for transportation, and food being some of the most noteworthy), and it has become more of a common practice to compensate dalang monetarily for their performances, especially dalang stars like Nardayana. Dalang Nardayana is paid roughly 15 million ($1500) to 18 million ($1800) rupiah per performance, depending on the host and the scale of the show; however, this money is also used to pay his musicians, assistants, and stagehands.[303] Usually, he will pay his staff after every five performances (as if they are on salary), because he performs so much and it is troublesome to pay everyone after each show. He did not disclose what he personally makes after paying each of his employees.[304]

Typically, Dalang Nardayana will perform a story for several years before he records it. This is usually after he becomes a bit bored with the performance, and he has told me that part of the reason behind making a DVD is to document and preserve his work before he moves onto something new; therefore, his DVDs function as both documentation and publicity. He has told me that he is hesitant to record his new shows immediately, because once you record something and distribute it, you have to again be creative and innovative or people will forget you:

> It is like pop music. A singer creates a song and records it and disseminates it to the public. The public then memorizes the song, to the point that when the pop star performs in concert, all they have to do is hold the microphone out over the audience and the audience can sing it. Wayang is different. You need to perform it as much as you can at first, and then once everyone is tired of it, then we record it. If we record it first and then perform it, everyone will already know what happens and won't enjoy the show.[305]

[303] Dalang Nardayana has forty-four employees, including drivers, stagehands, musicians, assistants, and workers who organize various aspects of the performance such as offerings and food and water.

[304] In Java, some dalang can make up to 200 million rupiah per night (roughly $20,000).

[305] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

As the pioneer of the Balinese wayang DVD culture, Nardayana has been able to establish himself as the top performing dalang in Bali; however, the resulting commodification of wayang shows has also forced him to constantly keep innovating in order to continue accruing charismatic authority and sustain his performing career. This is something that Neuman (1990) observes when writing about Hindustani classical music and media, saying that "the demand for innovations is a consequence of their sustained exposure through recordings and public concerts" (Neuman 1990: 226). Neuman also draws on the work of Walter Benjamin (1969) here, bringing up concerns that mechanical reproduction has led the work of art to lose its "authority" and in turn led to a "tremendous shattering of tradition" (Benjamin 1969: 220-21). As Neuman later concludes, this "tremendous shattering of tradition" remains to be seen within the context of Hindustani classical music; this is a point that can also be argued within the context of Balinese shadow theater and ritual.

In his work on ritual, Stanley Tambiah (1979) discusses the limits of inventiveness and the freezing of styles, about which he lists three possible instances in which ritual may have a "negative decadent aspect": 1) when creative exhaustion is reached; 2) when the same rite is repeated in the same context and situation to achieve results; and 3) when ritual style crystallizes and affects the "rhetoric of persuasion employed in the propitiation of superiors and the powerful" (Tambiah 1979: 161). What Tambiah finally points out, after analyzing these aspects, is that ritual oscillates in historical time between the poles of ossification and revivalism; therefore, change and innovation are the force by which rituals and traditions are revived and, in turn, kept alive and promulgated. Dalang Nardayana has commented on the inevitable need for change within wayang, saying:

> Culture is a part of the society. When the society changes, of course the culture will change. It is as if culture follows behind society. In former times (*zaman dulu*) the wayang performances were extraordinary, but if they were performed today no one would like them, because the interests and hobbies of the people have already changed. In the past, when there were no TVs, people would sit on the side of the road and watch the workers build the foundations for the asphalt. They would watch the people build the road, because there wasn't any entertainment; however, things today have drastically changed. There is a lot of entertainment, and life is lived with a market ideology. Those who can work the market and snatch opportunity are the ones that are going to exist. . . . Balinese wayang mainly exists because of ceremonies and the religion (especially in North Bali), not because it is entertainment; however, not all dalang who do perform for entertainment are successful (*laris*), because today is a time of competition. There are hundreds of dalang in Bali, but only those who can stand up to the competition are able to continue. In Bali today, there are many forms of entertainment. Take the TV for example. There are many channels for people to choose from. If a dalang is not extraordinary, he will lose the attention of his audience to the TV. Imagine this, someone is sitting on the sofa with their snacks, peanuts, and drinks, and there is a great show on the TV. What is more, it is raining outside and the weather is a little cold. Meanwhile, there is a shadow play going on at the local field. What is going to make someone leave the comfort of their home to come and watch the wayang? This is why competition today is so tight. An artist really needs to be extraordinary to make it, and to do so, they have to be creative and innovative.[306]

If anything, what Dalang Nardayana is trying to convey here is that there is always going to be change, and innovation is the means by which the tradition is revitalized and carried on. With this in mind, Benjamin's concerns that mechanical reproduction has led the work of art to lose its "authority" and in turn led to a "tremendous shattering of tradition" must be scrutinized, as it is the demand for inventiveness resulting from recording practices that has actually functioned to revive tradition and bring charismatic authority to the performers. While recording practices greatly increase the means by which dalang like Nardayana can accrue charismatic authority, Nardayana was also careful to note that one must also have taksu if they are going to make it. Many dalang can record their performances and not become famous, but if a dalang has taksu all he has to do is set up a screen and people will come. "People will even come to watch

[306] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

the screen be set up," he said.[307] This idea of taksu within the context of modern performance is now discussed below.

Modern Expressions of Taksu in Innovative Balinese Shadow Theater

In chapters two through four, I discussed the traditional criteria (conveyed to me by Dr. Nyoman Wenten) used to describe how a dalang can be attributed with taksu (skill, spiritual power, and hereditary tradition); however, the concept of taksu deserves to be revisited here, as several of these criteria have been challenged in the innovative performing career of Dalang Nardayana. Although Dalang Nardayana is equipped with the skills and techniques to be an effective performer of shadow puppet theater, he does not come from a hereditary tradition of shadow puppeteers, and many people have criticized his performances by saying that he favors theatrics over the spiritual aspects. This challenges the first two criteria of taksu as set out by Dr. Wenten. When I spoke with Dr. Wenten about why Dalang Nardyana has been able to rise to fame, he explained the concept of *ngangsu kawuruh* as the process of collecting all of the knowledge and skills available to one's art.[308] From *ngangsu*, or "pulling up," of water as from a well (on a pulley system), and *kawuruh*, or "knowledge," Dalang Nardayana has diligently drawn knowledge and skills into himself, to the point that he is now just as skilled as someone from a hereditary tradition.

With regard to the spiritual aspects, Brita Heimarck states that the power of older dalangs lay in the way that they gave something to the people to "bring home" (*bawa pulang*) (Heimarck 2003: 42-43). This is no less so in Dalang Nardayana's performances, but has perhaps been overlooked, because Dalang Nardayana has felt the need to disguise his spiritual messages

[307] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

[308] Interview with Dr. Nyoman Wenten, 3 February 2015.

behind humor and entertainment. Similar to the analogy mentioned earlier, in which Dalang Nardayana slowly adds spiritual aspects as if adding water to alcohol, the spiritual aspects of his performances are presented in a way that is innovative so that he is able to keep the attention of the audience while also subtly passing on spiritual knowledge, morals, and virtues as a traditional dalang would. This is an important and integral part of modern Balinese shadow puppet theater. When speaking with a Brahman man (Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya) from Mas village about the difference between taksu in the past and taksu in the innovative performances of modern dalang, he said "it's the same, but what differentiates shadow puppetry of the past from those being created today is how the dalang chooses to use his power and for what purpose. In ancient times, the dalang would go through great personal sacrifice to help others first. This is what was cherished and gave him power within the community. Now it is about the power of propaganda, to help oneself and to survive in a modern world where power can be used to make money."[309]

Dalang Nardayana's own comments on this are revealing:

> Taksu is power, or energy, inside yourself. According to the Balinese, that power can be bought, it can be learned, or it can be begged for in holy places. One can also be born with it. The Balinese believe in reincarnation, so before a person is born they might already have power from their previous life. Maybe in their previous life they were an artist and are born with the energy, or taksu, in this life. There are also those, like *balian* (shamans, healers), who try to get this power from fetishes (*jimat*), stones (*batu*), or special belts. For those who aren't born with taksu, they can study. They dig and dig for information and knowledge, until finally, they have the taksu or the power. Kind of like a dull knife. After scraping and sharpening the knife over and over on a stone, it will eventually become sharp. This power isn't always helped or supported by someone who gets a degree. There are many dalang who have graduated with their degree and never become a dalang. There has to be something that is moving within you. It is only experience that will make someone become more powerful. One has to keep practicing, keep trying, always. Therefore is it best if someone has a degree and experience. For example, someone is learning how to ride a bike. They are told to look ahead, peddle their feet, and balance their body; at least that is the theory. However, if that theory is not

[309] Interview with Ida Bagus Oka Genijaya, 5 March 2014.

> practiced, it will be a long time before the person can ride the bike. The same goes with swimming. That is why it is best to study the theory along with practicing it.[310]

Taksu, as creative energy, is intimately bound up in the Balinese concept of *desa-kala-patra*, or "place," "time," and "custom." Therefore, Dalang Nardayana's innovations are merely a way of recognizing changes in Balinese society and daily existence and using them as material for entertainment. This is an aspect that has always been part of Balinese shadow theater. Having a modern expression of taksu entails being charismatic and entertaining the people in the relevant issues and ways of their times. For shadow theater, this means keeping up with or pushing the edge of musical and theatrical development.

Within this chapter, Dalang Nardayana's theatrical innovation and musical innovations were presented as part of the criteria by which audience members find his plays captivating and new and in turn, attribute him with a modern expression of taksu. While many dalang have innovated the puppets and theatrical aspects of their performances, none have innovated the musical component of their plays as much as Dalang Nardayana. Some of the innovative dalang mentioned above (Dalang Joblar and Dalang Karbit) have gone as far as to use different musical ensembles like gong kebyar or semar pegulingan, but none have gone as far as Dalang Nardayana and created a completely new tonal system and gamelan for their performances. In my opinion, this musical innovation has played a great part in Dalang Nardayana's success and the extent to which audiences have attributed taksu to him, as many are captivated by the new sound and aesthetic of the gamelan. The tonal flexibility of the music also creates variation throughout the performances and helps him to better dramatize his plays and entertain.

Dalang Nardayana's idea to create a new gamelan with its own tonal system was no doubt informed by the recent island-wide trend of innovating gamelan and creating experimental

[310] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

gamelan music (see McGraw 2005). Many gamelan composers such as I Nyoman Windha and I Made Subandi have collaborated with gamelan makers (*pande*) to move beyond the traditional tunings of Balinese gamelan to create diatonic gamelan and gamelan with unique intervals and scales.[311] Nardayana's new gamelan has helped him to appear captivating and new through both theatrical and musical innovation, which I believe lend to his modern expression of taksu. Taksu, as the power and ability to hold the audience's attention throughout the performance, is based not only on the dalang's dialogue and storytelling, but also on the mood created by the music in particular scenes and the emphasis of didactic points by musical inflection at certain parts of the play. By modernizing his music he speaks to the modern musical interests of his audience and uses the music to keep their attention. For example, one of the clown characters might say something funny or fall down, and the drums and gongs can add sound effects to these actions. In this way, Dalang Nardayana has been able to orchestrate the music to heighten and re-emphasize his charismatic points and storytelling (this is similar to the concept of redundancy discussed above, in that the music acts as a redundant form of communication).

