GAMELAN GONG LUANG: RITUAL, TIME, PLACE, MUSIC, AND CHANGE IN A BALINESE SACRED ENSEMBLE

by

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Abstract

Gamelan gong luang is a rare and sacred music ensemble performed in Bali, Indonesia. Its origins are only speculative, but it is believed to have existed before the arrival of migrants from Hindu Majahapahit Java in the 14th century. Today few Balinese have interest in learning to perform this music, which is intimately intertwined with ritual practices. My research involves the study of two interrelated aspects of this complex musical tradition. First, I focus on gamelan gong luang's history, instrumentation, social organization, and function within Balinese society. And second, I focus on gamelan gong luang's musical structure using analytical perspectives. Additionally, and in consideration of the results of my research, I reflect on gamelan gong luang's future.

I have two goals in writing this dissertation. First, I want to challenge younger generations of Balinese musicians that often fail to recognize the value of this musical tradition. Today, more diverse and rapidly developing modern musics, like the exciting world of gamelan gong kebyar, capture the attention of young musicians. To these young people gamelan gong luang is old-fashioned and unexciting. This research elucidates many of the unique characteristics of gamelan gong luang, and highlights new potentialities for its appreciation and thus continuance. I will also show that musical characteristics of gamelan gong luang live on in their transformation at the hands of many Balinese composers. My conclusion is that the loss of this ensemble would seriously damage the continuity of social and religious life in some places that rely heavily on its use in ritual, and for all of Bali and the world at large, a loss of cultural heritage.

I also want to challenge misleading representations of Balinese music produced by non-Balinese scholars. In earlier publications, Western scholars (Small 1977, Kramer 1988) have stated that Balinese music is non-linear, with cyclic structures that repeat seemingly without end. Utilizing research methods acquired throughout my graduate studies in the Western scholarly world, and my lifelong training as a Balinese musician, I have created an in-depth analysis of *gamelan gong luang* music that shows that such interpretations are mistaken.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	viii
List of Audio Examples	xi
Acknowledgements	xii
Introduction	1
Overview	2
Previous Studies	4
Field Research: A Personal Account	5
Two-way Perspective	14
Chapter One: Arts as Offerings	18
Offerings and Performances	19
Arts, Ritual, and Life	21
Two Classifications	26
Ambiguity	30
Criticism	33
Continuum of Sacredness	36
Concluding Thoughts	38
Chapter Two: Place, Ritual, Function, and Change in Gamelan Gong Luang	43
A Brief History of Hinduism and Rituals in Bali	45
Gong Luang and Ngaben	49
Balinese Traditional House Compound	51
The Function of Gong Luang in Ngaben	54
The Sacred Continuum: Gong Luang in Ngaben	58
Gong Luang and Odalan	59
Pura The Balinese Temple	61

The Function of Gong Luang in Odalan	65
The Sacred Continuum: Gong Luang in Odalan	72
Gong Luang Today	73
Concluding Thoughts	76
Chapter Three: Gamelan Gong Luang of Seseh and Tangkas	78
Historical Background of Gong Luang	78
Gong Luang of Banjar Seseh, Singapadu	82
Instrument and Tuning	83
The Sekaa	90
Repertoires	91
Gong Luang of Tangkas Klungkung	92
Instrument and Tuning	92
The Sekaa	98
Repertoires	99
Concluding Thoughts	100
Chapter Four: Analysis of <i>Kinada</i> and <i>Mayura</i>	102
An Analysis of Kinada	104
Tabuh Pat Form and the Melodic Period of the Pengawak	105
	108
Melodic Organizations and Modulations of the <i>Pengawak</i>	
Melodic Organizations and Modulations of the <i>Pengawak</i>	108
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	111
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	111 117
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i> Melodic Modulations An Analysis of <i>Mayura</i> (<i>Manukaba</i>)	117
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	117
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	117118118
The Organizations of Melodic Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	117118119125

Norot Reong	141
Terompong Elaboration in Gong Luang	148
Terompong Elaboration of Seseh	150
Terompong Elaboration of Tangkas	161
Leluangan in Gong Kebyar	167
Rejang Dewa	168
Gong Luang as a Resource	174
Manikasanti and Salukat	178
Concluding Thoughts	182
Bibliography	185
Appendices	191
Appendix A: Pengawak Kinada - Analysis	191
Appendix B: Pengawak Mayura - Anaysis	202
Appendix C: The Unplayed Melodies in <i>Palet</i> Two of <i>Kinada</i>	207
Appendix D: The Unplayed Melodies in <i>Carik</i> Two of <i>Mayura</i>	209

List of Figures

Figure 1	Anak Agung Anom Suma, The Expert of Gong luang of Banjar Seseh	8
Figure 2	Sudarma and Nengah	9
Figure 3	My Father and Ida Bagus Agung	10
Figure 4	I Gede Tapa Shows a Picture of Mangku Ranten	12
Figure 5	The Notation Available in Tangkas	14
Figure 6	Two-way Perspective	16
Figure 7	Sacred Continuum: Topeng and Gong Luang	37
Figure 8	Layout of Balinese Traditional House Compound	53
Figure 9	Sacred Continuum of Gong luang in Ngaben	59
Figure 10	Layout of Pura	63
Figure 11	Sacred Continuum of Gong luang in Odalan	73
Figure 12	Seven Jalan in Gong Luang of Seseh	84
Figure 13	Metallophone Pitch Order	85
Figure 14	Terompong Pitch Order	86
Figure 15	Bamboo Pitch Order	87
Figure 16	Arrangement of the Instruments	88
Figure 17	Photos of Instruments of Seseh	89
Figure 18	Five Saih in Gong Luang of Tangkas	93
Figure 19	Metallophone Pitch Order	93
Figure 20	Terompong Pitch Order	94
Figure 21	Bamboo Saron Pitch Order	95
Figure 22	Arrangement of the Instruments	96
Figure 23	Photos of the Instruments of Tangkas	97
Figure 24	Structure of Kinada	105
Figure 25	Jegogan, Kendang, Kempur and Gong Strokes in Each Palet of the Peng	awak
	Kinada	106
Figure 26	The Larger Grouping Structure of The Pengawak of Kinada	107
Figure 27	The Organization of Segments in the <i>Pengawak</i>	109
Figure 28	The Technique of "Wilet" in Section A	111

Figure 29	Two Jalan That Are Used in the Pengawak	112
Figure 30	Change of Jalan	113
Figure 31	Melodic Periods and Modulations of the Pokok Tones in the Per	ıgawak
	Kinada	114
Figure 32	Composite Analysis of the <i>Pengawak</i> of <i>Kinada</i>	116
Figure 33	Structure of Mayura	117
Figure 34	Carik, Pada, and Gong Periods of the Pengawak	118
Figure 35	Analysis of Melodic Periods in the <i>Pengawak</i> of <i>Mayura</i>	120
Figure 36	Wilet – Augmentation of Mijil in Carik I	121
Figure 37	Kidung Manukaba Source of Ulungan	122
Figure 38	Melodic Period and Structure in Mayura	123
Figure 39	Organization of <i>Pokok</i> in <i>Mayura</i>	124
Figure 40	Composite Analysis of Mayura	125
Figure 41	Players' Position in Reong	132
Figure 42	The Stable Kilitan for Each Pokok Note	135-136
Figure 43	The Kilitan: Transition from One Pokok to Another	138-139
Figure 44	An Example of Reong Kilitan Elaboration	140
Figure 45	Noltol or Nyokcok Interlocking Figuration	141
Figure 46	Simple <i>Norot</i> Elaboration	142
Figure 47	Basic Norot Elaboration	143-144
Figure 48	Basic Norot Elaboration: Transition to Another Pokok Note	145-146-147
Figure 49	An Example of <i>Norot</i> Elaboration	148
Figure 50	The Division of Notes for Each Player	150
Figure 51	An Example of Terompong Elaboration in the Pengawak of Kin	ada of Seseh
		152
Figure 52	Analysis A	156
Figure 53	Analysis B	157
Figure 54	Analysis C	158
Figure 55	Analysis D	159
Figure 56	The Complete Analysis with the Unplayed Melody	161
Figure 57	The Division of Notes for Each Player	162

Figure 58	e 58 The Relationship Between <i>Pokok</i> and <i>Terompong</i>	
Figure 59	Two Steps of Realizing the Unplayed Melody	.165
Figure 60	A Complete Analysis of the Relationship Between the Unplayed Melody,	
	Pokok, and the Terompong	.166
Figure 61	Phrase Structure of the Pengawak Rejang Dewa	.169
Figure 62	An Analysis of Section 1: Phrase 1 and 2	.170
Figure 63	An Analysis of Section 1: Phrase 3 and 4	.171
Figure 64	An Analysis of Section 2: Phrase 1 and 2	.172
Figure 65	An Analysis of Section 2: Phrase 3 and 4	.173

List of Audio Examples

Audio Example 1	Pengawak Kinada Excerpt 1 (Figure 51)	.152
Audio Example 2	Pengawak Kinada Excerpt 2 (Figure 52)	.156
Audio Example 3	Pengawak Kinada Excerpt 3 (Figure 53)	.157
Audio Example 4	Pengawak Kinada Excerpt 4 (Figure 54)	.158
Audio Example 5	Pengawak Kinada Excerpt 5 (Figure 55)	.159
Audio Example 6	Mayura Excerpt (Figure 58)	.163
Audio Example 7	Rejang Dewa Excerpt 1 (Figure 62)	.170
Audio Example 8	Rejang Dewa Excerpt 2 (Figure 63)	.171
Audio Example 9	Rejang Dewa Excerpt 3 (Figure 64)	.172
Audio Example 10	Rejang Dewa Excerpt 4 (Figure 65)	.173
Audio Example 11	Pengawak Kinada (Appendix A)	.191
Audio Example 12	Mayura (Appendix B)	.202
Audio Example 13	Palet Two of Kinada (Appendix C)	.207
Audio Example 14	Carik Two of Mayura (Appendix D)	.209

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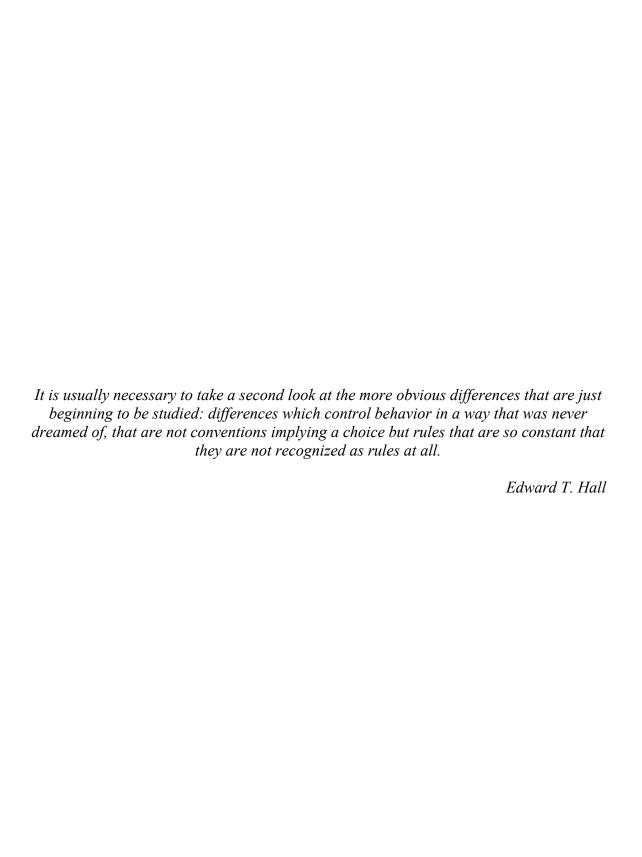
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Introduction

The development of new music in the 21st century continues to reflect the growing interconnectedness of different traditions. As cultures around the world continue to interact with one another, the impact on sacred and classical traditions is increasingly noticeable. An important question that I would like to raise is how sacred and classical music traditions are to be honored and cultivated in the midst of such cross-cultural influences. One way to help ensure the future of sacred and classical traditions is through academic research and analysis. With this in mind, I have chosen to study a rare and sacred ensemble in Bali, Indonesia called *gamelan gong luang* (hereafter *gong luang*).

This study is comprised of two interrelated parts. First I focus my research on its history, instrumentation, social organization of its musicians, and function in Balinese society. Second, and most importantly, I conduct an analysis of the music. Additionally, with particular consideration to the aforementioned question, I will look at the possible future of *gong luang*.

As a performer and educator of Balinese gamelan music, and having undertaken intensive ethnomusicological training in the Western academia, I feel that it is my responsibility to conduct a study of this particular ensemble in order to promote its continuing existence in Balinese society, especially in the midst of this era of globalization. There are two goals that I want to address in writing this dissertation. I want to challenge younger generations of Balinese musicians and their false impression of the value of this ensemble. Currently few have interest in studying *gong luang* because it is considered old-fashioned and not as enjoyable as diverse and rapidly developing modern music. By conducting this research I will elucidate many of the unique

characteristics of *gong luang* music and foster new potentialities and perspectives for its appreciation. I will also show that musical characteristics of *gamelan gong luang* live on in their transformation at the hands of many Balinese composers. My conclusion is that the loss of this ensemble would seriously damage the continuity of social and religious life in some places that rely heavily on its use in ritual. For all of Bali and the world at large, it would be a loss of cultural heritage.