As Dalang Nardayana said to me, "not all dalang today are *laris* [sought after], as today is a period of competition, and one must have a great deal of taksu to compete in the market. Whatever I am doing right now, if I keep doing it, I am sure to be left behind, except if I am constantly innovative and creative, and follow the breath of the times."[312] Staying ahead of the times and keeping an art form up to date is part of the reason why taksu is such an ineffable concept, first, because it entails being ahead of the trends and speaking to the hearts of the people

[311] This seems to be something that has always intrigued gamelan enthusiasts and composers, as gamelans are tuned to themselves, which often results in different gamelans having a different sound and tonality from village to village. Some people flock to listen to these different gamelans because of the uniqeness of their sound and their power (*taksu*) to captivate listeners.

[312] Interview with Dalang Nardayana, 11 May 2014.

in Balinese society, and second, because someone is only recognized as having taksu because of their performance. There aren't definite criteria that we can apply to judge a performance, or to know if people will think a performance is extraordinary. There is only the constant move to capture attention through innovation.

Chapter 7: Reframing Dialogue

Throughout this dissertation, change and development within Balinese shadow puppet theater have provided a lens through which to observe ideological, political, and economic trends reflected in the context of ritual change. Within this analysis, the concept of authority has emerged as an important variable in untangling the forces driving change and in understanding how Balinese shadow theater has been created, revitalized, and reinterpreted. The decision to draw upon the Balinese wayang sapuh leger ritual and the innovative shadow puppet theater (Wayang Cenk Blonk) of I Wayan Nardayana was deliberate, as these two forms arguably sit at opposite ends of the traditional-innovative and sacred-secular spectrum. While they are not representative of the entire Balinese wayang tradition, I chose to focus on these two genres because they create a frame within which to address several overarching concerns within Balinese shadow theater development and ritual studies. With this is mind, this chapter is devoted to a "reframing of dialogue" to address the concerns that have emerged within chapters two through six. In particular, I revisit the problematic terms "tradition" and "innovation." Rather than viewing them as polar opposites and thinking of innovation as detrimental to tradition, I attempt to entangle these terms and position innovation as a mechanism for revival. I then summarize how this viewpoint is important for understanding change and development in Balinese shadow theater and in ritual generally. Following this, I discuss how this interpretation of tradition and innovation can help resolve the "crisis of legitimation" (borrowing a term from Habermas 1973) stemming from the shifting foci of authority that have accompanied change and development in Balinese shadow theater.[313] Finally, I conclude by commenting on the ineffable notion of Balinese spiritual power (taksu) by relating it to Western conceptions of talent and by

[313] I am referring specifically here to comments I have heard from priests and commoners that modern Balinese dalang like Nardayana, for example, are not to form and function more as entertainers rather than spiritual adepts and educators.

drawing upon the concept of agency to explain taksu's indexical meaning within social and cultural change.

Tradition and Innovation in Ritual Development

Ideas of tradition and innovation are perhaps the most overarching concerns that arise within this dissertation, so much so, that the beginning of my dissertation title reads "from *tradisi* to *inovasi*" ("from tradition to innovation"). I use the word "to" in between these two Indonesian words not to mark a change, but to imply a continuation through transformation. This idea deserves attention here, as changes to ritual and developments in shadow theater have met with contestation and dismay, and instead of being viewed as a continuation of tradition, innovation tends to be interpreted as a threat to its survival. With regard to Balinese shadow theater, some of my local Balinese informants have responded to changes by arguing that the spiritual dimension of the wayang has been lost. Anthropologist Hideharu Umeda has reacted by writing that the role of the contemporary dalang is "purely that of a performer" (Umeda 2006: 121). More generally, scholars like Walter Benjamin have posited that there might be a loss in the authority of the work of art and an eradication of tradition when the arts change within the context of modernization and technology (Benjamin 1969: 220-21). Whether specifically targeted toward criticizing change in Balinese shadow theater or geared toward changes in the arts more broadly, reactions toward tradition and innovation seem to juxtapose the two concepts against one another in a pejorative sense, often forming a tradition-innovation dichotomy in which tradition has been lost or threatened in the face of innovation. But what if we were able to view such changes in a positive light by entangling these two terms to recognize just the opposite? To do so, we must

first examine why our first instinct is to position these two terms as separate phenomena and interpret their difference as negative.

In his work on "The Rehabilitation of Authority and Tradition," German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer positions our interpretation of tradition and authority as prejudices resulting from our unscrutinized conditions of understanding (Gadamer 1975: 279). For Gadamer, tradition and authority occupy a similar space, and "whether one wants to be revolutionary and oppose or preserve it, tradition [and authority] is still viewed as the abstract opposite of free self determination, since its validity does not require any reasons but conditions us without our questioning it" (ibid.: 282).[314] Furthermore, Gadamer argues, authority is "responsible for one's not using one's own reason at all. Thus, the division is based on a mutually exclusive antithesis between authority and reason. The false prepossession in favor of what is old, in favor of authorities, is what has to be fought" (Gadamer 1975: 279). To fight the false prepossession in favor of what is deemed "traditional," Gadamer employs hermeneutics to understand the right use of reason in understanding "traditionalism," namely, why we have come to have such a conditioned understanding of tradition, why we have developed such a critical attitude toward tradition, and why we are compelled to examine the truth of tradition and seek to renew it (ibid.).

In summarizing Gadamer's stance on tradition and authority, our understanding of both is a product of conditioned interpretation that we fail to scrutinize. We engage with the concept of tradition in such a way that we fail to question the "false prepossession" enshrined in tradition,

[314] Observations made by Hobsbawn also support this idea that authority and tradition are very similar in that something becomes traditional and gains traditional authority through a set of behaviors that are repeated and imply continuity with the past (Hobsbawm 1983:1). It is through these continued behaviors that something is deemed "traditional" or imbued with authority.

which leads us to constantly seek to renew it or scrutinize those who do exert agency or "free self determination." The problem of this notion of traditionalism, Gadamer notes, is that

> in tradition there is always an element of freedom and of history. Even the most genuine and pure tradition does not persist because of the inertia of what once existed. It needs to be affirmed, embraced, cultivated. It is essentially preservation, and it is active in all historical change. But preservation is an act of reason, although an inconspicuous one. For this reason, only innovation and planning appear to be the result of reason. But this is an illusion. Even where life changes violently, as in ages of revolution, far more of the old is preserved in the supposed transformation of everything than anyone knows, and it combines with the new to create a new value (ibid.: 282-283).

What Gadamer is trying to convey here is that one can never start from a tradition-free place. In fact, perception of a tradition is what provokes interest and questions to begin with. Tradition inevitably changes, and understanding and embracing tradition mean that one is able to alter it, creatively apply it, and make it relevant for the current context. Similarly, perceptions of authority and tradition always require acknowledgment by others. Without this acknowledgment, they do not exist. Acknowledgment requires an active implementation of and reflection on the meaning of the tradition for oneself and always reserves room for the possibility to make something our own instead of simply mimicking it. Memorizing and regurgitating a text, for example, is no indication that one understands a tradition. Instead, one has only really understood a tradition when one can enliven the tradition and allow it to speak in new ways. For Gadamer, changes to tradition that result in new creation are a necessary result of understanding.

Similar sentiments on tradition are echoed in Albert B. Lord's (1960) work on oral tradition, in which he notes that anyone can memorize and recite a poem orally; however, a true holder of tradition is one who has mastered the guidelines within which composition is created so that he or she can make it their own in each performance. Therefore, Lord states, "[t]he picture that emerges is not really one of conflict between preserver of tradition and creative

artist; it is rather one of the preservation of tradition by the constant re-creation of it. The ideal is a true story well and truly retold" (Lord 1960: 29).

If we are to consider Lord's words, truly understanding a tradition means recognizing that it will inevitably transform within its changing cultural context. If we use reason to strip "tradition" from its false and presupposed authority as a set and established thing, we can debunk the idea of innovation as something that ruins tradition. Instead, we can begin to see how innovation is actually an integral and inextricable part of continuing tradition. This is important for understanding change and development in Balinese shadow theater and in ritual generally, as innovation is inherent in the nature of ritual to make it relevant to the present circumstances of life. As mentioned in chapter six, anthropologist Stanley Tambiah has pointed out that ritual oscillates in historical time between the poles of ossification and revivalism (Tambiah 1979: 161). Without changing and innovating a ritual to make it relevant to the current cultural and sociological situation, a tradition becomes irrelevant and dies out. What is important to draw from this point is that innovation is actually the mechanism by which traditions and rituals thrive; without it, they would die. This is a radically different view than interpreting innovation as the killer of tradition. As was proven within the context of this dissertation, without innovation there would be no revival of Balinese shadow theater.

Now that we have fought the false prepossession of tradition as an ideal type that favors something old and have instead posited innovation as an integral part of the promulgation of tradition, we can begin to observe how the innovation of particular aspects of tradition, for example, ritual media, serve to open space for revival. Albert Lord (1960) has also commented on this with regard to musical innovation. When considering music within the context of tradition and innovation, Lord points out that music and metrics can be restrictive elements that

form boundaries within which the tradition reproduces itself (Lord 1960: 32). This has important implications for innovation in Balinese shadow theater, as musical change not only helps a performer to accrue more charismatic authority, but also allows the dalang to reconstruct the boundaries within which he can innovate and reinvigorate Balinese wayang performance. Although it is believed that only Balinese gendér wayang has the sacred power to draw the gods to the performance and the use of new musical ensembles for the Balinese wayang has been rejected and criticized, one must remember that the sacred power of the gendér wayang ensemble is a socialized perception and belief. This idea has been posited by Gilbert Rouget, who in which he demonstrates that while music does appear to be a pivotal factor in manipulating trance, it does so by "socializing" a society's relationship to specific music, not because music contains a magical force, rhythm, or mode (Rouget 1985: xviii). Therefore, the idea that musical change might signify the move away from tradition and destroy the power of the ritual is undermined and this opens a space for musical innovation to be "allowed." As was observed in the musical innovations of Dalang Nardayana, new forms of gamelan have begun to be accepted and socialized to the point that some attribute Nardayana's success to musical change. Therefore, innovation of ritual media such as music has not becomes the means by which tradition has been lost, but instead the means by which it has been enlivened.

Maurice Bloch's article "Symbols, Song, Dance, and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?" (1974) also makes several important points for this discussion of ritual and innovation. Taking a formalist approach to ritual, Bloch's work focuses on the fixity of syntax and other linguistic elements of ritual performance that one might deem "traditional." According to Bloch, "Ritual is an occasion where syntactic and other linguistic freedoms are reduced because ritual makes special use of language: characteristically stylized

speech and singing" (Bloch 1974: 56). This stylized speech, he argues, is often limited to a "restricted archaic vocabulary" or "restricted code" using specific syntactic forms and leaving no room for rebellion, for authority to be challenged, or for there to be a choice of what can be said without completely rejecting the established form of the ritual itself (Bloch 1974: 58-59). These ceremonial "trappings" lead to a "power through form" that Bloch relates to Max Weber's 1967 distinction of "traditional authority" (Bloch 1974: 60).

While these elements of fixity do create a sense of traditional authority, they also impact the element of communication within a ritual (this is important for Balinese shadow theater, as one of its main functions is to communicate morals and virtues). Bloch states that formalized language, the language of traditional authority, is an impoverished language, where options for communication are restricted in favor of fixity of form, style, and words; however, the degree of formalization in each case will vary from tradition to tradition, as the restriction of communication is directly proportionate to the restricted forms of speech found in each ritual. With increasing formalization (or adhesion to tradition), "propositional force," or the ability of language to communicate new logic or meaning, decreases, while "illocutionary force," or the means of influencing people through "performative force," increases, because the power of this force is seen by the participants as being outside themselves (Bloch 1974: 67). This can be seen in the two genres of shadow puppet theater presented in this dissertation, as propositional force has decreased in more "traditional" forms such as the wayang sapuh leger, whereas illocutionary force and performative force have increased as innovative dalang like Nardayana have begun to use more vernacular languages instead of the Old Javanese language normally found in wayang performance.