I also want to challenge misleading representations of Balinese music produced by some Western scholars. In earlier publications, Western scholars (such as Small 1977, Kramer 1988) often stated that Balinese music is non-linear, with cyclic structures that repeat seemingly without end. With my research skills in the Western scholarly world, and my lifelong training as a Balinese musician, I have created an intensive analysis of *gong luang* music in order to show that such interpretations are mistaken.

Overview

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter one investigates Balinese practices of art, life, and ritual, exploring issues in accommodating art and ritual in the context of modern Balinese culture, particularly since the development of the tourism industry. I provide critiques of the contemporary rules established by the government that do not convey the indigenous Balinese concept of life, and I offer suggestions for amendments. *Gong luang* is primarily performed at ritual proceedings and is considered a sacred music to the Balinese. Government-imposed rules dating to the 1970s that affect Balinese religious life offer interpretations relevant to *gong luang* performance that are not as rich as interpretations drawn from indigenous Balinese conceptions of life.

Because *gong luang* performance is intimately connected to ritual activities, and because ritual is intertwined with Balinese conceptions of art and life, it is necessary to address how the three are connected in order to provider a more comprehensive context for the detailed discussions of *gong luang* itself in later chapters.

Chapter two explores the context of *gong luang* in two rituals: *odalan* and *ngaben*. How is it used in these rituals? Why is it important? What is its significance for the people and for the rituals themselves? Descriptions of Balinese religion, temples, and traditional house compounds are provided first in order to give a contextual foundation.

Chapter three describes the historical context, instrumentation, traditional gamelan club structure, and repertoires of *gong luang* in two places: the village of Tangkas in east-central Bali; and *banjar* (hamlet or ward) Seseh, a subdistrict of Singapadu village in the south-central part of the island. This chapter also provides an approximation of the *gong luang* scale system, the use of notation, and the indigenous concept of the beat, which is contrasted with the Western musical concept. This approximation prepares for the basic analytical tools used in chapters four and five.

Chapter four consists of a musical analysis of two *gong luang* pieces. The two pieces that I analyze are *Kinada* and *Mayura*, selected from Seseh and Tangkas villages. The analysis focuses on the periodic structure of each piece and considers answers to the following questions: What is the musical form? Are there special kinds of melodic structure? Do they exhibit unique characteristics that other Balinese gamelan music does not? I break down the music's main melody into smaller segments and look at repetitions of segments in order to understand its periodicity and how it is composed. I also look at melodic transitions from one scale to another, which creates layered periodicities. Special

attention is also given to the colotomic instruments: the gongs and drum, and how these instruments define the cycle of the piece.

In the concluding chapter I concentrate on the future of *gong luang* by looking at its changing role in contemporary Balinese society. Although the religious functions and continuation of *gong luang* are in danger, it still receives attention from some composers and Balinese scholars. Often contemporary Balinese composers use *gong luang* instruments as a medium for composing new works. Its unique melodic figuration is also adopted into new works for other ensembles. Furthermore, there are some independent gamelan groups that have built new gamelans inspired by the tuning system of *gong luang*. Based on these tendencies, there are obvious signs that *gong luang* will continue to be present in the Balinese music scene and will continue to be a source of inspiration for musicians and scholars. This will confront the current trend among younger generations of Balinese musicians to see the music as easy, as only played by old musicians, and as being less pleasurable than Western-influenced modern music.

Previous Studies

There are two studies that have been conducted on *gong luang* in English. The first is an article about the *gong laung* tradition of Tangkas village by Andrew Toth, an ethnomusicologist who focused on historically important ancient ensembles of Java and Bali (the Javanese *gamelan sekati* and Balinese *gamelan luang*). In this article he gives a cursory description of the context of the music, and briefly analyzes some of the pieces using cipher notation. The second is Colin McPhee's *Music in Bali* (1966). In the chapter titled "Four Sacred Ensembles," he describes the *gong luang* tradition of *banjar* Apuan,

also (like Seseh) in Singapadu. His brief analysis gives the reader a very basic concept of the musical forms.

There are two undergraduate theses written in Indonesian at ASTI (the Arts Academy in Bali, now called ISI) from the 1980s: "Gambelan Gong Luang di Banjar Kerobokan," by I Nyoman Sudiana (1982); and "Gong Luang di Desa Kesiut," by I Made Wardana (1985). These theses are basically catalogues of the repertoire, instruments, functions, and bureaucratic organization of *gong luang* clubs in two villages. A sociocultural and musical analysis is not present in these two theses. These works are sources for comparison with my description of the instrumentation, music organization, and function of the *gong luang*.

Field Research: A Personal Account

In the summer of 2010, from May to August, I returned to Bali from my studies in Vancouver to do a field research project on *gong luang*. I felt that as a Balinese musician I had sufficient musical and social/linguistic skills to explore the tradition, but, although I am Balinese, I consider myself to be an outsider to this tradition. In terms of the musical aspects, I learned the music of *gong luang* when I studied at ISI Denpasar (the Indonesian Arts Institute of Denpasar), and I have played with the Pitamaha *gong luang* group of Ubud. This is a group recently formed by a local patron of the arts, but it is unconnected to the ancient traditional contexts of the music in Seseh and Tangkas that I researched for this thesis. As Mantle Hood (1960) explains, it is important for ethnomusicologists who are doing research of other musical traditions to become bi-musical by learning to play

the music during the course of research. This allows them to better understand the technical, conceptual, and aesthetic challenges of the music they study.

After learning and playing *gong luang* music for some rituals in the Ubud area, I thought I was prepared to research its older and original forms in Seseh and Tangkas. However, I experienced an internal conflict that affected my mentality and confidence. On one hand, being a Balinese musician, I am familiar with most Balinese musical genres and have learned the *gong luang* music style, having played in Ubud. But on the other, I had no knowledge of the context of the music in Seseh—no idea what "insider" musicians' thoughts and feelings are when they perform the music.

On the first day of my visits to the *banjar* Seseh and Tangkas I was nervous. As I indicated previously, I felt that I was a complete outsider to the tradition. I had to find appropriate methods to collect data from the informants, analyze the pieces, carry out ethnographic studies on society, and, most importantly, conduct in-depth research on the music's relationship to ceremonies (exploring the significance of signs and symbols in the pieces) and the context surrounding its performance in rituals. At the time the only knowledge I had of *gong luang* involved its use in funerals—something that I learned a little bit about during my studies at the Institute of Arts.

The feeling of being an outsider occurred to me because the *gong luang* tradition, especially in the *banjar* Seseh Singapadu, is only maintained by the traditional gamelan group called *sekaa*, which consists of members from particular family lineages spanning at least four different *banjar*, each with distinctive codes of traditional law (*adat*). Thus the *sekaa* is shaped by a set of complex arrangements and rules. Furthermore, *gong luang* music is only performed at special ceremonial sites and is not heard during regular

ceremonies or in the daily lives of the people. On rare occasions it can be heard at big events like the Bali Arts Festival, because the government hired the musicians to perform with the intention of preserving this tradition.

Another obstacle that also interfered with my research plan was my busy life as a traditional Balinese person. I had many social and religious tasks, including the ceremony for my newborn baby (this was his first time in Bali and he had to go through all the rite of passage rituals), the cremation ceremony for my grandfather in law, the tooth-filing ceremony for my wife, and the most time consuming ceremony which was the grand temple ceremony in my own village. Once the villages knew that I had returned home, they questioned my absence from any social or religious activity. This affected my social relations and status in my village. The only way for me to resolve this problem was to go to every social and ritual activity.

The concept of Balinese social life is based on mutual assistance. As a result, my days were full of obligations, working at the temple and teaching gamelan groups from five different villages as well as my own group. However, on top of this busy life, I was able to do my research project on *gong luang*.

During my stay I interviewed two people from Seseh and one from Tangkas: Anak Agung Anom Suma, the elder of the group in Seseh who was very knowledgeable about *gong luang* (see Figure 1); and I Made Sudarma, the head of the group. In Tangkas I conversed with I Gede Tapa, the grandson of Mangku Ranten and also the head of the group in Tangkas. I also interviewed Ida Bagus Agung from Griya Peling Padang Tegal, someone who knows a great deal about Balinese rituals and ceremonies. Combining

knowledge from these informants with my own understanding as a Balinese musician, I gradually gained a comprehensive understanding of *gamelan luang* and its traditions.



Figure 1. Anak Agung Anom Suma,
The Expert of the *Gong Luang* Group of *Banjar* Seseh.
Photograph by the Author.

In Seseh I first met I Made Sudarma who was in charge of the group (see Figure 2). As the group's new leader, he felt that he was still insufficiently familiar with the ensemble and avoided answering my questions, perhaps because he did not want to make any mistakes. However, he granted me access to view the instruments and take pictures, and eventually guided me to the right person to interview. Sudarma was friendly and seemed to be happy with my visit—perhaps because I told him that I was a student who wanted to write about *gong luang* in his village. During this visit he showed me where the gamelan was housed, described the management structure of the group, and gave me a brief overview of the group's history.



Figure 2. Sudarma (left) and Nengah (middle).
Photograph by the Author.

In the middle of my conversation with Sudarma, Nengah, the person who helps Sudarma with all financial tasks of the group, came to join us (refer again to Figure 2). Nengah was a student of the town's conservatory of music. He was a young musician, yet he knew more about the music than other members. He was able to talk briefly about the pieces. However, like Sudarma, Nengah was afraid that he was not giving me "right" answers. Because of the sacredness of the gamelan and its music, musicians were afraid to talk about it—they felt that they had no right to discuss the topic since they did not consider themselves experts.

A few days later I went back to do an interview with Anak Agung Suma, an expert of this ensemble. Before I went to Suma's house I had to find Sudarma, as he promised to take and introduce me to Suma. I was excited but a little nervous, because I

felt the pressure of my goal to be able to collect as much information as possible within a short period of time.

According to Suma the gamelan was already present in his village by the 12th century. Although Suma said that there is some written historical information at the Penataran Alit temple in Singapadu, this document is sacred and no one is allowed to touch it. This presents a problem, because there are neither written documents nor myths on the topic of *gong luang* that tell the story of the origin of the ensemble.



Figure 3. My Father (left) and Ida Bagus Agung (right). Photograph by the Author.

I was not able to get any information regarding the rituals in Balinese funerals (ngaben) from Suma. He only knew of the musical significance of the three important gong luang pieces in the rituals of ngaben (when and where it is played), but he did not

know the religious significance of the ritual itself. Therefore, taking advice given by my father, I decided to interview a priest from my village. The priest's name is Ida Bagus Agung from the Brahmana caste (see Figure 3). He gave me valuable information about the ritual in *ngaben*, explaining in detail what happens between a person's death and the cremation ceremony. Agung explained to me the philosophical meanings of the symbols and signs used in *ngaben*.

Gong luang, according to Suma, is also played during temple ceremonies (odalan). Even though I am Balinese, I did not fully understand the details of the rituals in the temple. A week after my first visit I came back to meet Agung. Initially I did not know what to ask him, because there are so many different levels of activity in a temple ceremony. Agung was also having a hard time deciding what to tell me. This was clearly my mistake because I negelected to ask Suma exactly where and at what level of temple ceremony the gong luang plays.

However, I decided to ask Agung to explain to me the general rituals at a common temple ceremony, which I thought was a simple task since Agung was an expert of Balinese ritual. He provided valuable information about the ordering of rituals, the offerings used, and the meaning of each symbol, which proved to be very useful for my analysis of *gong luang* in its particular ritual context.

Meanwhile I decided to refresh my mind and went to visit a rehearsal of the *gong luang* group of Tangkas. I arrived at Tangkas in the morning and found the instruments were already set up in one of the pavilions in I Gede Tapa's house. At first glance I found no difference between the instrumentation of the *gong luang* of Tangkas and the one in Seseh. There were eight players, mostly middle-aged men, and some younger men.

Before the group started to play the leader showed me a framed picture of his grandfather (Mangku Ranten; see Figure 4). I was also shown a page of notation used for *gong luang*. According to Tapa, in order to learn the music of *gong luang* musicians have to use the notation because there is a lot of music to be remembered. This method is completely the opposite of the "usual" Balinese method, in which there is no notation used for teaching or learning gamelan. Tapa continued to say that to learn a piece they would learn it collectively—as a group—instead of just from one teacher.



Figure 4. I Gede Tapa Shows a Picture of Mangku Ranten.
Photograph by the Author.

The method Tapa described to me somewhat contradicts Tangkas musicians' musical practice. In fact, according to my conversation with I Komang Sukarya, a member of the group in Tangkas, the musicians never learn the pieces from notation. "We have notation, but we have never used it to learn the pieces. Only the teacher knows and uses it as a reminder in case he forgets the melody" (Sukarya p.c. 12/08/10; refer to Figure 5). Perhaps the head of the group, who is also the teacher, learns the basic melody that is played by the *calung*, the melodic instrument, from the notation (only if he forgets the melodic passage). From here he will teach the rest of the group orally during rehearsal. Furthermore, the music for other instruments is not written down. Their parts are developed during practice by the teacher in accordance with the style of *gong luang* music that has been passed down to them. Thus—to resolve the seeming contradiction—the music is learned in practice with the whole ensemble.

I had no problems figuring out musical details for which there was any lack of clarity, since *gong luang* music has many of the same musical elements as other musical genres in Bali. The advantage of being a Balinese musician provides a deeper musical view. However, in dealing with the historical and socio-religious context of *gong luang*, I relied on Suma and Tapa's explanations. And to understand the particular significance of *ngaben* and *odalan* rituals I relied on Agung's knowledge. The voices of experts on the tradition are taken at face value for presentation in this dissertation.