Bloch also adds when observing the fixity of "features of articulation" within ritual song that formalization (an aspect of tradition-making) allows for even less propositional force due to the confines of the ritual song structure (Bloch 1974:70-71). Bloch therefore refutes functionalist explanations of religious ritual, claiming that they cannot "explain" anything, because formalization has ruled out the tools of communication and explanation (Bloch 1974: 71). The same thing can be said about dance and music in formalized ritual performance, as they stop becoming a means of communication, and instead become a matter of repeating correctly (Bloch 1974: 72). This relates to the ossification of ritual that Stanley Tambiah speaks of, in that the stagnation and ritual formalization so sought after in cultivating the "true" tradition are actually the means by which the ritual stops communicating, and, in the case of Balinese shadow puppet theater, thwart its purpose. Again, it is through Bloch's work that we are again drawn back to Gadamer's observation that in fighting the false prepossession in favor of what is old, in favor of authority, change and innovation must occur for tradition to truly be understood and continued.

So what does this view on tradition and innovation have to contribute to our discussion on Balinese shadow theater and ritual? When innovation is viewed as a means of promulgating a tradition within a changing socio-cultural context, innovation in ritual can actually point to deeper signs of change within a social system. Clifford Geertz has criticized traditionalizing functionalist approaches to ritual (ritual as a mechanism that reinforces social order by perpetuating myths, traditional social ties, and social values, or ritual as a means for man to comprehend and create a psychologically stable world out of the incomprehensible and uncontrollable circumstances of life), arguing that this approach has not been comprehensive enough to deal with social change, and instead "[t]he tendency has been consistently to stress the harmonizing, integrating, and psychologically supportive aspects of religious patterns rather than

the disruptive, disintegrative, and psychologically disturbing aspects; to demonstrate the manner in which religion preserves social and psychological structure rather than the manner in which it destroys or transforms it" (Geertz 1973: 143). Geertz's point is demonstrated by recounting the social, religious, and political circumstances surrounding an unsuccessful Javanese funeral ritual, in which a young boy whose family was from a modern anti-fundamentalist Moslem party and was denied traditional burial rights, thus creating social and psychological strain within the society.

Through this example, Geertz shows how rapid social change has caused cultural disintegration and put ritual in the position of creating social and political conflict instead of cohesion due to the inability to adapt that results from people's need to hold to the "true" aspects of tradition. Geertz argues that functionalist approaches to ritual have failed, because they do not treat sociological and cultural processes on equal terms. The functionalist model does not account for problems that arise in social change, nor does it recognize that cultural patterns, or the "logico-meaningful," can be independent and incongruent yet also interdependent of social organization, or the "causal-functional" (Geertz 1973: 145). To tackle this problem, Geertz calls for us to deal more with historical materials so that we may better distinguish analytically between the cultural and social aspects of human life and treat them as independently variable, as it is in these very discontinuities that some of the primary driving forces of change are to be found.

What I have attempted to capture here through this dense exposition of theory is that our perceptions of tradition as fixed and unchanging are precisely the reason why innovation has met with consternation; however, as suggested above, innovation is important for the promulgation of tradition, and the failure of traditions and rituals to change and transform results in discord

between the actual state of affairs in society and the function of traditions and rituals to reaffirm cultural patterns and serve the societies in which they are performed. As Gadamer mentions, this unscrutinized perception of tradition is very much like the unconscious attribution of authority. Similar to how many feel as if shadow theater tradition is "dying," the changing foci of authority have also led to a "crisis of legitimation" within Balinese wayang. This is explored below.

Resolving the Crisis of Legitimation

In this dissertation, the concept of authority has emerged as an important variable in understanding how Balinese shadow theater has been created, revitalized, and reinterpreted. In the words of Ricoeur (2007), "authority . . . is a species of power, the power to command. . . . But what a strange power that rests on a right, the right to command, which applies a claim to legitimacy" (Ricoeur 2007: 91). As we have seen, "claims to legitimacy" have shifted as Balinese shadow theater has developed, creating somewhat of a crisis of legitimation, as those who believe in the "traditional" ways of performing Balinese shadow theater have criticized and challenged the authority of emerging innovative artists.

The notion of a "legitimation crisis" was first introduced in 1973 by the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Although his theories of legitimation crisis are modeled after economic and political theory, the term can also be applied to sociology, philosophy, and psychology and the respective actors, institutions, and political orders associated with them. According to Habermas, a crisis of legitimation refers to a decline in the confidence in administrators, institutions, or leadership, and manifests "in contradictions that directly threaten system integration and thus endanger social integration" (Habermas 1975: 68). Paul Ricoeur (2007) also sheds light on the crisis of legitimation, asking the question of why the

relationship between credibility and credence has become so troubling. This is because "whoever, we are, subordinates or in charge (or as one says, cloaked with authority), we do not really know what authorizes this authority" (Ricoeur 2007: 93-94). This has in turn left us caught up in a crisis of legitimation, or a "deaccreditation of authority, authorities, institutions, and persons—a crisis emphasized by a general reluctance to give credence, that is, recognition, to a superiority, be it of an individual or an institution as being vested with a power to impose obedience" (ibid.: 94). When rejecting Hannah Arendt's view that authority has vanished from the modern world, Ricoeur instead asks, "has authority rather transformed itself, even while preserving something of what it had been?" (ibid.). It is this suggestion offered by Ricouer that I would like to explore and argue for as a means of resolving the crisis of legitimation that has arisen in Balinese shadow puppet theater.

In seeking to begin resolving this crisis, Ricoeur argues that we must first agree about what has been lost. Within the process of legitimation he posits that there are two foci of legitimation: 1) enunciative authority, or "the symbolic power either of an enunciator or of an 'author' to engendér belief, to persuade, through a text, an assertion"; and 2) institutional authority, or "the power connected with an institution that gives one the right to impose obedience on those it claims to direct" (ibid.). While some might argue that enunciative authority has been replaced by institutional authority, Ricoeur argues that instead what has taken place is "one historical configuration determined by a pairing of enunciation and institution by another configuration of the same two terms," as there has never been a purely enunciative authority with no institutional authority (ibid.: 95). If authority is viewed this way, the crisis becomes double, because it is not only that one is mourning the loss of authority of an ideal type, for example, the enunciative authority of "traditional" shadow puppeteers, but also that there is a loss of

credibility in the ideal type of institution and old ways of governing (this is similar to the change in government that Indonesia went through and the subsequent ideological and political shifts that followed).

The problem that arises within the context of an ideal type, or an imagined vision of what something once was, is that "it was as much a dream as an actual reality" (ibid.) In the context of shadow theater, idealized visions of what shadow theater once was can be an example of this ideal type, but the problem, Ricoeur notes, is that an ideal type "no longer exists . . . and never was historically what it claims to have been" (ibid.). Balinese shadow theater and the authority of Balinese dalang were once intimately tied to the institutional authority of the Balinese courts and way of life during the period of the kingdoms; however, this largely nostalgic ideal type has vanished in the face of colonial influence and changed as the Indonesian nation has become a republic and begun to modernize.

This, Ricoeur states, is where the paradox of authority lies, and a very dense enigma is created, as "the experience of the energy of a founding, authorizes itself and its great age. The tradition of authority is identical with the authority of tradition in the sense of a transmission from the origin of the foundation itself, from the founding event" (ibid.: 99). The question then becomes, whether authority proceeds from a founding myth or the myth of a founding event. Returning to the idea of legitimating authority, Ricoeur asks, "Can we allow foundational myths, myths of a great age, to replace the rational need for legitimation?" (ibid.: 104). It is here that we are brought back to the same questions pervading the crisis of legitimation. How then do we answer this?

For Max Weber, the crisis of legitimation is one that is resolved by ideology. Ideology, as a "dissimulating process by which an individual or group expresses its situation but without

knowing or recognizing it," is an imaginary relation to the real conditions of existence (Ricoeur 1986: 1). In a sense, ideology is a normative vision, in that it comprises a set of standards and beliefs followed by people who consider the state of affairs the norm. It is through ideology that Weber rectifies the crisis of legitimation, since "the basis of every system of authority, and correspondingly of every kind of willingness to obey, is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige" (Weber 1964: 382).

Throughout this dissertation, Weber's three pure types of legitimate rule have been explored in relation to Balinese shadow theater, and within each of these frames, the underlying systems of belief legitimating the authority were described. In terms of traditional authority, it was noted that the Balinese conception of tradition—kuno tah, sastra tah, and dresta tah—helped to legitimate belief surrounding the efficacy of ritual Balinese shadow theater such as the wayang sapuh leger. With regard to legal authority, it was observed how the government, politics, religious reformers and arts institutions have gained an authority that has resulted in developments in Balinese ritual and shadow puppetry as structures of government and the ideology of Indonesian society has shifted. Finally, charismatic authority was demonstrated in the ways that innovative shadow puppeteer I Wayan Nardayana has been able to bring a new value to enunciative authority and position himself as an authoritative figure in the wayang world through innovation and charisma.

While these various bodies of authority overlap and bleed into one another, the main point to be made here when rectifying the crisis of legitimation in Balinese shadow theater is that the enunciative authority of the dalang has shifted congruently with the institutional authority of the developing Indonesian nation. This has drawn some Balinese into a modern ideology that embraces change and innovation, while leaving others (most likely the older generation) to

mourn nostalgically for the ideal type of wayang performed before such shifts occurred. Returning to Ricoeur's idea that authority is not lost, but instead has shifted, we can see why some might claim that the legitimacy and authority of the old Balinese dalang have been lost; however, it has not. As argued throughout this dissertation, change has always been an integral part of Balinese shadow theater, but it is only with the advent of larger shifts in society—technology, modern issues, and a market economy—that it "seems" that Balinese shadow theater has really shifted and changed. The chapter on wayang cenk blonk demonstrates this with particular clarity, as although various elements of shadow theater have been modified, there are still far more traditional aspects remaining than those who criticize it let on.

Returning to Ricoeur's point that authority has not been lost, but merely shifted, we know that the dalang, in the case of both traditional ritual wayang and newer forms of innovative shadow theater, still shares the same degree of enunciative authority accorded to a dalang, albeit transformed (Dalang Nardayana still conveys the spiritual and moral lessons that a dalang should). Similarly, the institutional authority supporting traditional wayang once emphasized by religion and the court system has also shifted, as beliefs and ideologies concerning Balinese Hinduism have transformed as new systems of government and influence (such as media and commercialization) have taken over. Ricoeur's idea that the transformation of authority has two parts has been clearly demonstrated through this examination of authority and shadow theater. When viewed in this way, it is easy to understand why a "crisis of legitimation" occurs, as one must consider how enunciative authority and instutitional authority change together to create new ideologies and ways of looking at the world. If one is stuck in the ideological structures of the past, then of course modern wayang seems to carry no authority and threaten tradition; however, this is clearly not the case. This idea that legitimation is tied to belief and ideology

also has important implications for conclusions concerning the shifting nature of Balinese spiritual power, or *taksu.*

Shifting Conceptions of Taksu

The theoretical ideas concerning tradition and authority presented above also shed a great deal of light on the Balinese notion of taksu. As mentioned in chapters two through six, taksu has been accorded a number of definitions and has been interpreted in a variety of ways; however, within Balinese shadow theater, ideas surrounding the nature of taksu are that it is a type of "spiritual power" that allows the dalang to hold the audience's attention throughout the performance. Similar to perceptions of tradition and authority, taksu is a concept that seems to accrue value and aquire definition based on an unconscious attribution of power that is indexical of social and cultural processes. In this section, I attempt to tie taksu to those ideas of tradition and authority presented above through an examination of Henry Kingsbury's work on talent. I also attempt to address Geertz's claim that individual motivation (agency) must be considered as another reason why functionalist theories are unable to account for ritual failure by asserting that agency and artistic sensibility are the means by which a performer makes indexical (deictic) artistic decisions based on the conditions of culture and society and is thus attributed with taksu.