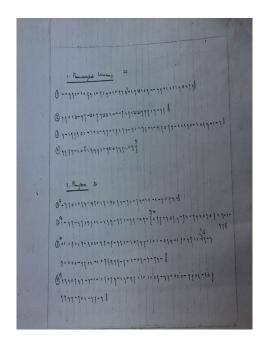


Figure 5. The Notation Available in Tangkas. Photograph by the Author.

Two-way Perspective

The obstacles I confronted during my field research helped me to realize that, on the one hand, being a cultural insider does not mean that one knows everything about one's own culture. On the other hand, it is easy to feel that one has absolute knowledge of one's own culture because one is immersed in it and practices it all the time. But this is practical: If one asks a random Balinese to explain what s/he is doing in a certain ritual or asks about the significance of certain symbols within the ritual, often s/he (and probably most Balinese) will be unable to explain. Balinese are typically "passive followers" of their rituals. They practice what they have learned through copying their elders, and therefore they do not (consciously) understand the meanings of what are they doing,

¹ According to Gede Tapa, this notation is a direct translation from the actual notation on *lontar* (the palm leaf manuscipt) made by the late Mangku Ranten. It was transnotated by Tilman Seebas from Switzerland (Tapa p.c. 15/08/10).

although they feel the essence of it. As Edward Hall states, "Culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (1990:29). Only certain people completely understand the meaning behind the culture. They are the priests and the head of the village that alone have access to, and are responsible for learning, the knowledge and religious thought behind the rituals and village rules. This is because they are both spiritual and social leaders who guide their participants in reaching their intended goals. However, based on my experience as a Balinese person, neither the understanding nor the values are truly absent for the average person—it is only the ability to explicitly describe them.

I became aware of this issue partly after having lived and studied in Vancouver. I was exposed to a foreign culture and had to engage with a completely different system of learning. The most important thing that I learned is how the experience applies to understanding my own culture. As Hall also states, "Years of study have convinced me that the real job is not to understand foreign culture but to understand our own. I am also convinced that all that one ever gets from studying foreign culture is a token understanding. The ultimate reason for such study is to learn more about how one's own system works. The best reason for exposing oneself to foreign ways is to generate a sense of vitality and awareness—an interest in life which can come only when one lives through the shock of contrast and difference" (1990: 29-30).

I found my experiences of staying away from my hometown and the difficulties in doing my field research to be part of a process of growth. "You can only see your house clearly from the outside" is a quote from my father that shapes my way of thinking socially, religiously, and academically. This advice suggests that we should remain

humble and careful in all activities. Humans are born with limitations and will never be able to judge themselves the same way that somebody else can. You cannot see yourself from the "inside." This philosophical understanding provides an effective tool for looking at issues from outside perspectives, and comparing them with inside ones. It provides the wisdom needed to resolve many kinds of problems.

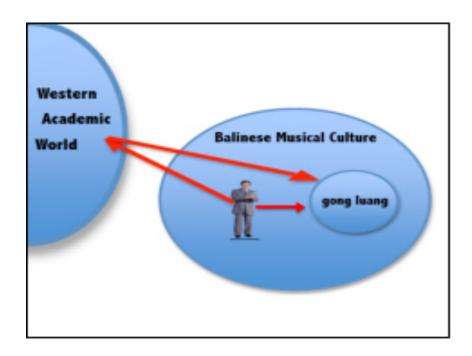


Figure 6. Two-way Perspective: The Location of the Author in Researching *Gong Luang*.

Figure 6 is an illustration of how I place myself in doing this research. I am a Balinese who was born and raised in a traditional setting of Balinese culture. Although *gong luang* is part of Balinese culture, I am not part of the *gong luang* tradition because it belongs to a social group different from my own. In studying *gong luang*, I benefit from the advantage of being Balinese and a musician who was trained in a village and (Indonesian) national academic setting. At the same time, I apply methods I learned by

studying in the Western academic world. By combining these viewpoints I utilize a new perspective—one that I call a "two-way perspective"—that embraces Balinese indigenous knowledge and adopts ethnomusicological tools in researching and analyzing the religious, social, and musical context of *gong luang*.

Chapter 1 Art as Offering

Maya does not mean that the world is an illusion. The illusion merely lies in our point of view, if we think that the shapes and structures, things and events, around us are realities of nature, instead of realizing that they are concepts of our measuring and categorizing minds. Maya is the illusion of taking these concepts for reality, of confusing the map with the territory. (Capra 2010: 88)

In Hindu mythology the world in which we exist is interpreted as a stage for the divine play of the Gods, and the visible world is an illusion, or *maya*. However, the illusion exists because of our restricted point of view, which causes us to mistakenly take it for reality. Life after death is the real "truth." The world is created by the self-sacrifice of God—God becomes the world and in the end all returns to God. From a Hindu perspective, all of God's creation is beautiful and artistic, meaning that it is a product with value and significance for every being. "Art" permeates all of God's creativity, and, because the creative act is sacred, art is inherently intertwined with sacrificial action. In fact, "sacrifice" means "making-sacred," and God's self-sacrifice in the form of creating the world as an artistic object is an act of sacredness.

This chapter explores the meaning of art and its interconnectedness with sacred ritual and daily life from my particular Balinese point of view. I assert that these concepts —art, ritual, life, sacredness—are understood in essentially the same way by all Balinese. I further explore the difficulty of distinguishing between art and ritual action. The English language's many categories, and certain traditions of scholarship, make distinctions between art, life, and the sacred which do not make sense from my perspective; in this chapter the use of these terms must be understood with this cultural and linguistic

problem in mind.

A concept of professional art has become part of contemporary Balinese life, as new official and touristic contexts for performance arose over the past century. This led to efforts by Balinese authorities to explicitly define three levels of sacredness in art, especially the performing arts—mistakenly, in my opinion. These were formulated at a 1971 government seminar and published in a paper subsequently, whereupon they were adopted as guidelines. I question the belief that these categories are practical. To support my contention, I examine the categories' impact on the development of the performing arts in the decades since then. I explore the emergence of the classification system, and also discuss critiques and comments by scholars, both Western and Balinese, concerning the classification of arts as sacred or profane.

I argue that all activities in Balinese society involve art, and that all artistic actions are sacred. Yet some kinds of distinctions are clearly necessary. In my view, levels of sacredness are best measured in relation to the traditional concepts of *desa* (place), *kala* (time), *patra* (situation). Thus it is not the arts themselves that range in sacredness, but rather the circumstances of their performance.

Offerings and Performances

Offerings in Bali are called *banten* and are symbolic sacrifices to the Supreme Being. They are usually in the form of a combination of food, flowers, and Chinese coins² arranged on a woven palm leaf vessel or carved wooden structure. The most

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² Bali has a long historical connection with China. Trading was the main reason of this relationship. The use of Chinese coins was part of the cross-cultural marriage between a Balinese King, Sri Maharaja Aji Jayapangus with a Chinese princess, Kang Cin Wie, in the year 12 A.D.

common banten, which is frequently seen at temple ceremonies, is a tall pyramid-like assembly of various kinds of food, fruits, and flowers placed on a carved wooden base arranged in accordance with particular symbolic meanings and traditional aesthetics. Philosophically banten are gifts—a medium for giving something back to the Gods. This gift is created in gratitude to the Gods, and to persuade evil spirits not to disturb the harmony of life.

Banten also function to unite communities. The process of making the banten is communal work (gotong royong) and the larger banten that are taken to the local community temple are created in a communal setting with many hands involved in their construction. The communal nature of their construction strengthens the community's sense of belonging.³ The essence of *banten*, in this respect, is a form of social bond.

Almost every kind of religious ceremony also requires the presence of the performing arts. There are many genres of the performing arts that meet different ritual needs. For example, there are performances for welcoming and pleasing the deities and ancestors during ceremonies (pendet, rejang, baris gede), for purifying the community spiritual environments from evil spirits (calonarang, sanghyang, barong), for completing the rituals (gambuh, topeng pajegan), for remembering the philosophical knowledge provided in the *lontar* or holy texts (wayang kulit, wayang wong), for the journeying of the spirits (gambang, gong luang), and so on. 4 "Parts of every festival ceremony must be

Based on the story, Kang Cin Wie asked the King Javapangus to have Chinese coins to be part of all rituals in Bali. This tradition has been practiced until today.

³ See more about Balinese offerings in Dibia 1985 and Eiseman 1990.

⁴ It is very important to stress that there is no division between dance/dance drama and music. In exploring the Balinese performing arts, one has to look at the interrelationship between music and dance/dance drama, and at the same time not ignore its social and cultural contexts. As John Blacking states in his study on the performing arts: "the performing arts cannot be understood without referring to their social and functions" (1979: xiv). Thus dance, drama, and music are

accomplished through music, dance, and other performing arts" (Dibia 1995: 65). In this respect, the performing arts have the same essence as the *banten*. Sacrificial offerings and ritual performances are primarily presentations to the Gods, ancestors, and spirits (Dibia 1995: 65; Swasti Widjaya Bandem 2007: 281-82).

In social life the performing arts are also philosophically understood as a representation of advanced community cooperation. The creation of intricate performances is analogous to the creation of intricate offerings. Both are created in a communal setting and are part of the obligations of *gotong royong*. The musicians and dancers understand that they are not merely dancing or playing music for their own satisfaction, but performing a devotional act based upon their beliefs. In establishing this they are working collectively in reaching one goal: the completion of the ritual.

Arts, Ritual, and Life

A popular claim arose among Westerners since the 1920s: "every Balinese is an artist." The Mexican-American anthropologist Miguel Covarubias states: "everybody in Bali seems to be an artist" (1937:160).⁵ And Geoffrey Gorer in 1936 also states: "the Balinese may be described as a nation of artists" (Gorer in Lansing 1995: 49). Additionally, Margaret Mead describes the environments of village life in Bali:

....the air was never empty of music, even in the small hours before dawn, and it was not

intertwined and an integral part of social events. This is also the case in everyday Balinese experience, ranging from sacred temple ceremonies to commercial shows for foreign tourists (Sanger 1992: 15). Although there are genres that are exclusively performed as instrumental music, such as *gambang*, *gong luang*, and other ritual-instrumental genres, the interrelation between dance and music is of prime importance in Bali. See also detailed exploration on dance and music genres in Bali in McPhee 1966, de Zoete and Spies 1973, and Bandem and deBoer

1980.

⁵ Covarubias wrote that "coolies and prices, priests and peasants, men and women alike, can dance, play musical instruments, or carve in wood and stone" (1937: 160).

mere woodland piping but complicated orchestral music that bore witness to many hours of concentrated rehearsal. Upon the hundreds of stone altars of Bali, there lay not merely a fruit and a flower, but hundreds of finely wrought and elaborately conceived offerings made of palm leaf and flowers, twisted, folded, stitched, embroidered, brocaded into myriad traditional forms and fancies-----Their lives were packed with intricate and formal delights." (1970: 335-347)

Today many Western writers continue to have the same view on the Balinese life and people: "The Balinese are a celebratory people with high aesthetic tastes, and art in its many forms is essential to them. On this island, beauty is a sacred form of worship" (Rajiv 2012). These statements result from witnessing religious or social events, and/or everyday life of the Balinese in which all members of the community create "artistic products." Such products range from sophisticated works to simple offerings and can be seen at grand ceremonies and royal family houses, the front gate of common Balinese compounds, or at the corner of the road. For outsiders who see "art" as a separate category, all of these things suggest that "art" is everywhere and Balinese are "artists."

Yet traditionally there has been no single word that refers to "art" or "artist" in the Balinese language (Covarubias 1937: 162; Ramsmeyer 1977: 13; Picard 1990: 45; Sanger 1992: 18; Ramstedt 1992: 59). Today the common Indonesian words *seni* and *seniman* are equivalent to "art" and "artist," but my focus is on the traditional Balinese usage. Balinese terms exist that describe these activities, but none suggest "art" in the Indonesian or English sense. The person who creates "art" is simply called *juru* or *tukang*, words that are close in meaning to artisan, craftsman, or skilled worker. Perhaps the most accurate translation might be "artisan," however the term "artisan" is not used in English vernacular speech as widely as *tukang* or *juru* are used in Bali.

Traditionally *juru* also connotes specialist, while *tukang* is closer to "worker," although in modern usage there is almost no difference between them. There are offering

specialists (*juru banten*), dance or music specialists (*juru igel* or *juru gambel*), and so on. *Tukang* may be carpenters (*tukang kayu*), stone masons (*tukang batu*), sculptors (*tukang patung*), painters (*tukang gambar*), and so on.

The *tukang* is usually associated with manual labor in which they get paid for their work, while the *juru* have special prestige. Since *juru* do not necessarily make money from their specialty, they also have additional professions that provide their main source of income. A dance instructor (*juru igel*) may be a respected dance teacher and also sell food in the market. Neither of these words corresponds to the word "artist."

The sense of the word "art" that I want to establish is best described philosophically as "beauty." According to Balinese belief, beauty is achieved through balance—the balance of the basic ingredients of daily activities, work, and objects. The source of beauty is the threefold unity of *bayu*, *sabda*, and *idep*. *Bayu* is the wind—the breath that gives humans energy for their activities. *Sabda* is the expression of *idep* (thought or perception). The goal is to achieve an efficacious relationship with the world by maintaining a standard of beauty: the harmony.

Beauty, balance, and harmony are the essence of daily activities and the goal of Balinese rituals. In fact, the Balinese spend most of their time creating rituals and ceremonies. Stephen Davies's article about Balinese aesthetics observes, "The arts are the lifeblood and pulse of community existence, not merely an accompaniment" (2007: 27). Indeed, art is produced out of the most basic necessities in daily life, and is painstakingly elaborated. As Mead's earlier statement suggested, simple everyday offerings are made of intricately interwoven palm leaves and decorated with different types of flower in different colors, and with at least three different types of food. The traditional kitchen

utensils—i.e., knife, wooden spoon, traditional water jar, etc.—are usually carved and/or painted. Music, dance, and drama are intertwined, intensively rehearsed and memorized, and elaborated for the sake of devotional acts. At a deeper level all these different kinds of activities are equivalent regardless of their level of sophistication.

In Balinese religion art is part of what is called *yadnya*. That is, an act of worship or devotion or sacrifice, an offering, obligatory for each member of every temple community (Ramstedt 1992: 59). For instance, cooking is considered *yadnya*. Even when preparing simple white rice for daily food, a symbol of nature such as *saur* (dried coconut and spices), *uyah* (salt), a cup of water, and interwoven leaves has to be prepared to complete the *yadnya*. *Yadnya* are performed not merely as inconsequential everyday acts, but as actions with many different purposes, e.g., religious obligations, satisfaction of spiritual or emotional needs, strengthening of social bonds, demonstration of respect, moral education, and so on. It is the action of producing food with symbolic value—more complicated than preparing it only for consumption—that makes the process of making the food and its result an art. After the food has been made, an offering has to be made and presented to Dewi Sri, the God of fertility, and to ancestors before the food is served to family members. This is a ritual, and at the same time it is an artistic action.

Although Balinese think of the act of producing art as an offering or gesture, it is also something from which they derive joy or pleasure. This way of thinking is philosophically rich. Joy and pleasure are derived from offering the products of creative processes to their Gods, friends, spirits, and themselves. Art is not intended merely for human satisfaction and its audience is not comprised of only humans, but ancestors, Gods, and demons are the invisible and attentive spectators of artistic products as well.

The amount of satisfaction that both the producers and consumers of the artistic product enjoy also depends on how much effort is expended in the creative process.

This close relationship between art and life gives the impression that traditional art in Bali is functional rather than contemplative. As Stephen Davies said, "Art is essential to the rites of passage that direct individuals from birth to death and reincarnation" (2007: 28). Functional art is needed for rituals, its creation is a social obligation, and it has direct purpose. In this way Balinese traditional arts such as music, dance, painting, and sculpture are utilitarian actions that are created and presented with specific rationale.

This characteristic of traditional art can be compared to the idea of art for art's sake. This approach is contemplative and may involve criticism—it does not tie in to an external function (context). The artistic products created for rituals or for daily life are often similarly evaluated and compared in the minds of the people. Critical judgments are also expressed by individuals for their own satisfaction and to improve the value of particular products, or in such way as to create certain feelings. For example, on a contemplative level when the carving at the temple satisfies most of the villagers' aesthetic sense, it also functions to create a "magnetic aura" that helps them to be more focused while the prayers are made. If it does not satisfy the villagers' aesthetic sense, it will disturb people's thought, and that might lead to social disharmony. Therefore, to borrow Agawu's statement about African music, "the distinction between functional and contemplative is deeply problematic" (2003: 98). Like African art, traditional Balinese art is both. There is nothing like art just for art's sake. It must be approached at two levels: its socio-cultural context, and its relation to aesthetic sense.

Two Classifications

This section presents two classification systems: 1) *desa, kala, patra*; and 2) *wali, bebali, balih-balihan. Desa, kala, patra* is a set of indigenous categories that helps Balinese to regulate actions in everyday experience. *Wali, bebali, balih-balihan* is a recent categorization system that was formulated by the government to protect sacred performing arts from the impact of tourism.

All activities and decisions in Balinese life are based upon the concept of *desa* (space), *kala* (time), and *patra* (situation). It is an indigenous value system and a universal approach to regulating behavior. It is part of Balinese socialization, but it is not discussed, taught, or specifically thought of as an authoritative doctrine. It is practiced in the daily life of the people. For the Balinese, to think about *desa*, *kala*, and *patra* in relation to a given activity means to select the appropriate place, time, and situation to do it. For example, every Balinese ritual has to be held in a right place (*desa*) in relation to its function. It has to be at the right time (*kala*) according to the two Balinese calendar systems (Caka and Pawukon Calendars). The ritual will also have a certain size and significance (particular situation, i.e., *patra*), which may affect the number of offerings needed, who is going to lead it (high or lay priest), and who will attend (the whole community or a family or individual).

Desa, *kala*, *patra* is also an essential concept for Balinese artists. It has served as a basic foundation for all artistic activities, including the creative process and the artistic product itself (choreography, composition, drawing, carving, etc.). Edward Herbst states:

The concept of *desa kala patra* is essential to Balinese artists and is discussed in a philosophical way or in a very direct and practical manner just before beginning a performance. It is a way of putting human activity into the context of the world and nature; a way of interacting with forces greater than the human. *Desa kala patra* gives a "sense of place" on both a social and a metaphysical level. Basically, if something is not

in keeping with *desa kala patra*, it is out of context, either socially, spiritually, or ecologically. *Desa kala patra* is where things come from, where meaning and life-forces are manifested. It is also applied to ethics and civil behavior, such as the use of everyday language to reflect status. (1997: 1)

Artists are always seeking a perspective of place (where does the performance takes place?), time (when is it held?), and situation (what is it for? what is the rationale and philosophical context behind it?). Without this they are out of social, spiritual, and ecological context. *Desa, kala, patra* is a key motivation for artists and inspires spontaneity, creativity, and variation (Herbst 1997: 95).

In practice, any kind of traditional performing arts at any performance site, regardless of its levels of sacredness, is acceptable as long as it makes sense in terms of desa, kala, patra. A temple dance may be performed at a hotel for tourists. Its musical or dance forms are usually maintained, but some elements that would be acceptable only in a temple and not a hotel—such as spiritually powerful headdresses, masks, and some ritual offerings—are omitted. Musicians and dancers may also prepare themselves differently. When they perform at the temple, they have to be spiritually "clean," for example, there must not have been a death in the family or a female dancer must not be menstruating. But when they perform at a hotel, they do not need to worry about being "clean." This shows that any artistic (and non-artistic) activity in Balinese culture is flexible. That is, it follows the sense of place, time, and situation. If everything is in agreement with the context, the balance is achieved.

In addition, most Balinese believe that nothing will harm their culture if they are open-minded and selective of foreign influences, while at the same time continuously

practicing their religion. Many say, "If we can keep our religion, our cultural heritage is safe. But, if our religion dies, our culture will die, too."

In contrast, some Balinese authorities have been concerned about the deterioration of the level of sacredness of performing arts and sacred ceremonies. The development of the tourism industry, supported by the central government of Indonesia, is the main reason. Many tourism agencies attract tourists by providing a travel package to see "real" rituals. Some tourists also tend to want a closer look at indigenous life and ceremonies. In effect this can cause disruption to the sanctity of the ceremony. On the one hand, tourists often enter the temple area without proper clothes and may not behave in accordance with the Balinese customary norms by sitting or climbing on shrines, photographing at inappropriate moments, etc. On the other hand, the Balinese traditional tendency to not criticize the behavior of others is also a problem. The Balinese are reluctant to tell tourists to behave or dress properly at ceremonies because the tourists are considered guests. This problem was seen by the government officials, and it became their main concern. In addition, at the request of tour guides, some Balinese would do performaces involving trance that were supposed to be done at the inner temple courtyard, such as sanghayang and calonarang, and would use important heirlooms in a touristic context. These performances were often held at the inappropriate place, time, and situation.

After 1965 authorities saw a need to establish a policy that helped to protect these performing arts. Some of the important figures at that time were I Gusti Nyoman Pandji, I Gusti Agung Gde Putra, I Ketut Ginarsa, I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, and Ida Pedanda Putra Kemenuh. Some of them were officials of the Balinese Office of the Department of

⁶ I have heard this a lot in conversation or debate with my friends and colleagues about the continuation of our culture. I personally feel this way, too.

Education and Culture (Kanwil Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali), and also scholars and experts of arts, culture, and religion. They used their power as government officials, as well as knowledge gleaned from study at universities outside of Bali, to achieve their objectives.

In response to this concern, The Balinese Art Council (Listibya) held a seminar called *Seminar Seni Sakral dan Seni Profan Bidang Tari* (The seminar of sacred and profane arts in the field of dance) in March of 1971. They gathered Balinese officials and intellectuals to discuss the issue of performing arts in new contexts like the tourism market. For the first time they developed a system of categorization that would define which dances could and could not be performed for tourist audiences.⁷ This was an unprecedented attempt to separate the sacred from the profane, because the Balinese authorities would not tolerate confusion between ritual and entertainment. The conclusion of the seminar was the establishment of three categories:

- (1) The *wali* dances (sacred, religious dances), which are performed in the inner courtyard of a temple or any other premises where a ceremony is being held, and which are an integral part of the ceremonial proceedings. These are generally devoid of narrative elements, such as in the dances *pendet*, *rejang*, *baris gede*, and *sanghyang*.
- (2) The *bebali* dances (ceremonial dances), which are performed in the middle courtyard of a temple or elsewhere, and which are only an accompaniment to the ceremony. These include narrative elements such as in the *wayang*, *topeng*, *gambuh*, and other genres which derive from these.
- (3) The *balih-balihan* dances (secular dances), which are performed in the outer courtyard of a temple or anywhere else, as entertainment, independently of any ceremonial context, and which do not belong to the *wali* of *bebali* categories.⁸

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⁷ Detailed exploration is found in Picard 1990; see also Sanger 1992, Ramstedt 1992, Bandem and deBoer 1980, Gold 2005, and Swasti Widjaya Bandem 2007.

⁸ The explanation of the meaning of *wali*, *bebali*, and *balih-balihan* is taken from Picard 1990: 66. This explanation is a direct translation of the original conclusion of the seminar, "Keputusan Seminar Seni Sakral dan Seni Profan Bidan Tari," p. 2.

Subsequently this classification system was adopted as a guideline for performing arts presented to tourists. Since that time every performing group, before being officially allowed to perform for tourists, has to be judged by government officials in order to receive a certificate of *pramana patrem budaya*. Holding this certificate means that the group understands the regulation and will comply with the *wali, bebali, balih-balihan* classification.

Ambiguity

The 1971 classification rigidly divides the performing arts into three categories, making a clear boundary between them in terms of their levels of sacredness. There are five aspects that determine these boundaries: performance sites, function, direct involvement of trance, use of consecrated objects, and audiences. Sacred and religious dances are *wali*. They are performed at the inner courtyard of the temple or a place where the ceremony is held, are an integral part of the ceremony, often involve trance and consecrated objects, and their intended audiences are Gods. *Bebali*, performed at the middle courtyard of the temple, are ceremonial dances that function as accompaniment to the ceremony, and their audiences could be both Gods and human. *Balih-balihan* are purely entertainment, performed at the outer courtyard of the temple, and have no direct relationship to the ceremony.

In reality, however, the implementation of the five aspects in relation to the 1971 classification system often creates ambiguity and confusion. There are performing arts that might fit in all of the categories. For example, consider the performance of *calonarang* dance drama. Based upon the 1971 classification, *calonarang* falls in the

bebali category. But this performance involves trance, uses consecrated accessories, is often performed at the outer courtyard of the temple, and serves as entertainment for both deities and humans. Thus, calonarang could also fit into the other two categories, wali and balih-balihan. In fact, the Balinese would never differentiate the performance of calonarang from one context to another as a separate category.

The difference between *wali* and *bebali* is vague. Sacred and religious dances are always related to ceremonies. Ceremonial dances are sacred and part of religious events. The 1971 classification system differentiates *wali* as an integral part of the ceremony that does not have a narrative element, and *bebali* as an accompaniment to the ceremony that includes narrative elements. This is confusing for the Balinese because both are sacred and part of the ceremony. For example, the performance of *topeng pajegan*, a ceremonial mask dance, is classified as *bebali* because it includes a narrative element and it functions as an accompaniment to the ceremony. However, many ceremonies will not be considered complete without this performance of *topeng pajegan*. It is not merely an accompaniment but indeed functions as an integral part of the ceremony (*wali*). Furthermore, one could also argue that *topeng pajegan* is *balih-balihan* because the villagers often pay attention to the performance. This is because the narrative element also contains advice on behavior and religious thought. But *balih-balihan* like *topeng pajegan* could also be seen as part of the ceremony.

Following the seminar there was much discussion about which kinds of performances fit into which categories. In 1973 the governor of Bali, Brigjen Purnawirawan Soekarmen, issued a decree that prohibited commercialized forms of *wali*

dances. Ritual dances like *pendet, rejang, baris gede,* and *sanghyang* were not to be staged as tourist attractions. However, this decree was felt to be unclear since tourists are allowed to watch the performances of these sacred dances whenever they were performed at a ceremony. Furthermore, the regular tourist performances in Ubud village were continually including the *pendet* or *rejang* as part of the program. Although *pendet* and *rejang* are part of ritual (*wali*), they are nowadays also generally considered by the Balinese as an entertainment (*balih-balihan*).