Before I do so, a few points need to be mentioned about taksu. As "spiritual power," taksu has often been related to spiritual and religious aspects embedded in the shadow puppet theater, but as shadow puppet theater has begun to shift toward more modern and seemingly secular subjects, some have argued that taksu has been lost or transformed. Historically, the dalang's ability to convey fundamental truths and give the audience goose bumps from the profundity of these religious truths was what people called taksu, as it was an unexplainable

ability to bring clarity and a sense of higher power to the people watching. It must be remembered, though, that this was in an age when people responded to different aspects of spirituality, and the focus was on the religious epics rather than elements found in modern life. As shadow theater has transformed to convey fundamental truths through more secular and modern topics, taksu has not been lost as some might argue in relation to tradition and authority, but has been continued and transformed. This has been demonstrated in the work of Dalang Nardayana, as although his shows might seem more entertainment oriented, he still has a tremendous ability to convey profound truths to his audiences and hold their attention like no other.

Ideas about taksu become clearer if we relate the mysterious power that is taksu to the Western conception of "talent," which has been explored at length by Henry Kingsbury (1988). Drawing on his experience as a professor and assistant dean of the College of Music at "Midland University," Henry Kingsbury uses the Western music conservatory as a field of research within which to examine musical values as emanations of social and cultural processes (Kingsbury 1988: 10). One such musical value, talent, is examined at length to demonstrate how context is an important environment lending meaning or significance to something (ibid.: 59). Within the Western music conservatory, considerable anxiety revolves around whether or not one has talent, which Kingsbury describes as having deeper roots in inequalities of social esteem, authority, and power—basic elements of the social process (ibid.: 62). He notes that "Talent, then, is a representation of differentials of potential for certain socially valued behavior, differentials that are believed to be ordained not in social order but rather by the inherent nature of people" (ibid.: 63). This idea of talent is further demonstrated when Kingsbury writes about listening to a recital and judging whether the person has this "inaudible personal trait" (talent), bringing a positive

value to a perceived social inequality. This idea eventually works into Kingsbury's theory on the sacred individual in solo performance.

Of particular importance for this discussion of ritual is Kingsbury's fifth chapter, "A Song in a Strange Land," in which he analyzes the context of formal solo recitals as sacralized ritual. According to Kingsbury, a solo music recital is a ritual in that it is a "formally framed event in which one person is separated from the others with the imposition of an emotionally charged or sacralized social distance, namely, the separation between performer and audience" (ibid.: 116). In this discussion Durkheim's notion of the "cult of the individual" becomes important, as keeping one's "face" in performance is considered "sacred." Here the Durkheimian dichotomy of the "sacred" and the "profane" is rejected in favor of a plethora of domains in which sacred/secular dualisms are negotiated with reference to social contingencies (ibid.: 121).

Solo performance becomes a stage for demonstrating both social performance skill and "talent," in a sense sacralizing the individual, because those watching believe in the value of such differences in talent and its importance (ibid.:122). An attempt to further tackle the interpenetration of the sacred and the secular is offered by Clifford Geertz's idea of the "aesthetic perspective," ignoring the credentials of everyday experience in favor of dwelling on appearances, and the "religious perspective," or belief. About this, Kingsbury comments saying, "One must believe in the sacred importance of individuals, in talent and its importance. . . . A solo recital is one context in American culture that ritualizes – and renders sacred—an aspect of individualism" (Kingsbury 1988: 121-122). In such a context it is the moral or artistic sensibility of the individual that makes them sacred.

Furthermore, while music in the conservatory may be considered "secular" in the Western sense of the term, Kingsbury points out that there is a different frame within which it

deserves to be considered "sacred." "Music is, among other things, an idiom of collective emotional experience, experience that is expressed and renewed in ritual action" (Kingsbury 1988: 141). Serious music is both sacred and secular, but it is in the context of performance, in which the individual takes risks to demonstrate their musical soul, that music is used to distinguish an individual from the group and deem them extraordinary, or sacred (Kingsbury 1988: 142). The same can be said about Dalang Nardayana and the relationship of gendér wayang to traditional Balinese shadow theater versus the new use of gamelan in Balinese shadow theater. Yes, gamelan is often used for a variety of secular, entertainment performances, but when played with modern wayang, it becomes sacred, as Dalang Nardayana uses the music to distinguish his form of shadow theater and make it extraordinary.

I find Kingsbury's work relevant to my own on Balinese shadow puppet theater, as the idea of taksu is very similar to talent. In Bali, if you have taksu you are recognized as having the skill and that special "inaudible personal trait" that allows you to be successful. Kingsbury's point about the sacred individual is also important, because although shadow theater is changing and modernizing, it is the moral or artistic sensibility of the individual that makes them sacred and seem to have taksu (or talent). This notion of the artistic sensibility of the individual denotes a recognition of agency and harkens back to Geertz's point that individual motivation (agency) must be considered another reason why functionalist theories are unable to account for ritual failure. In the case of Dalang Nardayana, great thought was put into the reasons why he modified and innovated the shadow theater. He realized that he himself would have to institute change if he were going to renew interest in Balinese wayang. Part of this exertion of agency was in recognizing that things have changed in Balinese society and that he was going to have to change the content of his plays to speak to the relevant issues of the times. This, in turn, has made him a

preacher of modern myths, designed to teach society legal codes and proper modes of behavior within a contemporary context.[315] By doing so, Nardayana has been able to continue conveying profound truths, albeit in ways that people are able to relate to. Taksu, as "spiritual power," has often been confused with religion, but what comes through here is that "spiritual" refers to one's spirit or soul. Dalang Nardayana uses his spiritual power and agency to recognize and adapt his artistic sensibility to the current forms of social and cultural processes occurring in Balinese life. It is because it is new and moves beyond the normal bounds of tradition that he is credited with a sense of genius—the spiritual power to enliven the tradition in the modern age.

Viewing the situation in this way we can see how conceptions of taksu, much like conceptions of tradition and authority, are legitimated by ideology. Change and innovation inevitably lead to crisis, as they challenge the structures of ideology (an imaginary relation to the real conditions of existence). What emerges from this dissertation on change and innovation in Balinese shadow theater is a strong sense that meaning is indexical of the society and worldview within which it is created. In the words of John Blacking (1989), "attempts to elicit a single meaning, or the 'correct' or 'true' meaning, of a ritual are misconceived: they ignore the fact that rituals are usually effective precisely because they are polysemic" (Blacking 1989: 10-11). Finally, we must also be careful as researchers when making claims about tradition and the loss of authority, as the statement made by Umeda (2006) that the dalang is "purely . . . a performer" is obviously coming from a place that mourns the loss of tradition and fails to see how tradition has not been lost yet transformed and revitalized. With this perspective we can learn a lot about

[315] This idea is discussed in Joseph Campbell's 1991 work *The Power of Myth*, in which he discusses the universality of myths that occur throughout the history of mankind. According to Campbell, mythology's function within a cultural framework or society is to educate people and provide them with a means of coping through the different stages of life. Within the various myths of different societies, certain themes reappear in every culture and society time and time again. Although myths and stories may change and transform over time, the reappearance of these themes signal universal and eternal truths about mankind.

the ways in which artists are successful as time passes by. We can also learn to lift the stigmas surrounding preservation of tradition and open ourselves to the creative and innovative aspects that instead enliven and revitalize tradition.

Appendix A: Guide to Transcription of Gendér Wayang Music

Because Balinese gendér wayang music is an important element in my discussion of authority and taksu, this appendix is dedicated to giving the reader a better understanding of the genre, and to introduce them to the transcription system used to document the gendér wayang style from Mas village. The appendix begins with a brief overview of Balinese gendér wayang music and musical instruments. I then describe the notation system and symbols used in the transcription of gendér wayang music so that someone wishing to play the music from the transcriptions will understand how special technical markings are executed. The remainder of the appendix presents my transcriptions of a gendér wayang pieces played to accompany a Mas village wayang sapuh leger ritual. It is my intention that the transcription system and musical pieces presented in this appendix will encourage other scholars to continue documenting and preserving regional styles of gendér wayang music. I also hope that these transcriptions prove to be useful for teaching others the Mas style of gendér wayang music.

Balinese Gendér Wayang

Gendér wayang are the instruments that accompany traditional Balinese shadow puppet theater (*wayang kulit*). Unlike the larger gamelan ensembles used to accompany dance and drama, the instrumental ensemble that accompanies the wayang kulit has been reduced to a quartet of ten-keyed, metallophone-like instruments called *gendér* (see figure A.1). Therefore, because the instruments accompany wayang kulit, the ensemble is called *gamelan gendér wayang*.[316]

[316] The ten-keyed gendér (*gendér dasa*) of the gendér wayang ensemble should not be confused with the 13-keyed gendér from the *pelégongan* ensemble (Gray 2011: 31).

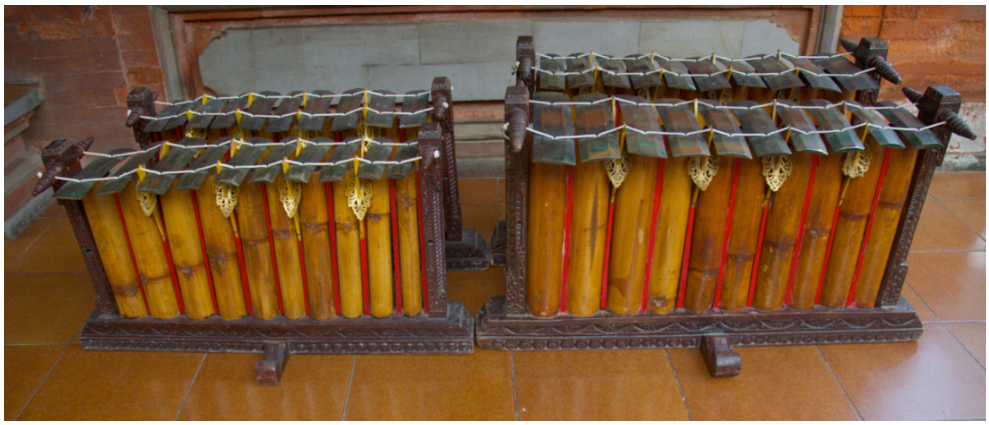


Figure A.1: The gendér wayang ensemble. Photo by the author.

Gendér wayang is thought to be the hardest of all Balinese music, and "Balinese musicians who do not play *gendér wayang* are usually in awe of their counterparts who do, such is the reputation of the music's difficulty" (Tenzer 1998: 85). Gendér wayang is characterized by intricate figuration and interlocking played by both the left and the right hands. The use of both hands is part of what makes playing gendér wayang so difficult, as interlocking can occur between the players' right hands, left hands or both. This allows for highly complex melodies to be played at a fast speed.

The use of both hands also makes dampening the keys of the gendér very challenging. Unlike typical gamelan ensembles in which a player strikes a key with a mallet held in the right hand and dampens with the left (the left hand dampens the key while the next note is being struck, as this prevents overlapping resonances from multiple pitches), a gendér wayang player must hold a pair of disc-tipped mallets (*panggul*) in each hand. The mallets are carefully gripped between the index and middle fingers so that the side of the palm can be used to simultaneously dampen the previously played key while the next key is being struck. This technique can take

years to develop and requires great flexibility in the wrists and a sensitivity of touch (See figure A.2).[317]



Figure A.2: Two pairs of gendér wayang mallets. Photo by the author.