Certain dances such as *sanghyang* involve trance and use spiritually powerful headdresses and ritual offerings, which would seem to fit in the *wali* and *bebali* categories. However, the regular tourist performances of *kecak*, the monkey dance called "Kecak Fire and Angel Dance" at Bona Village which were already taking place daily in the 1970s, are considered *bali-balihan* and also use these objects. The musicians and dancers were afraid to not include them because of their belief that the performances could be spiritually dangerous if they didn't.

In 1982 I Gusti Agung Gde Putra intended to further clarify the matter (1982: 3). He proposed that *wali* dances are those for which purifications for the performers including all costumes and props are essential prior to the performance. But this did not help much, either. The Balinese are not able to distinguish between the ritual and dramatic dimensions of any performance, including commercial ones. The performers feel that the purification of their costumes and props have to be done prior to every performance in any context. Some continue to use consecrated accessories because they believe that it will help to make the performance alive (ie., give it *taksu*, power or

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⁹ SK Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi Bali No.2/Kesra. II/d/26/1973 tentang Pelarangan Pergelaran Tari- tarian Wali/Tarian Upacara untuk Turis dan secara umum.

charisma). As a result, some ritual offerings still have to be presented in order to prevent the negative impact from the use of the consecrated accessories. Considering this issue, the only distinction between ritual dances (*wali*) and commercial dances (*balih-balihan*) is the ceremonial context and the performance site.

Criticism

Balinese understanding of the functions of each performing art often differs from one village to another. Balinese do not rely on the 1971 classification system in deciding where, when, and how performances are appropriate. If one asks the Balinese how to place their performing art within this system, their answer will probably be simply "I don't know." As Dewa Ketut Alit, an influential modern musician, states, "the labels wali, bebali, balih-balihan are foreign terms (istilah asing) for non-educated Balinese musicians. No one [musicians] in my village knows what they mean, and how to put them in the context of performing arts and ritual" (Alit p.c. 24/04/12).

Alit's statement is not merely critical. It also reveals his concern for Balinese tradition. His intention, based upon my full interview with him, is to give an appropriate understanding to non-Balinese who want to study Balinese culture. I also view this classification as misleading and feel it has led to further problems. For example, one prominent book written by I Made Bandem and Fredrik Eugene deBoer (1995) presents Balinese dances based upon the 1971 classification system, but also links them to the indigenous spatial classification of *kaja* ("mountainward") and *kelod* ("seaward"). *Kaja* and *kelod* orients spatial placement of ritual objects and performers in Balinese ceremonies. *Kaja* is the direction of the sacred, the divine, or the good, and *kelod* is the

demonic or the chthonian or the evil (1995: VIII). While most dances are naturally bound to a ceremonial occasion but do not equally have the same function in relation to the ceremony, the combination of *kaja* and *kelod* concept with the 1971 system created more confusion. Writings by I Wayan Dibia (1985), Widjaya Bandem (2007), and many other Balinese scholars also exclusively used or quoted the 1971 document.

Western scholars like Ramstedt (1992), Picard (1995), MacGraw (1995), Herbst (1997), Tenzer (2000), Harnish (2005), Gold (2005), and others have examined the 1971 clasification system and provided critiques from many different angles. However, most of the critiques are merely a descriptive examination or evaluation of the historical context or fact of what happened in Balinese performing arts in relationship to their understanding of tradition. But there are almost no proposed solutions as a result of such explorations.

Edward Herbst wrote, "it [the 1971 classification system] generally defines sacredness spatially and functionally and not in terms of the process itself, leaving the scholars and officials to judge each situation by different criteria and somewhat arbitrarily.....a description of several performance situations may suggest the range of ambiguity" (1997: 129). Similar judgment is also provided by Michael Tenzer: "Difficulty in distinguishing between sacred and secular versions of the same theatrical performance exposes the limited utility of the *wali, bebali, balih-balihan* classification, for in the current climate nearly anything can be rendered acceptable for tourist presentation" (2000: 98). And Lisa Gold states that "scholars have observed some problems with this simplistic distinction....... the distinction between *wali* and *bebali* is similarly problematic" (2005: 17-27).

Initially, as stated, the 1971 classification system attempted to make useful distinctions and limitations, and to protect traditional performing arts from the strong influence of tourism. This is a noble goal, and it should not be argued against in its imperfect realization. However, the use of foreign terminologies — i.e., *sakral* (sacred) and *profan* (profane) — that are not understood by the Balinese is at the root of the problem. Although this is thought to be acceptable since there is a lack of indigenous terms in Balinese to describe sacred or profane, it creates confusion upon implementation. The degree of ambiguity results from the clear division between sacred and profane in English, where traditionally for Balinese such a division does not exist.

Picard describes in detail how this category was proclaimed, debated, authorized, and called into question.

They [the Balinese authorities and scholars] readily confessed their embarrassment when asked to separate the sacred from the profane in matters pertaining to dance. This difficulty is not merely surprising, bearing in mind that the Balinese language does not have at its disposal the terminology which would permit its speakers to articulate the opposition between these two concepts. (1990: 63)

How can we conclude something that is not confusing out of "confusion"? Picard also commented on a decree of the Governor of Bali:

.....wali dances should not have been deliberately staged as a tourist attraction. With regard to the *bebali* dances, the decree remained ambiguous, because though not expressly forbidding their presentation to the tourists, it nevertheless reserved those dances to their ceremonial context. Such imprecision is indicative of the conceptual problems raised by the 1971 classification, confirmed by the avowed incapacity of the Balinese authorities to enforce the new regulation. (1990: 68)

The prohibition declared in the Governor's decree was not followed in society because the religious significance of performing arts depends on context, not on type. Today the 1971 classification system is still part of the curriculum at the main governmental art institution.¹⁰

Continuum of Sacredness

If the 1971 scheme was received with confusion, we can still understand what its authors were trying to do. In practice, the given labels of *wali, bebali, balih-balihan* have not been widely used by modern Balinese in their social and religious life. One should also take into consideration that the function of the performing arts varies from one village to the other. Each village has its own way to undertake rituals. It is based upon *desa mawacara*, the unwritten rules and procedures of religious and social activities that are well understood and communally agreed upon within one village. Thus, the 1971 classification system might fit for one village but not for another.

In my opinion the system is too rigid. It rejects the flexible continuum inherent in Balinese performance forms, and requires dividing up a semantic field as well as applying labels (Harnish 2005: 109-10). Instead of providing such a rigid and blurred classification, it is better to bring back the natural function and traditional conception of the performing arts based upon *desa*, *kala*, *patra* and *desa mawacara*. That is to say, we must continuously apply the concept of place, time, and situation (*desa*, *kala*, *patra*), and follow the oral rules and procedures for religious and social practices within each village (*desa mawacara*).

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¹⁰ This is based upon my experience as a student at ISI Denpasar (the art institute of Bali), where the teachers told me that there are three categories of performing art in Balinese music and dance (*wali, bebali, balih-balihan*), and this was taught to the students without giving any clear historical or contextual background and explanation about the category. Most students thought that this category is *the* category of the Balinese performing art.

Instead of the strong division established in the 1971 classification system, I propose a continuum of sacredness. The level of sacredness of the performing arts varies when it is measured by *desa*, *kala*, *patra* and *desa mawacara*. This continuum can be seen as a horizontal line in which the left side is less sacred than the right. In Figure 7, the three horizontal lines are marked with different kinds of performance contexts—the most sacred ones on the right and the least sacred on the left. The top line shows five different performance sites (*desa*). The middle and bottom lines show examples of two performing arts (*topeng* on the middle line, and *gong luang* on the bottom) and their time (*kala*), situation (*patra*), and additional specification of place (*desa*) within one of the five sites on the top line.

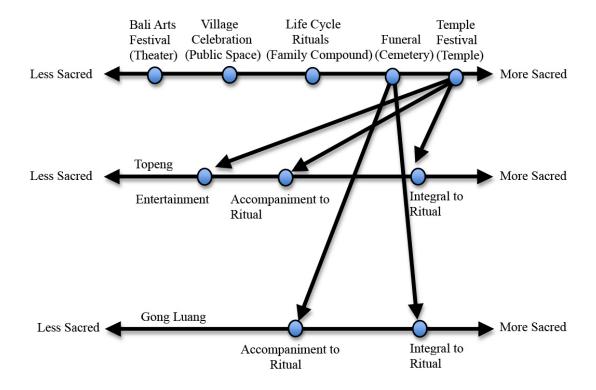


Figure 7. Sacred Continuum: *Topeng* and *Gong Luang*.

Topeng performed at a temple festival (top line) is the most sacred compared to performances held at the four other sites shown (funeral, life cycle rituals, village celebration, and Bali Arts Festival). However, within the temple festival there are three further levels of sacredness that must be considered (see the middle line). When topeng functions as an integral part of the ritual it uses sacred masks and is performed at the inner, most sacred courtyard of the temple. When it is an accompaniment to ritual it sometimes uses sacred masks. This performance could either be held at the inner or middle courtyard of the temple. When it functions as entertainment, it does not use sacred masks and takes place outside of the temple.

Unlike *topeng*, the performance of *gong luang* for funerals has only two further levels of sacredness (see the bottom line), because it is never used for entertainment. When *gong luang* functions as an integral part of ritual, it is played while the priest performs the rituals, right at the ceremonial pavilion. When it functions as an accompaniment to ritual it has no specific relationship to the ritual and is played elsewhere (see a more detailed exploration in chapter two).

Concluding Thoughts

The Capra explanation of the Hindu concept of *maya* cited at the beginning of the chapter is an outsider's interpretation, based on an important distinction made in Western phenomenology (Capra 2010: 88). The distinction is between the objective world that exists, and the phenomenal world which is the world created in the mind of someone perceiving the objective world. In phenomenology, art and beauty do not exist in the objective world, only in the minds of those who perceive it. This is the world of

chair, it is not a chair that is there, it is just an object. The chair is an identity we project onto the object from the structures in our mind. This identity emerges from categories with prototypes that are intentional: they only exist in the mind. If we see a flower, it has qualities. Some of these qualities are fairly close to reality, such as shape or color. These are relatively objective—color is qualia, but even this relates fairly directly to actual light frequencies, even though translated into subjective biological interpretation, and we can still grant it a limited objectivity. What is not objective is beauty. Beauty is not an objective property like shape or color or form. Beauty exists only in the mind and is thus an intentional property. Such is art. In phenomenology, music and art exist only in the mind, only in the illusion. In the purely objective world, because it is conceived of as existing independently of any observing mind, there is no art, beauty, or music. These are illusions.

It is interesting to compare this explanation of *maya* to one drawn from the Hindu faith. The Balinese Hindu version of objective reality is not so materialistic. There is an afterlife, there is mind beyond the human mind, and there is the place where God sacrifices himself to become the world. So the universe is intelligent, and there is intentionality beyond each person's limited individual *maya*. There is thus a place for art, music, and beauty beyond the phenomenal experiences of the human mind, beyond human intentionality. This transcendence realm is the locus of the sacred. So in phenomenology, *maya* is the only locus of art or beauty. It only exists in individual human minds (or inter-subjectively) in culture, and when we die it dies with us. In Hinduism, *maya* is the smallest reflection of a deeper art, a bigger mind, and a more

sacred unity of everything with beauty, and this sacred deeper ontology of the world never dies. This is a big difference between Western phenomenology and Balinese Hindu culture, even though both have a concept of illusion/maya.

The 1971 classification system and the indigenous concept of *desa, kala, patra* represent two different classification systems. One is based on performing genres and the other on context. They also represent two contrasting opinions: the authorities' and the villagers'. On the one hand, the government is concerned for the continuation of Balinese art and culture. The establishment of a modern classification system was intended to protect the performing arts from negative influences. On the other hand, the villagers also believe that applying *desa, kala, patra* in social and religious activities will protect Balinese art and culture. Both systems have the same purpose and both groups feel the same sense of responsibility. As a Balinese I understand the government's intention, but I think it would have been better to consider the social and religious practices in the context of place, time, and situation in establishing a new policy.

The example of "Sacred Continuum" is a model based upon indigenous concepts that views the levels of sacredness of performing arts from wider and narrower perspectives using *desa*, *kala*, *patra*. A wider view is when we look at a performing art in the context of two or more ceremonies. A performing art that is considered very sacred in one ceremony could also be less sacred in the other. A narrower point of view looks at a performing art in one ceremony, and also considers *desa mawacara*. A less-sacred performing art could also be considered more sacred if it is performed in a different context within one ceremony. These relationships are well understood by the Balinese in each village, and have been part of social and religious activities for generations.

There is no place in the "Sacred Continuum" for the idea of secular performing arts. The performing arts are simply sacred. Offerings are always made at every performance regardless of the ritual context. For example, consider a performance at the Bali Arts Festival. Offerings are not only given prior, during, and after the performance. At the first rehearsal or even at the beginning of recruiting dancers and musicians, a good day is selected and a specific offering called banten nuasen is given to the God of music and dance, siwa nataraja. This functions as a spiritual foundation for the performing group. An offering called canang sari (small offering for the Gods) and segehan (sacrifice "food" for evil spirits) are offered prior to every regular rehearsal. This functions as protection and a means to spiritually ask permission to the Gods to start the rehearsal. On the day of the first performance, three larger offerings are presented: 1) the banten pejati and peras ajuman are offered at the temple to ask for safety and the success of the performance; 2) the banten pemelaspas and banten pasupati are offered to spiritually cleanse and bless the costumes, instruments, and other performance equipment in order to give charisma and strength (taksu) not just for the performers but also for all of the props; and 3) the banten mesakapan is offered to spiritually marry (unite) all elements of the performance—a unification of the inner soul between dancers, musicians, costumes, and instruments.

If we consider the performance of Balinese music and dance at the most non-traditional places, such as performances at hotels and restaurants, Balinese artists will still do the same ritual offerings. They will still pray to the God of music and dance for the spirit of *taksu*. Moreover, it would also be true for the performance of Balinese music and

dance by foreign performers in other countries,¹¹ directed by a Balinese teacher, which will still require similar rituals as mentioned earlier (although the offerings may be smaller) for their instruments, costumes, and performers prior to the performance.

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¹¹ Today there are many Balinese music and dance groups that originated at universities or non-profit Balinese music and dance organizations in America, Japan, and Europe.

Chapter 2 Place, Ritual, Function, and Change in *Gamelan Gong Luang*

What do people make of places? The question is as old as people and places themselves, as old as human attachments to portions of the earth. As old, perhaps, as the idea of home, of "our territory" as opposed to "their territory" of entire regions and local landscapes where groups of men and women have invested themselves (their thoughts, their values, their collective sensibilities) and to which they feel they belong. The question is as old as a strong sense of place—and the answer, if there is one, is every bit as complex. (Basso 1996: viii)

Sense of place is not innate, but it is usually sustained and unthinkingly taken for granted like fondness for certain colors or culinary taste. "Place has been presented as both concept and material reality, representing social and symbolic interrelations between people and their physical environment" (Cohen 1995: 444). These interrelations seem natural because places and humans are intertwined. In Balinese communities, place, life, and ritual are especially entangled because commonplace ritual actions reflect them. One's actions and beliefs are especially strongly connected to one's place of origin and the specific ritual practices associated with it. Wherever you are, you feel indelibly connected with your origin, and act accordingly. Most life activities of any significance—from eating, to performing, to building a new house, and more—require ritual preparation, and the specific ritual actions one does, even when living somewhere new, will always be governed by what one's family did at one's place of birth.

This chapter deals with the complexity of life, place, and ritual. The focus is on investigating the socio-cultural and religious context of *gong luang* in Seseh village of

Singapadu, Gianyar (central Bali). It examines the relationship between *gong luang* and two rituals: *ngaben* (Balinese funeral) and *odalan* (annual temple festival). It also explores the level of sacredness of *gong luang* performances in these two rituals using the Sacred Continuum model explained in chapter one. I append a description of the places where these rituals are held—the Balinese temple and traditional house compound—and of the *ngaben* and *odalan* rituals themselves. I mostly describe them from my own Balinese point of view, but in exploring the function of *gong luang* in *odalan* and *ngaben*, I also adopt the voices of my informants.

The current situation and the shifting function of *gong luang* in modern life are explored in the last section of the chapter. The place (*desa*), time (*kala*), and situation (*patra*) are the key points of such an exploration. Since most Balinese people are very attached to their cultural heritage, which has remained strong despite generations of foreign influence, they also remain open-minded about cultural influences from outsiders. They have accepted those that they thought could be assimilated into their own tradition. As the concept of tradition is always changing through time—based on the culture of its stakeholders—the function of *gong luang* is currently changing due to the shifting of the ensemble's social and religious functions during the past twenty years.

One vital aspect that I want to emphasize is that the data and perspectives presented in this chapter are partly inherited. They were consciously or unconsciously acquired through the process of my traditional education and upbringing. I spent the first twenty four years of my life in Bali and learned many of the practical and philosophical aspects of the religion from my parents, my own participation in countless religious

events, and at school where I spent over twelve years as a student.¹² Furthermore, as a Balinese, a musician, and now, a scholar who focuses on Balinese traditions, I intend this exploration as a deliberate effort to disentangle the vast passive knowledge of the tradition.¹³

A Brief History of Hinduism and Rituals in Bali

Balinese Hinduism is a blend of animism, ancestor worship, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Animism represents the belief that non-living objects and other elements of the natural landscape can possess souls, which can help as well as hinder human efforts on Earth. In other words, it is believed that nature is "power" and each element of nature is subject to influence from spirits. Ancestor worship derives from the belief that prosperity is associated with a relationship that exists between the living and the dead—prosperity is something that can only be achieved through intense worship and obtainment of blessings from ancestors. Therefore spirits and ancestors are treated with respect, and they are housed in a shrine and feted with offerings made from agricultural products. Hinduism and Buddhism were adopted later and became the source of the philosophical conception of the religion. These religions were initially brought to Bali by Hindu and Buddhist priests who traveled aboard Indian trade ships, and later in the early first millennium A.D. by Hindu and Buddhist priests of several Javanese Hindu kingdoms (Eiseman 1989: 11). A combined belief system began to develop more rapidly around

¹² The government school curriculum included Balinese religion.

¹³ Although the following description of Balinese religious culture is based on my experience as a Balinese, there have been scholarly traditions of writing about the topic in multiple languages (Indonesian, English, German, Dutch, etc). Only a few of these have been cited below. For a comprehensive listing of sources up to 1990, see David Stuart-Fox 1992.

eight hundred years ago, after the remnants of the Hindu Majapahit Empire were forced to retreat from Java to Bali by the encroaching influence of Islam.

Balinese follow a branch of Hinduism that owes much to Indian Hinduism, but is at the same time quite different. It is a combination of local Balinese belief systems and the *Veda*—the ancient Hindu texts originating in India. In other words, the theological foundation for the religion comes from Indian religious thought while indigenous beliefs form the central supporting part of the rituals. Although there is polytheism and a lack of Hindu holy books in Balinese religious practices, the blending between four belief systems is perfectly acceptable in Bali and becomes a special characteristic of Balinese Hinduism.

Despite the existence of polytheism and the lack of holy books, the Balinese believe that "the truth is one; the interpretation is multiple." There is only one God, but there are several ways to be connected with Him. This notion is a result of the establishment of the official organization of Hindu Bali, *Parisada Hindu Dharma*, in 1959, along with the standardization and normalization of Hindu practices in Bali, called Agama Hindu Bali, by the government of Indonesia (Bakker 1993: 230-1). This new conviction is also a fulfillment of a criteria of religion published by the Indonesian government expressed in the *Pancasila* (the "Five Principles" of the Indonesian state), namely, that religion has to have a belief in one God and have a holy book. It is a rationalized religion in which the relations of the systems of ritual and belief are not so thoroughly intertwined with the concrete details of ordinary life (Geertz 2000: 171). Before the announcement of this legitimized religion in Bali according to the criteria provided by the Indonesian government, several religious organizations such as the

Institute of Hindu Dharma Religion and Organization for Traditional Custom (*lembaga adat*) were formed to reconnect Balinese religious practices with Indian Hinduism. This work includes a careful attempt at interpreting the Balinese religious texts in such a way as to align them with the criteria provided by the government in establishing "Agama Hindu Bali."

Philosophically Balinese Hinduism is concerned with the equilibrium of the universe (*bhuana agung*) through a balance between an ordering force or positive energy personified by the Gods, or *dharma*, and the disordering force or negative energy that is personified by demons, or *adharma* (Eiseman 1989: 12). However, most Balinese Hinduism is concerned with *dharma*. It believes that *dharma* is organizing forces that maintain the order of the universe. *Dharma* organizes the relationship between various parts of the universe and the actions within these various parts. This includes the relation between humans and God, humans and humans, and humans and nature (including animals). This is called *tri hita karana* that can be thought of as the balance of a vertical and horizontal line (Srinatih 2009: 69). Everything that a Hindu does or feels is *dharma*, and must be in harmony with *dharma*. Based on this religious thought, the Balinese also call their religion "Agama Hindu Dharma," the religion that orders its followers to always maintain the balance between the two opposing forces, *rua binedha*.

In the implementation of this concept of balance, Balinese worship the forces at several levels (Lansing 1995: 23). At the top level there is a symbol or concept of the supreme God representing oneness, *Acintya*, also called *sang hyang tunggal*, who is a fusion of order and disorder. At the second level are the three Hindu Gods — *tri murti*: *brahma* (the creator), *wisnu* (the preserver), and *siwa* (the destroyer) — the manifestation

of the supreme God (Wijaya 1995: 28). These forces are beyond the universe. Below this level are the divinities, *dewa-dewi*, that are associated with nature and the spirit world or demons. These are the forces that control order or disorder in the universe, with the Gods (*dewa-dewi*) representing the ordering force and demons (*bhuta kala*) representing the disordering force. The Balinese also worship the spirits of their ancestors. This is because they believe in reincarnation, *samsara*. The spirit that lives in the human body, *atma*, will be returned to God after the person dies and will be born again to the earth using a different "vehicle" in the next lifetime.

There are many ceremonies that are devoted to the above-mentioned category of worshiping. There are ceremonies for Gods, spirits of nature, demons, humans, and ancestors. These categories are called *panca yadnya*. *Panca* literally means five, and *yadnya* means sacrifice. *Panca Yadnya* includes five types of ceremony based on *dharma* — *dharma* in this context is purely sacrificial, using offerings, whole-hearted behavior, beliefs, and pure intention — directed at the specific force that is being worshiped (Wijaya 1995: 33). The five types of *yadnya* are *dewa yadnya* (ceremony for Gods and Goddesses as manifestations of the Supreme Being), *rsi yadnya* (ceremony for priests who guide the Balinese on their spiritual journey), *pitra yadnya* (ceremony for the ancestors who gave the guidance in life and the opportunity to be born), *manusa yadnya* (ceremony to protect human lives and future generations), and *bhuta yadnya* (ceremony for any other beings, visible and/or invisible, to ensure the harmony and unity of nature). All of these ceremonies are intended to create a balance of *bhuana agung* (macrocosm or the universe) and *bhuana alit* (the microcosm of the universe that cosmologically is

inside a human's body). Also, these ceremonies are performed as an expression of the system of belief called *panca srada*¹⁴ that served as a basic foundation of Balinese life.

There are thousands of rituals related to these categories of *yadnya*. The simplest and most often performed ritual is called *mesaiban*, a daily presentation of offerings. In every day life of the Balinese, small offerings are prepared from a piece of banana leaf with some rice and other foods and are usually placed at every building and shrine in the compound house. This functions as a protection of everyday life. Other ceremonies are performed every five days, fifteen days, six months, 210 days, or five or ten years, with the largest ritual of all performed every 100 years. ¹⁵ In relation to the five categories of *yadnya*, there are rituals held in many different temples associated with a specific force or many forces (*odalan*), rite of passage rituals held throughout a person's life (*mesangih*, *mesakapan*), rituals held after death for returning and cleansing a human's spirit in order to become a purified ancestor (*ngaben*), and blood sacrifices for demons (*mecaru*).

Gong Luang and Ngaben

Ngaben is a ritual held for the soul of a person who has just died to help them to find the proper pathway in the afterlife. The basic concept of ngaben depends on the purity of action of family members in performing every task—before, during, and after the ritual—and is based on a whole-hearted sacrifice to the human's soul. The people who are doing the ceremony have to put all of their energy and focus on the ritual,

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¹⁴ *Panca* literally means five, and *srada* means faith or beliefs. *Panca srada* means the five beliefs or faith of the Balinese, such as the beliefs in the Supreme Being, the Atman (soul), Karmapala (law of cause and effect), Samsara (reincarnation), and Moksa (unity with God).

¹⁵ This ritual is called *Eka Dasa Ludra* and is only performed at Besakih, the mother temple of all of Bali.

performing it in a whole-hearted and pure manner through strong belief and cognition. This means that they cannot do anything else other than the ritual itself. Otherwise the ritual will not be successful.

There are two ceremonies in ngaben. One is sawa wedana, a ceremony to return sthula sarira (a human's body or microcosm) back to nature or macrocosm. There are five elements of nature, or panca mahabhuta, that have to be returned and unified with nature: water (apah), air (bayu), fire (teja), earth (pertiwi), and space (akasa). The body is burned and the ashes are thrown into to the ocean. The second ceremony is called atma wedana which purpose is to return suksma sarira (the immortal soul or atma) to God (paratma). This is a more important part of ngaben because all thoughts at the time of death are given to the spirit as it passes to heaven. The body is just a temporary shell and exists simply to be disposed of as quickly as possible so the soul can be released or freed and readied for the journey. This ceremony (also commonly called *nyekah*) is held twelve days after the sawa wedana ceremony and functions to purify the soul, helping it to find a way to be unified with God. It is believed that the soul of someone who dies cannot immediately leave the body. It depends on how s/he dies. The soul will sometimes stay around the body for a while, or sometimes it will become a ghost that can bother the family member. Only after the panca mahabhuta have been returned to nature (macrocosm)—by doing the two ceremonies mentioned above—can the soul completely detach itself from the body.

The continuation of these two ceremonies is called *nuntun*, the ceremony that functions to invite the "purified soul" (*dewa pitara pratistha*) and is housed at the *sanggar kemulan* (Balinese family shrine). This ceremony is held according to the

financial circumstances of the family because, logically, they have spent most of their money for the *ngaben* rituals. Therefore, the non-wealthy families usually postpone this ceremony until they are financially ready. They also have to do certain related ceremonies to spiritually clean the family compound house before the *nuntun* ceremony is held. After the *nuntun* ceremony, the purified soul will still remain at the *sanggar kemulan* until it is reincarnated. It is believed that the *sanggar kemulan* is the embryo or the beginning of the life of the soul before being born to the earth.