The instruments of the gendér wayang ensemble span two octaves and are tuned to an anhemitonic pentatonic scale called *saih gendér wayang*. Given that this five-tone scale is similar to the slendro tuning of the Javanese gamelan, Balinese musicians have taken to using the term *slendro* to describe the tuning system of the gendér (Gray 2011: 32). Of the four instruments that make up the gendér wayang ensemble, there are two small and two large instruments. The smaller instruments are an octave higher than the larger instruments, with the lower octave of the smaller instruments doubling the top octave of the larger instruments. This makes the complete range of the instruments three octaves (see figure A.3 to visualize how these octaves double).

[317] The Balinese *selonding* ensemble also uses this technique.



Figure A.3: A small and large gendér aligned to show octave doubling. Photo by the author.

Music for both the small gendér wayang and the large gendér wayang is the same, as the higher pitched instruments simply double what is being played on the lower pitched instruments. This makes it possible to play gendér wayang music on two instruments (usually the larger), and many dalang will only utilize two gendér players during ritual performances. One must keep the doubling of parts between large and small instruments in mind, as my transcriptions only include the two main interlocking parts of the gendér wayang music. This was done to conserve space and make the transcriptions clearer to read, and it is assumed that the person reading the transcriptions will understand that the parts are usually duplicated on a smaller set of gendér.

In addition to having two small and two large instruments, one of each pair is designated as the male (pitched slightly higher and called *pengisep*, or sucker) and the other is the female (pitched slightly lower and called *pengumbang*, or waver). The slight difference in tuning between the instruments is what helps to create a resonant, shimmering and wavering quality (similar to acoustic beating when two instruments are out of tune) in Balinese music called *ombak*. The male and female instruments of each size pair also relate to a musical function. The lower, female instruments, usually play the *polos* part, or the basic melody of a particular musical piece, or *gending*. The higher, male instruments, usually play the interlocking counter

melody, or *sangsih*. This division between polos and sangsih is one of the main organizing features of my transcriptions, and it is between these two parts that we find the interlocking, or *kotekan* (*ubit-ubitan*), so integral to Balinese music.[318]

Transcribing Balinese Gendér Wayang

The ten keys of the gendér have been assigned the following notes of the Western scale from bottom to top (Figure A.4). Also indicated here are the Balinese solmization syllables for each tone. These Western musical notes are the same as those used in the notation system adopted by Brita Heimarck, who has transcribed many gendér wayang pieces from the village of Sukawati. I have chosen to follow her example to make comparison and analysis of different styles of the music more feasible, and I feel as if her method of transcription is the clearest.

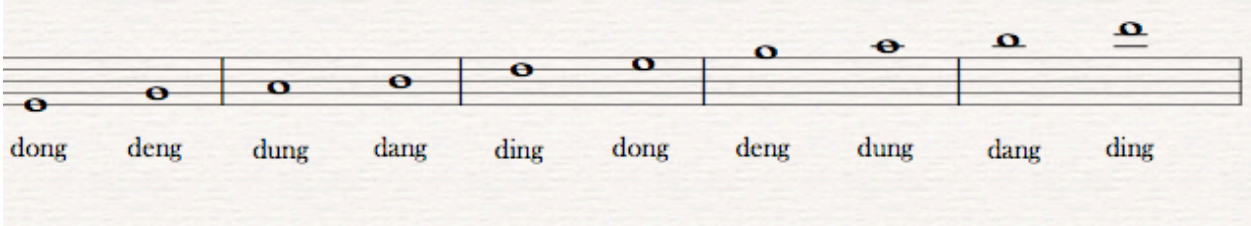


Figure A.4: Slendro scale

[318] I have often heard the Sukawati style of gendér wayang called a "sangsih style," as interlocking often happens between all four hands of two players. The four parts of the music make it sound sweet, further exemplifying the word *sangsih* which means "to sweeten." The Mas style, however, is more of a "*polos* style." Very rarely are there four different voices in a Mas gendér wayang piece. The one exception to this is found in portions of the piece "Sulendro," also known as "Tulang Lindung" in Sukawati. In Mas, there are typically three parts to each piece, with the left hands of each player striking the same keys and the interlocking, or *kotekan*, happening between the right hands of the polos and sangsih players. The left hand often plays a repeated pattern called a *jegogan,* similar to an accompanimental ostinato. This can be seen in the attached transcriptions of "Batel Kayonan," "Patra Wijaya," and parts of "Batel Bebaturan." If the left hand is not playing a jegogan, it is usually playing another kind of accompanimental melody that is the same in the left hand of all the players. This is demonstrated in the attached transcriptions of "Cangak Merenggang" and "Sekar Ginotan Jalan." Kayu mas style has a good combination of both.

These notes were chosen as an approximation of the equidistant tones of the *slendro* scale and placed in this particular range because they fit nicely on the staff and allow the omission of accidentals. The tuning of gendér wayang instruments varies greatly from region to region, as demonstrated in the study of twenty-five gendér tunings from the eight regions of Bali funded by Udayana University in 1989 (See Agung 1989). To approximate the pitches of my own instruments and use them for transcription would inevitably lead to a different set of pitches and system of transcription than those who have conducted transcription before me; therefore, in order to maintain some consistency with the work of previous scholars and to allow for the easy comparison of my work with others, I have chosen to adopt Brita Heimarck's system of notation, albeit with a few slight variations in the notation of particular techniques.[319]

The musical notes presented above indicate which tone of the gendér is to be struck. Rhythm is indicated by following Western musical conventions. For the most part, rhythm and texture within Balinese gendér wayang are pretty straightforward, although there are a number of slow pieces in the repertoire that feature a less metrically fixed style with ornamentation. In these types of pieces, the right hand of the sangsih plays a harmonic version of the piece (often harmonizing with the right hand of the polos by playing four keys above, also called a slendro fifth, *empat, kempyung*, or *saih* 4). This slower texture is also characterized by ornaments (*ngorét*), grace notes (*selah*), subtle click-stops created by playing while dampening a note, and a technique called *ngecek*, which involves repeatedly striking one or more keys either together or in alternation, starting slow, building speed and holding in a sort of tremolo-like texture (Gray 2011: 34).

[319] For other systems of transcribing gendér wayang music see McPhee 1966, Gray 2011, and Gold 1992 and 1998.

To properly notate some of the musical characteristics of gendér wayang, several symbols were adopted and are described below. One of the first forms of interlocking that a student may encounter as they begin to play gendér wayang is *ngecel* or *notol*. Perhaps the most famous piece across many styles of gendér wayang to utilize this form of interlocking is *Tulang Lindung*, or "Eel Bones." This piece is often chosen for novices, as the hands are just beginning to learn to work independently, and this piece only requires a repeated movement in the right hand while the left hand plays the melody. One of my teachers, I Wayan Suwecca, once told me that *notol* refers to the pecking action of a chicken. This is a very appropriate name for this form of interlocking, as the right hand moves in a repeated, almost pecking-like motion.

When playing the repeated notes of the notol, the down stroke is played and rings and the upstroke is both hit and dampened in a technique called *tekanan*. In the upstroke action, the striking of the key and the dampening of the key are done at the same time, creating a short, muted sounding of the note. Throughout my transcriptions of gendér wayang I have notated this technique by placing Xs and Os above the notes where the technique is to be used. Figure A.5 below shows how this would look when notated for the right hand of one of the gendér wayang parts. An O denotes a tone that rings and an X denotes a simultaneous hitting and dampening action.



Figure A.5: Dampening technique demonstrated by Xs and Os.

The true beauty of the notol is found when we examine how interlocking is created between the hands of the polos and the sangsih players. In a piece like *Tulang Lindung,* both the polos and

sangsih player execute the notol technique, but the sangsih player will play one note higher and execute the open stroke while the polos player is playing the dampened stroke. This can be seen in the example A.6 below with the right hand of the sangsih on top and the right hand of the polos on the bottom.



Figure A.6: Use of Xs and Os to notate the notol technique.

It is often the case that the sangsih player will start with the polos note and then move to the open stroke of the sangsih note on the upbeat (this is also shown in Figure A.6). This helps the player adjust to playing on the upbeat. Because the polos and sangsih are playing their open strokes on alternating notes, the combined parts interlock. Figure A.7 shows what the combined part would sound like.



Figure A.7: Notol interlocking between polos and sangsih.

In other transcriptions of gendér wayang, some scholars demonstrate the notol technique by notating the open note and following it by a rest. This makes sense for understanding the interlocking and how the combined parts sound together, but it does not properly convey the technique that is actually being employed. In fact, if actually played in this way, a musician would be looked upon as a novice who has not yet mastered *tekanan*; however, the piece could

still be played an intelligible, but it would not sound as refined.[320]

This is the first and most basic type of interlocking that occurs between the right hands of the polos and sangsih players. Once the player has developed their technique and has become more confident in their abilities to play the upstroke and dampen it at the same time, more difficult interlocking, or *kotekan*, can be introduced.[321] In some forms of interlocking, kotekan is created by doubling selected notes using the technique described above, while also moving between other notes. This is also and example of *tekanan*. Again, Xs and Os are also positioned above the notes to mark where this technique may be used. See figure A.8 below for how this might look in kotekan.[322]



Figure A.8: *Ngecel*/*notol* technique in kotekan.

[320] I have often been asked which style of music I found more difficult, but the Sukawati style and the Mas style are both difficult in their own right. The Sukawati style is difficult in its fast, four-part interlocking, making the time to memorize and master each piece a long process. The Mas style is also difficult because of the extensive use of the doubling technique (*tekanan*) mentioned above. When discussing the Sukwati style, Brita Heimarck mentions the difficulty and practice it takes to master the tekanan technique. She says, "If one can play with *tekanan* it sounds more mature and experienced. Loceng uses the Balinese word *wayah* to describe this type of playing; *wayah* refers to an older person or style, or the quality of being ripe, mature, or experienced" (Heimarck, 90). This word *wayah* is wholly appropriate to describe the Mas style, as a majority of the pieces require the tekanan technique and do not sound right without it. Furthermore, the tekanan technique is played at a very fast pace in Mas style, requiring a certain amount of practice and strength in one's arms and wrists to do it steadily (this is similar to aquiring "chops" as a snare drummer). For some, the fast moving melodies of the Sukawati genre might seem easier.

[321] For a discussion of different kinds of interlocking in gendér wayang music see Gray 2011: 33-35. For a discussion of different types of interlocking texture in Balinese gong kebyar music see Tenzer 2000: 61-70.

[322] For those just learning gendér wayang and who have not mastered the dampening technique described, a quarter note can be played in lieu of the two eighth notes where the technique is employed.

Xs are also employed through the transcriptions to signify subtle click-stops and *angsel*, or abrupt stops.

In addition to the Xs and Os employed in kotekan and fixed tempo pieces, there are a number of other symbols I have utilized to signify the techniques found in slower, more free-tempo pieces. One of the most common techniques employed in the opening section, or *gineman*, of a piece is a kind of tremolo technique called *ngecek*. The ngecek can appear in three forms. The first form is played by repeatedly striking one key and steadily building speed. The second form is performed by repeatedly striking two keys in alternation, one key to each hand, and steadily building speed to create a tremolo. The third form is performed in the same way except each hand alternates back and forth between two keys together (not in alternation) while steadily building speed to a holding tremolo. Examples of these three forms of ngecek are presented below in figure A.9. One can see that this technique is signified either by an alteration to the note stem or by the thick double lines found in the third example.



Figure A.9: The three forms of ngecek technique.