A Balinese Traditional House Compound

Most of the rituals in *ngaben* are held at a traditional house compound, with the exception of the burial and/or cremation which is held at the cemetery. The rituals of *ngaben* that are held at a traditional house compound are performed in the central area of the house—more specifically the ceremonial pavilion, called *bale dangin*—while all preritual activities occur throughout the house compound. Inside the house compound there are many separated buildings and pavilions that have different functions. There are a complex of shrines, ceremonial pavilions, resting-buildings, a kitchen, pigsty, etc. It is a place for the family, including different generations, to live, work, pray, and gather as a whole.

In accordance with Balinese beliefs, every object is treated as a human being. This includes the planning and layout of the house compound. The compound is basically divided into three parts: the shrines (head), living quarters (body), and disposal side or at the seawards (feet). Each building within the compound also displays an analogous structure of roof (the head), pillars (the body), and foundation (the feet). In building a

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¹⁶ See Covarrubias 1972: 88.

Balinese compound this conception is interrelated to the concept of *trimandala*, the public structure of the temple where the space is allocated according to a sacred hierarchy: *utama* (main or sacred), *madya* (middle), and *nista* (lower or outer). The shrines (*sanggah*), the main or sacred places, are located at the northeast of the compound. Northeast is considered as a holy direction where mount Agung and Besakih (the mother temple of Bali) are located. In the middle of the yard (*natah*) are built four pavilions: one is for rituals connected to human cycles of life and death (*bale dangin* or *east building*), the second and third are pavilions where the family members sleep (*bale daja* [north pavilion] and *bale dauh* [west pavilion]), and the fourth is the kitchen (*paon*). At the seawards or outer side (*teba*) is built a pigsty, with the remaining land often used as a place where rubbish is thrown away. This division is illustrated in Figure 8: the *utama* is marked with the letter A, the *madya* is B, and *nista* is C.

The building structures of each part has to follow strict criteria provided in the asta kosala kosali, a complex series of rules as a guideline in building houses and temples (Bidja 2004: 7, Eiseman 1989: 9, and Lansing 1995: 26). This includes arranging the level of the land on each section of the compound (sikut lebah tegeh), the distance between the pavilions, the level of the floor on each pavilion, and many more details in terms of measurements procedures. The system of measurements by which the bale is constructed should be based upon the analogy of the bodily parts of its occupants in order to ensure the mutual harmony and balance between the building and its occupants. Therefore, the size of each Balinese compound is always different, because it is created in accordance with the organic proportions of its owner.

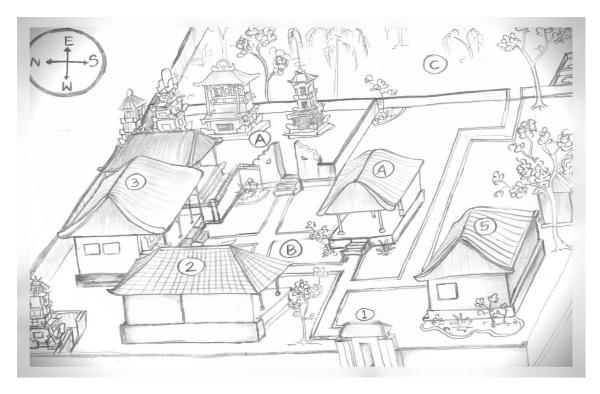


Figure 8. Layout of Traditional Balinese House Compound.

1 = Gate (*Angkul-angkul*), 2 = *Bale Dauh* (West pavilion), 3 = *Bale Daja* (North Pavilion),

4 = *Bale Dangin* (East/Ceremonial pavilion), 5 = *Paon* (Kitchen).

A = Utama (*Sanggah*, Family temple), B = Madya (Family compound), C = Nista (*Tebe*) (Illustrated by I Wayan Sudirana and I Gde Sudipta Chandanatha).

Based on *sikut lebah tegeh*, the land level of the *sanggah* is higher than the other two sections. This is because *sanggah* is a holy place. The level of land between *natah* and *teba* is usually the same. However, there is a wall that separates these sections of the house. Within the *natah*, the level of the floor between each of the pavilions follows the roles and functions of the space. For example, *bale daja*, because it is considered as the head of the building—this is because the head of the family is sleeping there— is higher than the other three pavilions. *Bale dangin* is lower than *bale daja*, and higher than *bale dauh* and *paon*. *Bale dauh* is higher than the *paon*. All of these are based on the concept of *sukla*, a consideration of the level of purity, which is applied to all aspects of life in the Balinese family and community.

A traditional Balinese compound is always enclosed by walls made of red bricks, sand stones, or adobe and is covered with thatch roofs made from sedge grass or rice stubble. In front of the compound is the entrance gate, *angkul-angkul*. On both sides of the entrance walls there are niches which substitute as shrines where offerings for the spirits are placed. Behind this entrance a screen wall is built to discourage evil spirits entering the house compound to trouble the family.

The Function of Gong Luang in Ngaben

Gong luang is always associated with death. It is also sometimes called gamelan kematian, the gamelan of death. This is because of its function as an integral part of the funeral, particularly in the Singapadu area. When the people of Singapadu hear the sound of gong luang, they know that somebody has died in the village and are usually scared when they hear it played. Its sound—according to most people I have interviewed—has a magical power that is associated with the spirit world (Sudarma p.c. 19/07/10). This association has been planted in the people's minds for generations and it is still present today.

The word *luang* probably derives from the Balinese word *rong*, meaning "empty place." Philosophically, empty does not mean nonexistent or unthinkable. It is real and does exist, if ones understand the concept of emptiness. This concept is real especially for the person who believes in the unseen world (*niskala*). It is related to God's world or *sunya*. *Sunya* is the world of "emptiness," the world of wisdom and inner peace. Therefore, when we relate the meaning of *luang* with the purpose of *ngaben*, it is

believed that *gong luang* helps to expedite the journey of the soul of the person who is cremated back to the "empty place" or *sunya*.

There are stages of the ritual in *ngaben* where *gong luang* plays an integral part. In the morning before the ceremony there is a *mandusang* or "body-cleansing" ritual, *ngias* or "dressing up" ritual, and *ngelilit/ngelelet* or "wrapping up" ritual. These rituals—especially in Singapadu—are accompanied by particular *gong luang* pieces. There is a strong relation between the ritual and the piece that is played. It is believed that *gong luang* strengthens the meaning and the religious thought of the ritual, and contributes to the success of the entire *ngaben* ceremony.

At first the body is placed at the special ceremonial pavilion at the central section of the family compound, *bale dangin*. When they are ready to do the *mandusang* ritual, the body is carried from the *bale dangin* to the *penusangan*, where the body will get washed, cleaned, and dressed up. During this procession, the *gong luang*'s group will play the piece called *Gilak adeng*. The piece, philosophically through sound, reminds the people who are carrying the body to walk slowly—or in Balinese "adeng-adeng"—and to carry the body carefully to avoid dropping it. It is also intended to show respect to the person who died and to the family.

In the *mandusang* ritual, the group plays a piece called *Kinada*. Suma said that the word *kinada* refers to a liquid secreted by a decaying body (Suma p.c. 23/07/10). Philosophically it means that the piece is sending message to the family member to clean all of the dirty and impure liquid from the body. It is also believed that when this has been done, the process of returning the *panca mahabhuta* to the macrocosm will be successful. After *mandusang*, the deceased person's body is dressed like a normal person

and scented flowers and perfume are applied to the body. This *ngias* ritual will also be accompanied by *Kinada*.

The next ritual is *ngelilit* or *ngelelet*, the ritual to wrap the body up using white fabric, a Balinese traditional floor mat, and *rante* (traditional bamboo chain that is made especially for funerals). This ritual is accompanied by the piece *Lilit*. The name of this piece has the same meaning as the ritual. The piece has a long relaxed cycle that philosophically reminds the people to wrap the body up slowly and tightly. After this ritual, the body is brought back to the *bale dangin* and enters the next stage of ritual. Just as before when the body is carried back to *bale dangin*, the group plays *Gilak adeng* and the body has to be carried carefully and "adeng-adeng" (slowly).

The next stage of the ritual is called *ngayab*, followed by *penamiu*. The priest conducts these two rituals. In *ngayab* the special offerings that are prepared by the family members, with help from the priest, will be offered to the God of death. They pray and ask the God to be able to receive the soul to and to be one with Him. In the *penamiu* ritual each family member symbolically offers items of food—small portions of rice, vegetables, and meat on a *dapdap* leaf—that are placed beside the body using the topside of the left hand and followed by a prayer for the soul. These two rituals are accompanied by a performance of *Saih miring*. The meaning is that by playing this piece the soul is spiritually cleaned, purified, and freed. The hope is that when the soul is thus prepared it will encounter no obstacles on its journey to the world of emptiness or *sunya*.

Gong luang is not used in any part of the procession from the family house (where the ceremony is held) to the cemetery, or when the body is cremated. A different procession ensemble, bebonangan and/or angklung, accompanies both of these rituals.

Gong luang is played again at the *nyekah* ceremony. As stated before, the essence of *nyekah* or *ngerorasin* is to divest the soul—at the higher level of pureness—from all ties of life, and to help it to return to *sunya*.

The pieces played for *nyekah* are *Gilak adeng, Kinada*, and *Saih miring*. There is no specific time when these pieces are played in accordance with the stages of the ritual. Once the ritual is started, the *gong luang* performance must also be started to accompany the rituals. However, when there is something carried from one spot to the other within the ceremonial area, the group will choose to play *Gilak adeng* because this piece is meant for accompanying the procession. Each piece can be repeated many times in order to fit with the length of the ritual. According to Suma, these pieces are played as a symbol of freedom for both the purified soul and the family members. They also provide comfort to the family members while encouraging acceptance towards the loss of their deceased member as its soul makes its way back to heaven. By doing this, the passage of the soul to the oneness will be done faster (Suma p.c. 23/07/10).

During the *nyekah* ceremony, more specifically after the purified soul and the ancestor are placed at the *bale dangin* (ceremonial building) and before the final stage of *nyekah* ceremony is held, the family will usually perform the *mesangih*, or tooth-filing ceremony, that was originally part of the *manusa yadnya* ritual. The intention is that since all of the ancestors are already invited to come witness the *nyekah*, it is worth also performing the *mesangih* during this time. So they will also witness their children and/or grandchildren having their teeth filed.

The piece that accompanies the *mesangih* during the *nyekah* ceremony is called *Mekar sari*. Literally *mekar* means to grow, and *sari* means essence or fragrance.

Philosophically—in relation to the ceremony—it means that the one who is getting their teeth filed will become a mature person that can add good "fragrance" to (in other words enhance the reputation of) their family. Furthermore, by performing this piece, the parents express their hope that their children can be released from the manacle of the six enemies¹⁷ in their mind and grow to be a wise person.

The Sacred Continuum: Gong Luang in Ngaben

Based on the function of *gong luang* in *ngaben*, there are two levels of sacredness, integral and accompaniment to ritual; and two performance sites, family house compound and cemetery (see Figure 9). The top line shows three rituals and two sites (*desa*) of *gong luang* performances: 1) *odalan* (the most sacred ritual) performed at a temple; 2) *ngaben* (a less sacred ritual compare to *odalan*) performed at a family house compound and cemetery; and 3) *mesangih* (less sacred than *ngaben*) performed at a family house compound. The middle and bottom lines show their time (*kala*) and situation (*patra*) of the *desa* shown in the top line. As in Figure 7, the more sacred performances are marked on the right and the less sacred on the left.

Gong luang performed in ngaben has two levels of sacredness (see middle line). It can be integral because gong luang functions as the only ensemble performed as part of important rituals (mandusang, ngias, ngelilit, ngayab, and penamiu rituals) by providing specific required pieces. And it can be "mere" accompaniment because it is not performed at a specific time (kala) in accordance with specific rituals.

¹⁷ The significance of the tooth filing ceremony (*mesangih*) is ridding the individual's spirit of its negative traits, or *sad ripu*—the six enemies of a human's mind (reflected in filing the top six teeth): *kama* ("lust"), *loba* ("greed"), *krodha* ("anger"), *mada* ("drunknness"), *moha* ("confusion"), and *matsarya* ("jealousy").

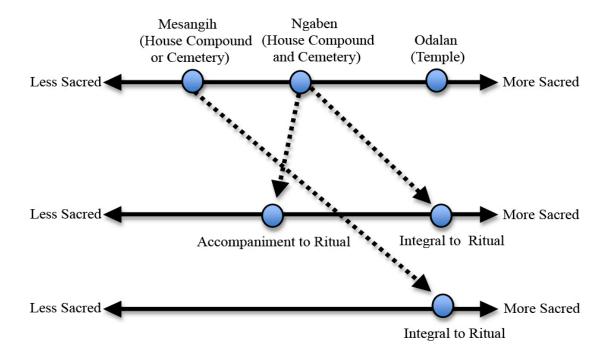


Figure 9. Sacred Continuum of Gong Luang in Ngaben

The bottom line shows one level of sacredness of *gong luang* played at the *mesangih* ritual shown on the top line. Although *mesangih* is the least sacred ritual compared to *ngaben* and *odalan*, the level of sacredness of *gong luang* in *mesangih* can be aligned with the *odalan* ritual (see the bottom line). Like in *ngaben*, *gong luang* also functions as the important ensemble in the *mesangih* ritual. It provides a special piece, *Mekar sari*, performed while the priests undertake the tooth failing ritual.