The Mas Gendér Wayang Repertoire

Now that the reader has a better understanding of gendér wayang and the transcription symbols used to notate the music, I can move on to a discussion of the Mas gendér wayang repertoire and present my transcriptions; however, before diving into the transcriptions, I would

like to take a moment to discuss the classification of musical pieces used to accompany a Balinese shadow puppet play and present a list of all the possible gendér wayang pieces from Mas village. While there are several ways of classifying the pieces that accompany wayang kulit, Balinese scholar I Nyoman Sumandhi (1984/5: 32-35) and American ethnomusicologist Lisa Gold (1992: 252) classify the pieces into ten categories. I have followed their system of classification and table A.1 below presents a list of all possible pieces from the Mas style of gendér wayang.

Table A.1: Classification and a List of Mas Style Gendér Wayang Repertoire.

Classification of Composition	**Mas Repertoire in the Category (F) = Forgotten, (T) = Transcribed, (NT) = Not Transcribed**
1. **Gending Pategek/Tabuh Petegak/ Tabuh Lepas (sitting pieces)**: These are the musically complex, purely instrumental pieces that are played while the dalang prepares to perform. He may prepare the *banten*, or offerings, and recite mantra during this time. He also opens the *kropak*, or box of puppets, and begins to arrange them for performance. There is no standard order for these pieces to be performed, and it is up to the musicians to decide which of the pieces they will play (usually 2-4).	**1. "Sekar Sandat" (T):** From *sekar*, meaning "flower" and *sandat*, which is the name for a very holy and fragrant flower **2. "Ankat-ankatan" (T):** "To lift up" (this can also be used for changing scenes, battles, and meetings) **3. "Patra Wijaya" (T):** From *patra*, or "letter," and *wijaya*, or celebration; a letter of celebration. **4. "Sekar Ginotan" (T):** *Sekar*: flower, *ginotan*: akind of flower **5. "Sekar Sungsang" (T):**[323] The upside-down flower **6. "Tabuh Teluh" (F)***: Tabuh*: song, *teluh*: three; this piece has a strong presence of 3s. **7. "Seketi" (T): "**A million sounds" **8. "Cangak Merenggang" (T):** From *cangak*, or "heron" and *merenggang*, or "looking around" **9. "Sekar Jepun" (F):** The frangipani flower **10. "Sekar Taman" (F):** The flower garden **11. "Merak Ngelo" (F):** From *merak*, meaning "peacock," and *ngelo*, meaning "to dance": The dancing peacock **12. "Crucuk Punyah" (F):** A *crucuk* is a kind of bird, and *punyah* means drunk; the drunken crucuk. **13. "Krepetan" (F):** Fire

[323] There is a Mas style "Sekar Sungsang," but the musicians play the Sukawati style "Sekar Sungsang."

	14. "Gerebeg" (F) (NT): Ambush (one of the Mas musicians still knows the song, but it was not transcribed.
2. Gending Pamunkah/Pemungkah Kayonan (overture): This is the *pemungkah* (opening) overture of the shadow puppet theater. It is a long, multisectional instrumental overture that accompanies the dalang as he opens the puppet box and arranges the characters for performance. This section is framed by two *kayonan* ("tree of life") dances, which can symbolize the passage of the dalang to the spirit world or signal scene changes.	**1. "Pemungkah Kayonan" (T)** **2.** "**Sulendro/Tulang Lindung" (T):** In Mas, this piece is called "Sulendro," but it is more commonly known as "Tulang Lindung" ("Eel Bones") in Sukawati. Sukawati does have another piece called "Sulendro" in addition to their version of "Tulang Lindung."
3. *Gending Patangkilan* or *Paguneman* (meeting pieces): These are usually slow, soft, rubato, through-composed pieces, which accompany invocations and introductory songs (*tetandakan*). The performance can take one of two paths here depending on whether the dalang will perform wayang *Mahabharata* or wayang *Ramayana.*	**Wayang Mahabharata:** **1a. "Pengarahinan/Pengalasharuman" (T):** From *rahina*, or "day," *alas*, or "forest," and *harum*, or "good smell." When put together this signifies the "beginning of the day in the scented forest" the start of a journey for the puppets **1a. "Penyacah Parwa" (T):** The 18 *parwa* (books) of the *Mahabharata*. Only a small section of the *Parwa* is chosen and performed. **Wayang Ramayana:** **1b. "Giri Rebah/Selangsar Rama" (F):** From *giri*, or "mountain," and *rebah*, or "slope": "The slope of the mountain." *Selangsar* means "song" and *Rama* refers to King Rama. This is the piece for the entrance of King Rama. Either of these pieces is played. **1b. "Rundah" (T):** *Rundah* means "sad." This piece is used like the "Pengarahinan/Pengalasharuman." "Rundah" can be used in both wayang *Mahabharata* and wayang *Ramayana*. The "Pengalasharuman" cannot. Regardless of the type of wayang being performed, the play then continues as follows with the "Pengalang" section, of which there are three parts: **2a. "Pengalang Perabu" (T):** Conference of the king. This is when the characters speak about problem or issue that will arise in the play. **2b. "Pengalang Penatak**" **(T):** A short tag played before

	a puppet speaks**.** **2c. "Pengalang Penasar" (T):** Conference of the clown characters. The clowns translate what has been said by the king, because the *halus* (refined) characters speak in *Bahasa Kawi* (Old Balinese/Javanese) and most of the audience does not understand this language. The clowns speak in the vernacular language and translate. **2d. "Penarek" (T): "**To make more powerful." This is a short tag used to wake up the audience, signal scene changes, and reinforce with music what was just said by the clowns and the king. In Mas, the "penarek" is also used as the closing piece for the *wayang lemah*.
4. *Gending angkat-angkatan/Gending Pangkat/Pangkat Pengesahan* (moving pieces)**:** These are quick, pieces with recurring cycles and kotekan (interlocking). They bring energy, excitement, and intensity to the play and are highly syncopated. This type of recurring music is used to accompany the actions of the characters. It can accompany entrances, exits, or other movement, and are often played while the dalang sings a vocal line in Kawi (*bebaturan*) to signal what is happening.	**1. "Angkat-angktan" (T):** To lift up **2. "Sekar Ginotan Jalan" (T):** *Sekar*: flower, *ginotan*: a kind of flower **3. "Pangkat Raksasa" (NT):** Music to accompany the actions of demons, e.g. Rawana **4. "Pangkat Delem/ Bapang Delem" (T):** Music to accompany the clown Delem, followed by his *Bapang*, or dance **5. "Pangkat Sangut" (NT):** Music to accompany the clown Sangut **6. "Arjuna Kapilis" (NT):** Arjuna's challenge, Music for when Arjuna will go to fight **7. "Selangsar Rama" (NT/F):** This is music for the entrance of King Rama **8. "Bima Kroda" (T)** *Kroda* means "angry"; therefore, this is music for when Bima gets angry **9. "Kakan-Kakan" (NT/F):** A special piece used in wayang *Ramayana* to accompany Sita's servant
5. Gending Tetangisan (weeping)**:** To accompany when a character is sad or crying	**1. "Mesem" (T):** This piece accompanies the *halus*, or refined, characters **2. "Bendu Semara" (T):** This accompanies the *sedang*, or middle level, characters, e.g. Bima **3. "Candi Rebah" (T):** This accompanies the *keras*, or demon characters, e.g. Rawana
6. Gending Aras-arasan (romance)/ **Gending "Rebong":** Used to accompany love scenes or the entrance of a female character	**1. "Rebong" (T):** This is the name of the piece that accompanies a dalang singing during love scenes, or when a female character enters. There are four parts and all have been transcribed. They are: **1. "Pengecet Perabu"**: for when the king enters during

	the love scene **2. "Pengecet Penasar Twalen":** For when Twalen enters during the love scene **3. "Pengecet Penasar Merdah"**: For when Merdah enters during the love scene **4. "Pengecet Penasar Jalan"**: For when the clowns play around.
7. Gending Papeson (entrances): Special music for appearances of specific characters.	**1. "Tunjang" (T):** Special piece for when Durga (Rangda) enters. **2. "Banaspati" (F):** Special piece for when Durga (Rangda) enters during a *Calonarang* performance
8. Gending Batel (fighting): These are pieces that accompany fighting, action, or anger.	**1. "Batel Mantri" (F):** Music for the soldiers going to war, the young soldiers **2. "Batel Jalan" (NT/F):** Music for the army going to war **3. "Batel Sedang" (F):** This is the same as Batel Perang, but soft **4. "Batel Perang" (T):** This piece is for the large battle or war that occurs in the story **5. "Batel Raksasa" (T):** This music accompanies the entrance of the Raksasa soldiers **6. "Batel Compromi" (T):** This music accompanies negotiations that may take place during battle may take place during battle. **7. "Batel Pangkat" (T):** General piece for the movement of *halus*, or refined characters **8. "Batel Pemungkah" (T):** Music for the opening of shadow play and the dance of the Kayonan for wayang lemah performances.
9**. Gending Panyuwud or Wasana** (ending pieces):	**1. "Penarek" (T):** The *Penarek* is a closing tag played at the end of a *wayang lemah* (daytime wayang) performance. **2. "Astu Pungku" (T):** "The eight-fold jewel." This is a both a closing piece and a worshipping piece that is played at the end of special ritual performances while the dalang is making holy water.

10. Gending Ngastawa: (worshipping pieces)[324]	**1. "Astu Pungku" (T):** Astu Pungku is the name of the mantra used by the dalang to make holy water (*tirtha*) for special ritual ceremonies such as wayang sapuh leger and wayang sudamala. In Sukawati this piece is known as "Tabuh Gari"; in the kayu mas style, this piece is called "Swandewi."

When I compiled this table, I also compared it to a similar one on the Sukawati repertoire found in Brita Heimarck's book (Heimarck 2003: 128). While several of the pieces were the same, there were many variations in spelling, and Heimarck's chart included a few items that mine didn't. In order to clarify variations in repertoire, I asked Ida Bagus Made Geriya about these other pieces. I was surprised to hear that a few of the pieces mentioned in the Sukawati chart used to exist in the Mas style, but that he had forgotten them. They were items that he and his musicians rarely used, and he had never passed them down to his son Anom. This is a shame, because it means that some of the Mas repertoire has been lost. I have noted these particular pieces on the chart.

While the loss of repertoire is sad, this discovery revealed a big variation in performance style between Mas and Sukawati. The forgotten items from the Mas repertoire were mostly from the *Tabuh Petegak*, or opening section, of the shadow play. The pieces from this section are purely musical entertainment—they are not used to accompany the dalang singing or the actions of the puppets. Conversely, when discussing the Sukawati style in her book, Brita Heimarck mentions the popularity of the Tabuh Petegak pieces, and the loss of repertoire that ensues when the dalang and the puppets speak Kawi. In Sukawati, this has meant cutting out sections such as the *Penyacah Parwa* and the *Pengalang*. This is almost the complete opposite of what has

[324] Gold (1992: 148) notes that each gendér group has a worshipping piece of their own, and that these pieces are usually named after the mantra that the dalang recites. In the Mas tradition there is only one such piece, "Astu Pungku," which is utilized as both a category 9 and a category 10 piece.

happened in Mas, but when considering how these musical styles are used, it makes sense. Sukawati has retained those musical pieces that are exciting and ideal for entertainment, while cutting out the more spiritual, ritual parts, whereas Mas musicians have forgotten some of the entertainment pieces in favor of the pieces needed for ritual and traditional performance. These small shifts clearly demonstrate how shadow theater in Mas takes on a ritual importance, whereas shadow theater in Sukawati seems more geared toward entertainment.

Throughout my experiences learning the Mas repertoire and performing it with my teacher, Ida Bagus Made Geriya always stressed the importance of the Kawi singing (*bebaturan*/*tetandakan*), and of those pieces that accompany the refined characters as they speak Kawi. According to Ida Bagus Made Geriya, these pieces are a vital aspect to the formation of a performance, whereas the Tabuh Petegak pieces are not. This is most likely the reason why the Tabuh Petegak pieces have been forgotten. Brita Heimarck comments on the loss of those pieces that accompany the Kawi sections, noting, "there is a feeling among certain established performers, old and young, that the elimination of these pieces reduces effectiveness, as well as the philosophical import, of the shadow play" (Heimarck 2003: 129). The fact that IB Geriya's performances of wayang kulit attempted to stay true to the ritual format and use of Kawi sections comes as no surprise. He spent his whole life learning the Kawi language, and as a pemangku dalang and member of the Brahman caste his spiritual and ritual responsibilities trump his entertainment responsibilities.

I will now present my transcriptions of the Mas gendér wayang pieces for a wayang sapuh leger ceremony. It is important to note that all of the transcriptions presented are prescriptive in nature (C. Seeger 1958) and are notated in such a way that they signal to the reader how a particular piece of music can be made to sound. To undertake a descriptive

transcription of a Mas wayang kulit would be extremely laborious and would not capture the musical flexibility of cyclical sections. Each performance of gendér wayang music is different each time depending on the direction of the dalang. By presenting prescriptive transcriptions, it is my hope that readers will be able to see where this musical flexibility takes place and adapt this flexibility for their own accompanimental purposes.

The order of the Mas gendér wayang pieces to accompany a wayang sapuh leger ceremony is listed below. It must be remembered that any combination of pieces can be performed depending on the preference of the musicians and the dalang.[325] The list below represents all possible pieces that can be played within the general framework used for wayang lemah and wayang sapuh leger ceremonies. Transcriptions of all of these pieces can be found below in table A.2.[326]

Table A.2: List of Mas Style Gendér Wayang Repertoire for Wayang Lemah/Sapuh Leger

1. 2-3 Tabuh Petegak pieces, such as:	"Patra Wijaya" "Cangak Merenggang" "Sekar Sandat" "Seketi" "Sekar Ginotan" "Sekar Sungsang"
2. Gending angkat-angkatan/Gending Pangkat/Pangkat Pengesahan	"Batel Pemungkah"
3. Gending Patangkilan or Paguneman	1. "Rundah" 2. "Pengalang/Penarek"

[325] In Mas, this decision was made by Made Reda, the senior musician of the group. In other groups, the senior musician who might made such decisions and lead the group is called the *juru gendér*.

[326] The format used for a wayang sapuh leger is very similar to a wayang lemah performance; however, a wayang sapuh leger is concluded with the "Astu Pungku" piece, while a wayang lemah ends with the *penarek.* Both the wayang lemah and the wayang sapuh leger are short compared to the longer nighttime performances (*wayang peteng*) given primarily for entertainment. I have transcribed many of the pieces for this type of performance, but they are not included here.

4. Gending angkat-angkatan/Gending Pangkat/Pangkat (These are chosen depending on the story and can be used in any combination)	"Sekar Ginotan Jalan" "Batel Pangkat/ Batel Tentara" "Batel Compromi" "Angkat-angkatan"
5. Gending angkat-angkatan/Gending Pangkat/Pangkat Pengesahan	"Batel Pemungkah"
6. Gending Penutup	"Penarek": This small closing tag can be found at the end of the pengalang**.**
7. Gending Ngastawa	"Astu Pungku"

Patra Wijaya

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




S
P
1.
2.

Cangak Merenggang- The Heron/Crane

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia



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S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P

Sekar Sandat

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




S
P
S
P
rit. .....
S
P
rit. .....

Seketi- A million sounds

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P
S
P
S
P

Sekar Ginotan

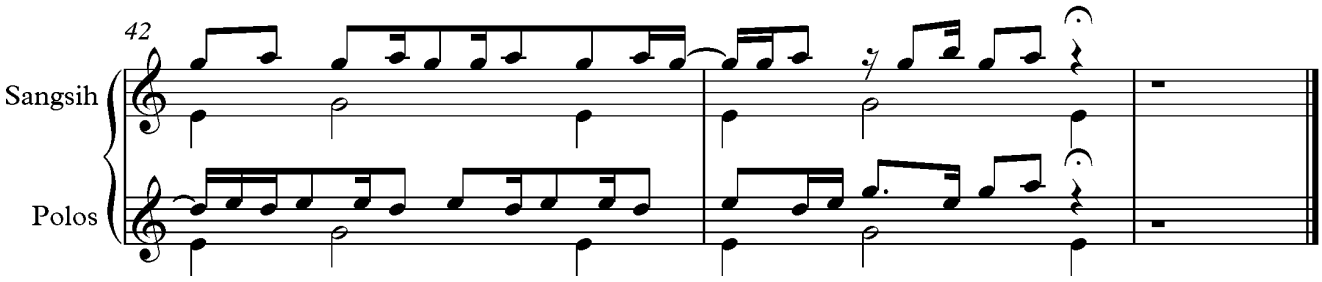
Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




13
Sangsih
Polos
16
Sangsih
Polos
19
Sangsih
Polos
21
Sangsih
Polos
24
Sangsih
Polos


27
Sangsih
Polos
30
Sangsih
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33
Sangsih
Polos
36
Sangsih
Polos
39
Sangsih
Polos

4



Sekar Sungsang

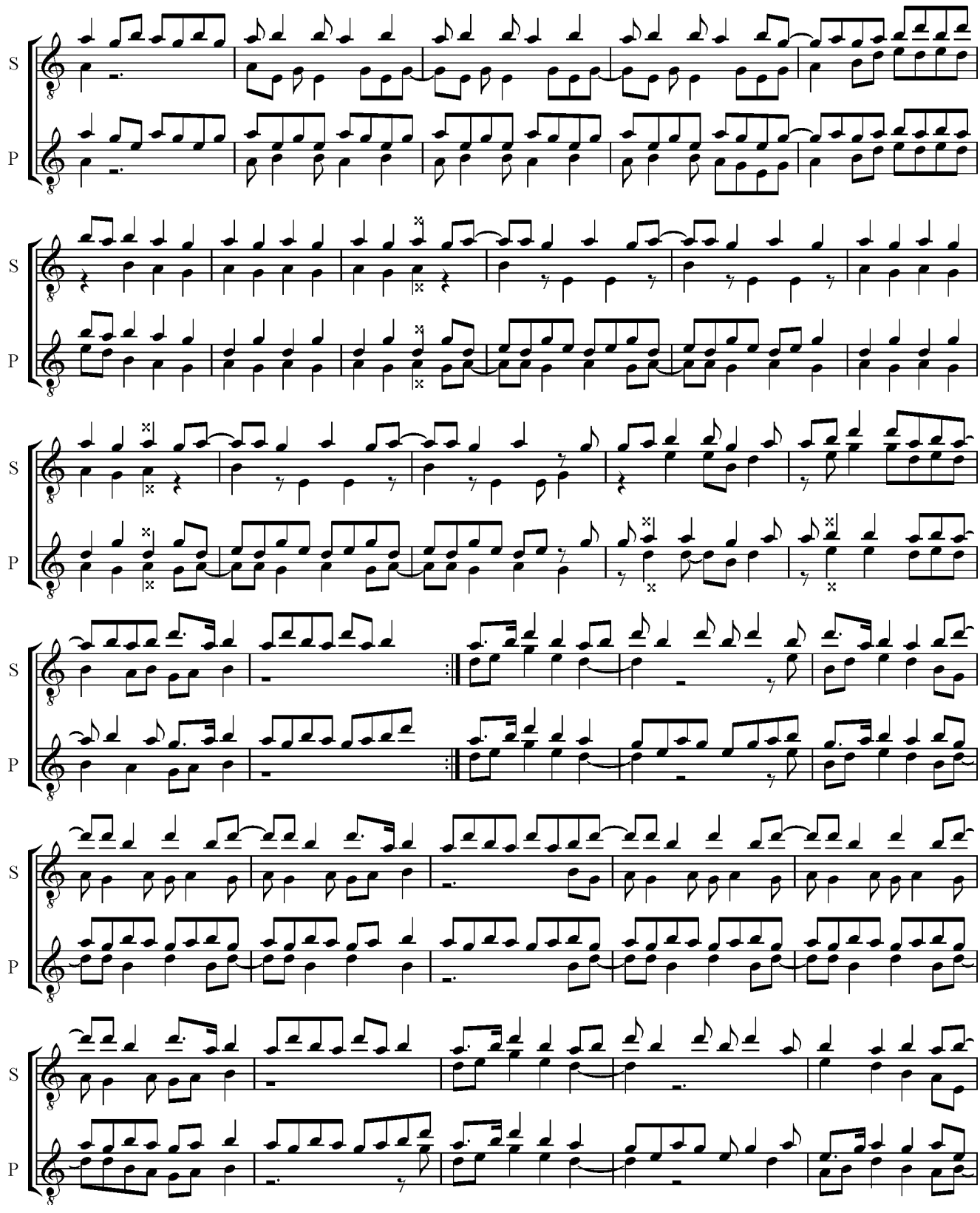
Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




Faster and continue speeding up until high part
Faster and continue speeding up until high part
S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P


S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P

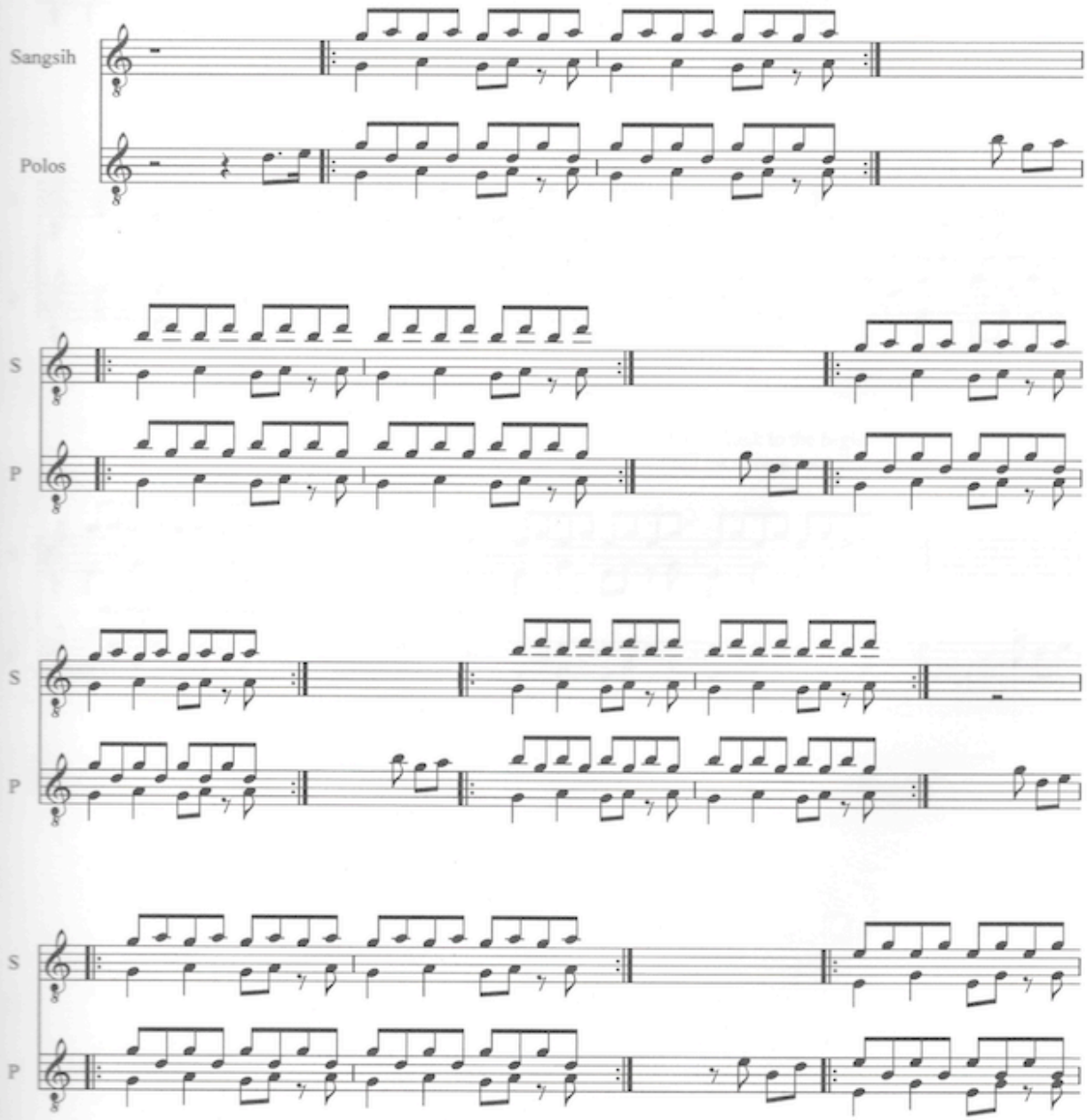

S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P
Fast.....
S
Fast.....
P

Batel Pemungkah

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia

Each section is vamped until the polos player signals the change into the next segment. The lead polos player will leave out the last note of the vamped section and play the lead in. Sangsih follows the polos player's changes.



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2
S
P
S
P
Repeat back to the beginning vamped section
until the dalang cues Rundah with the cepala
S
P

Rundah

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia



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S
P
Rubato and a little slower
Rubato and a little slower
1.
1.


S
P
2.
2.
S
P
S
Transition to Pengalang
P
Transition to Pengalang

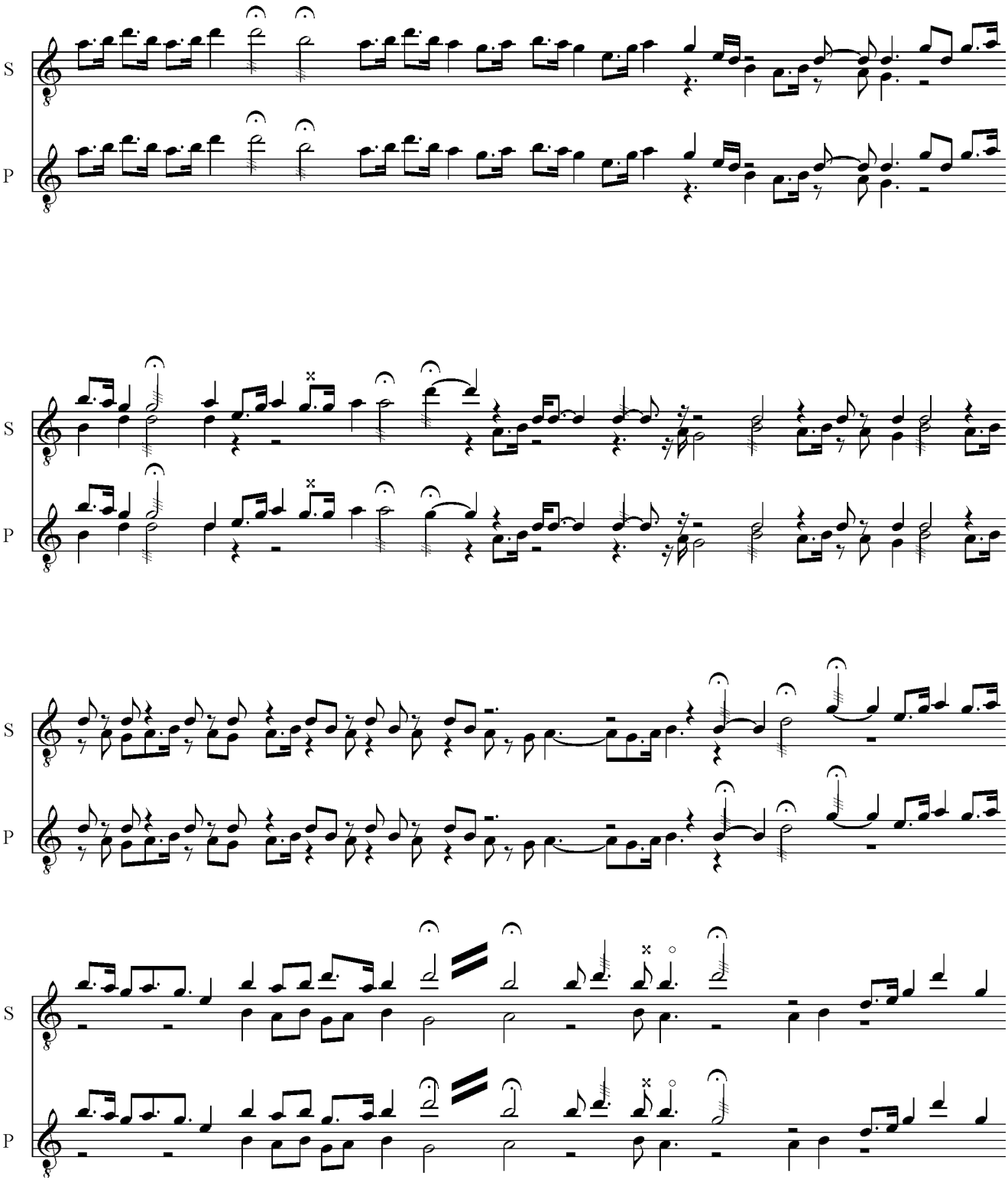
Pengalang: Wayang Lemah

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia

Dalang speaks first:

Nahan sabdanere




S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P
S
P
PENARET
S
P
S
P

Sekar Ginotan Jalan

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia



Possible ending here by using grace note
and holding the next downbeat.



Batel Pangkat/Batel Tentara

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




S
P
S
P
rit. .....
S
rit. .....
P

Batel Compromi

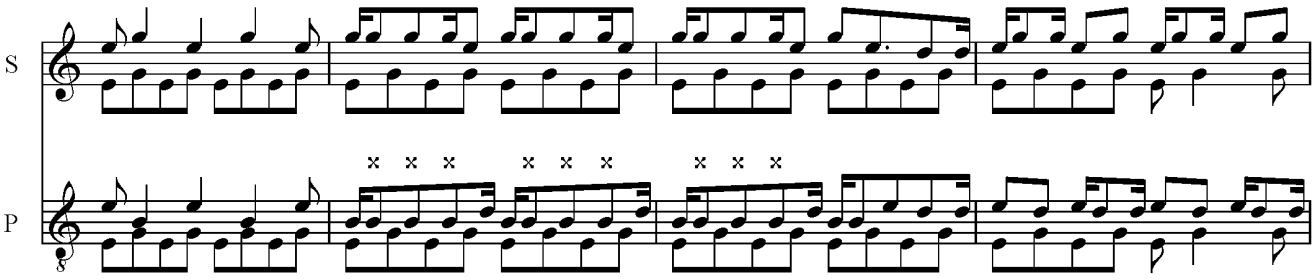
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Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia

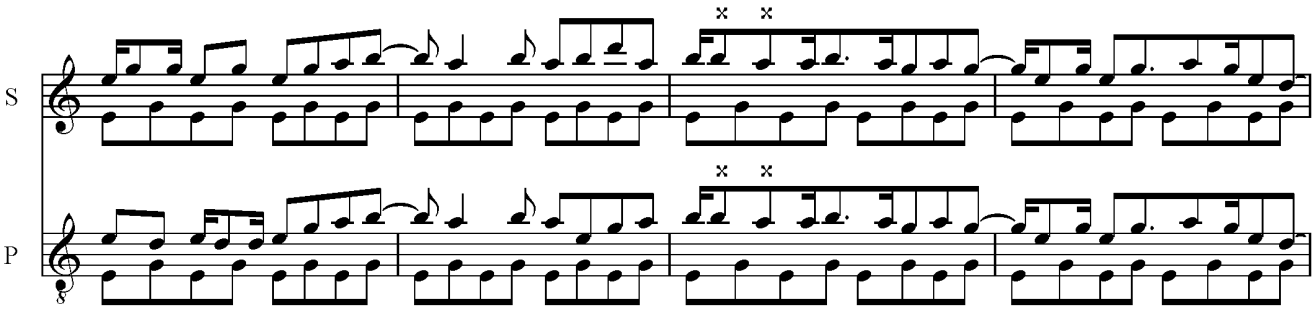


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S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P







Technically this is only an optional ending. The song is supposed to end when the dalang signals, but often it will end here. If the song ends at another spot the musicians will find a cadence point and end there.

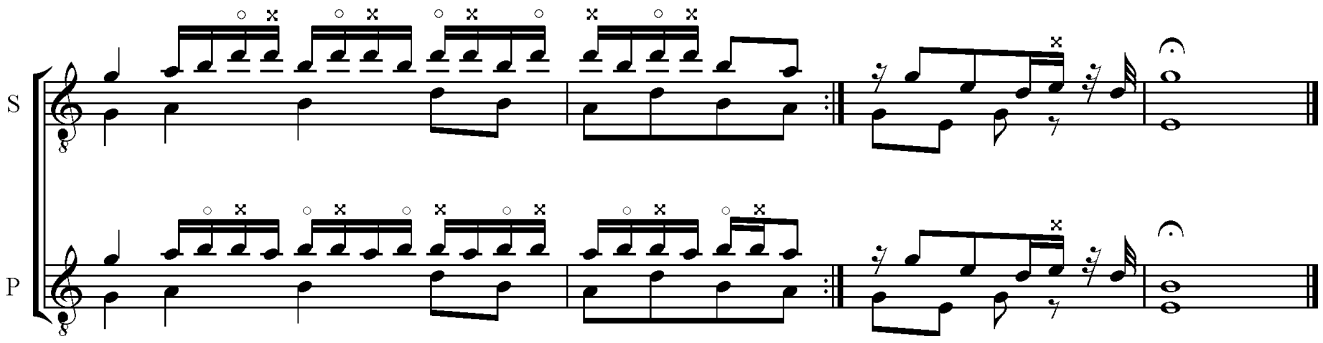


Angkat-Angkatan

Transcribed by Meghan Hynson
Gender Wayang from Mas village, Bali, Indonesia




S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P
S
P


S
P

Astu Pungku

Mas Village Gender Wayang
Transcribed by Meghan Hynson



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26
Sangsih
Polos
31
Sangsih
Polos
36
Sangsih
Polos
40
Sangsih
Polos
45
Sangsih
Polos


50
Sangsih
Polos
55
Sangsih
Polos
60
Sangsih
Polos
65
Slower
Sangsih
Polos
69
Sangsih
Polos


73
Sangsih
Polos
77
Sangsih
Polos
82
Sangsih
Polos
87
Sangsih
Polos
91
Sangsih
Polos


95
Sangsih
Polos
99
Sangsih
Polos
103
Sangsih
Polos
107
Sangsih
Polos
110
Sangsih
Polos


114
Sangsih
Polos
118
Fast: 160
122
126
130


135
Sangsih
Polos
139
Sangsih
Polos
143
Sangsih
Polos
146
Sangsih
Polos

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