Gong Luang and Odalan

Odalan is an annual temple festival held every 210 days of the pawukon calendar¹⁸ to celebrate the anniversary of the particular temple. The odalan is usually

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¹⁸ The Balinese use three different calendar systems. One is the standard Gregorian calendar, second is the *saka* calendar, and last is the *pawukon* calendar (the 210 days ceremonial cycle).

devoted to the particular force that is worshiped at the *pura*, the Balinese Hindu temple. For example, if the *odalan* is held at the *pura dalem*, the offerings are presented to the God *siwa* and associated divinities such as *durga* (*siwa's* wife that is worshiped at the cemetery), the other two Gods of *tri murti* (the three Hindu Gods), and all other divinities and spirits that have their shrine at the *pura dalem's* compound temple. However, it is also offered to all the other Hindu-Balinese divinities from the other *pura* in the village or neighboring village who are invited to come to celebrate to anniversary of the temple together. The ceremony is intended to create balance in the universe.

During the rituals of the *odalan* there are numerous colorful offerings, *tirta* (holy water), perfumed incense, and beautiful decorations made of food. The chanting of the sacred texts provides the focus of the ritual and is addressed to the particular divinity worshipped at the temple and the visiting deities. The ritual is conducted by the high priest, *pedanda*, with the help of the *pemangku(s)*, the lay priests. During this part there are also sacred performing arts—a sacred dance (*pendet*), screen-less shadow puppet play (*wayang lemah*), mask dance (*topeng wali*), and sacred ensembles—performed at the inner courtyard of the temple. Their function is to welcome the divinities and to entertain them during their stay at the temple. Each village has their own musical ensemble to accompany these sacred performing arts.

The *odalan* is a multifaceted event (Dibia 1985: 63). It is basically a religious event, but it is also a social event because it serves an important social function in the daily life of the people in the village. At the *odalan* there are entertainments for the villagers after the temple rituals are done. There are people who sell food, clothes,

The *pawukon* consist of 30 weeks, each 7 days long. Most *odalans* are determined by the cycle in the *pawukon*. Some *odalans* are also determined by the lunar calendar, occurring at the full or new moon.

jewelry, and games for kids at the outer section of the temple during the three days of celebration of the *odalan*. The *odalan* is a place where you can meet old friends from the same village—who are staying out of town—and who have come back home to pray at the temple. It also provides a place for villagers to work together to prepare or renew any part of the shrines or temples that need to be fixed. This embodies the concept of *tri hita karana*, a concept of creating balance between human, human and nature, and human and Gods.

Pura, the Balinese Temple

A Balinese Hindu temple is called *pura* or *kahyangan*. It is a place where the prayers and religious ceremonies are held, and a place to keep all the sacred artifacts. ¹⁹ The type and name of *pura* depends on its function, history, and legends associated with it. There are three levels of *pura* related to family lineages. The smallest one is called *sanggah* or *merajan*, which is a holy place in every family compound. The second level is *sanggah gede* or *merajan agung*. It is larger than *sanggah*, and used for ceremonies by more than one family sharing common ancestors. The top level is *pura nataran*, which is used for ceremonies by more extended lineages with common ancestors.

There are also *pura* that are located within village or cities serving as the center of Balinese people's religious activities. Each village has three main temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that include *pura desa* (temple to worship Brahma, God as creator), *pura puseh* (temple to worship Wisnu, God as preserver), and *pura dalem* (temple to worship Siwa, God as destroyer, or the temple of death) (Wijaya 1994: 30).

¹⁹ See Covarubias 1972: 259

There are *pura* that are associated with certain places. For example, there is *pura* located at the sea or *pura segara*. This *pura* is usually important during the *melasti* ritual, a procession ritual held a day before the ceremony that functions as purification for the sacred objects of the temples. There are *pura* that are built near the marketplace for the merchants to perform their daily rituals, called *pura melanting*. Lastly, there are *pura* that are built near fields, called *pura dugul*, to enable farmers and members of the *subak* (irrigation society) to pay homage to God (Lansing 1995: 82).

There are also larger pura called sad kahyangan or dang kahyangan at which anyone may worship. Pura sad kahyangan are located in the mountainous regions of the island, built upon mountain or volcano slopes. The mountains are considered as the sacred realm, the abode of Gods or hyang. There are six special temples, generally referred to as pura sad kahyangan jagad. Pura and khayangan mean temple, sad means six, and jagad means our earth. Pura sad khayangan jagat signifies the six big temples located all around Bali that function to spiritually protect Bali and its communities (Wijaya 1994: 28). The first is Pura Besakih in Karangasem regency (east side of Bali). This pura is located at the mountain slopes of Agung and is considered the "mother temple" of Bali. The second one is Pura Lempuyang Luhur, located at the mountain slops of Lempuyang in Karangasem regency (east Bali). The third is Pura Goa Lawah located in Klungkung regency (southeast of Bali). The fourth is Pura Uluwatu located in Badung regency (southern side of Bali). The fifth and sixth ones are Pura Batukaru in Tabanan regency (west of Bali) and Pura Pusering Jagat (Pura Puser Tasik) in Gianyar regency (center of Bali).

Each of these temples has a more or less fixed membership. Every Balinese belongs to a temple by virtue of descent, residence, or some mystical revelation of affiliation. As stated before, some temples are also associated with the family house compound or community village (*banjar*), while others are associated with rice fields or key geographic sites.

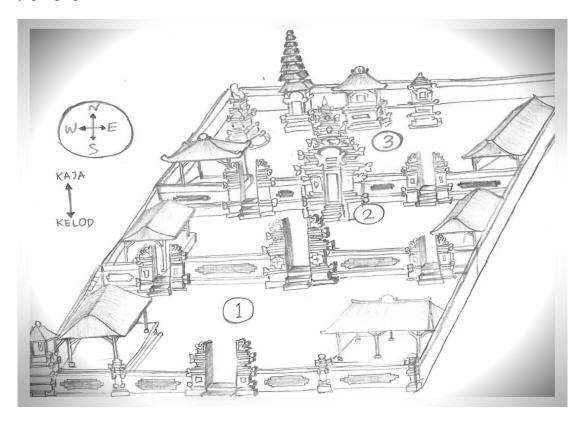


Figure 10. Layout of *Pura*.

1 = *Nista Mandala (Jaba)*, 2 = *Madya Mandala (Jaba Tengah)*, 3 = *Utama Mandala (Jeroan)*Illustrated by I Wayan Sudirana and I Gde Sudipta Chandanatha.

Unlike the towering indoor Indian Hindu Temple, the *pura* is designed as an open-air worship place within enclosed walls with many different kinds of pavilions associated with certain functions (refer to Figure 10). The *pura* is usually divided into three compounds, and each compound contains several shrines, *meru* (towers), and *bale* (pavilions). The plan and layout of the *pura* are based on the traditional concept of

trimandala, a concept of dividing the space based on the level of sacredness. Tri means three, and mandala means zones. Therefore, trimandala means three zones arranged according to a sacred hierarchical concept: nista mandala, jaba tengah, and utama mandala.

Nista mandala (jaba pisan) is the outer and less sacred zone that connects the pura with the outer realm and functions as the entrance to the temple. This zone is usually used for the preparation of the offerings, sacred and/or less-sacred dance performances, and rituals for the spirits (tabuh rah [cockfight – blood sacrifice ritual], masegeh [blood sacrifice to welcoming sacred objects]), and pedanan [blood sacrifice ritual for spirits]).

Madya mandala (jaba tengah) is the middle and medium-sacred zone. It serves as a transitional area between sacred and less-sacred spaces. This zone is usually used for a community meeting about the ceremonies, priests, important guests, and the location for supporting facilities of the temple. Some of the sacred dances and musical accompaniment are focused here. This zone contains the following pavilions: the bale kulkul (wooden Slit drum tower), bale gong (gamelan pavilion), wantilan (meeting pavilion), bale pesandekan (resting/waiting pavilion), and bale perantenan (the temple's kitchen).

Lastly, the *utama mandala* (*jeroan*) is the most sacred zone within the *pura*. This zone is used for all of the most sacred rituals, *ngiasin* (dressing up the sacred objects), and to store all of the sacred objects. In this zone there are two important shrines: *padmasana*, a shrine for the highest God, *Acintya* (or known to modern Balinese as *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*); and *pelinggih meru*, the multiple roofed tower that is similar

to the Chinese pagoda. There are also several pavilions within the *jeroan*: bale pawedan (Vedic chanting pavilion), bale piyasan (dressing pavilion), bale pepelik (ceremonial pavilion), bale panggungan (pavilion for God Brahma), bale murda (the most important pavilion for ceremony), and gedong penyimpenan (storehouse of sacred objects).

The zones of the *pura* are connected with the *kori*, an intricately decorated gate. There are two types of gates within the *pura*. One is *candi bentar*, a large split gate that is either used in the *nista mandala*, or used to connect *nista mandala* and *madya mandala*. The second one is *kori agung*, the roofed tower gate that is employed as the gate between *madya mandala* and *utama mandala*. The *kori agung* is decorated with a prominent carving of a leering face, the *bhoma*, whose fangs and bulging eyes keep evil forces away from the holiest part of the temple.

Gong luang as a sacred ensemble is usually played at madya mandala, the middle courtyard of the pura. It is placed at the bale gong to either accompany sacred dances or for playing instrumental pieces. However, the situation could be different from one temple to another. Gong luang could also be played at the jeroan and not at the bale gong. This is because there are pura(s) that have only two zones, jaba and jeroan, and do not have bale gong. There is no strict rule for the placement of the ensemble within the pura in relation to the ritual. It is decided based upon the place, time, and context of the event.

The Function of Gong Luang in Odalan

As was previously noted, *odalan* is a big event. It is not just a religious event but also a social event. People come to the temple to work together preparing the materials

needed for the event. Women make offerings and men decorate the *pura* and make food. On the main day of the event everyone prays together. Some of them dance, play music, and sing sacred songs called *kidung*. The priest chants the sacred Sanskrit text, *mantra*. Almost all of the Balinese performing arts are included—at a different time and relation to the ritual or separately from it—during the *odalan*. Performances can be sacred, such as when played during the ritual, or less sacred, such as when played at the outer section of the *pura* with no connection to the ritual. Each village in Bali uses a variety of ensembles to accompany the ritual and/or the sacred ritual dance according to what ensembles they own.

In the village of Singapadu, according to Suma, *gong luang* was used as the main ensemble for the *odalan*. It was used to accompany all rituals at the *odalan*, from the beginning to the end, by playing instrumental pieces. It was also used as musical accompaniment for the *topeng wali*, a sacred mask dance drama; *pendet*, a sacred welcome dance; and *rejang*, a sacred dance that has a strong relationship to the ritual. These dances are performed at the inner section of the *pura*, *jeroan*.

The special offering, *santun gong*, is offered to the *gong luang* every time before it is played. As a sacred ensemble *gong luang* is housed at a special building with its own shrine. It is believed that a spirit lives in one of its instruments, the big *gong*. Therefore, the offering is offered to the particular spirit that lives in the big *gong*, and also to *Sang Hyang Iswara*, the God of arts.

There is a myth that the leftover foods from the *santun gong* will help a mute person to communicate better or will improve speech. Therefore, when the priest finishes performing the ritual of *santun gong*, a mute person will take the leftover offerings and

eat it. This myth has sometimes appeared to hold some truth, with mute persons being able to speak a few words after eating the food.²⁰ The musicians will sometimes also eat some of the food. They also believe that the spirit of *gong luang* will protect them while they perform. After this ritual the musicians are blessed with *tirta*, holy water, readying them to play for the ceremony.

The ritual of *odalan* begins when the *pretima* (sacred statues, masks, or other objects considered to be the manifestation of Gods) are carried from the *pura* to the *beji*, or sacred river where they are spiritually cleansed. The procession is accompanied by *bebonangan*, a processional ensemble (today called *baleganjur*). When the *pretima* arrive back at the *pura*, the *segeh agung*—blood sacrifice of a young pig for the spirits—is held at the middle section of the *pura*. During this ritual the *gong luang* plays *Gilak adeng*. After the *segeh agung*, all *pretima*(s) enter the *jeroan*, and the *pendet* dance is performed. Its function is to welcome the Gods. The dancers are mostly men, holding *canang sari* (a small offering of flowers and/or Chinese coins placed on a tiny square tray woven out of coconut leaf) and dancing freely to the accompaniment of *gong luang*. ²¹

After all of the *pretimas* are placed at the *pelinggih* (the ceremonial building), the main ritual is ready to start. The high priest leads this ritual. He recites *mantra* to the accompaniment of his sacred bell (*genta*) for the purpose of the ceremony. Some villagers sing *kidung* (ritual songs). The *kulkul*, or sacred wooden slit drum, is sounded to symbolize the arrival of the Gods. The *wayang lemah* (unscreened puppet play) begins

²⁰ This tradition is not just known to Br. Seseh, Singapadu. A friend of mine from the same village where I am from was able to say some words after frequently eating the leftover food of *santun gong*. He was not completely healed. However, he could communicate better.

²¹ Today the dancers of *pendet* are mostly women, and the dance movements are choreographed. This choreography is inspired by the traditional movements of the improvised version.

along with the *topeng wali* (mask dance). All of these activities have to be started together to ensure the success of the ceremony.

At the *banjar* Seseh the *topeng wali* was traditionally accompanied by *gong luang*. This can be different in other villages. Today other gamelan (e.g., *gong gede, semar pegulingan, pelegongan, gong kebyar,* etc.) often fill that role instead as it is in other villages. However, the *topeng wali* dance requires particular pieces to accompany each of the scenes in the play. Thus, the *gong luang*—when accompanying the *topeng wali*—plays these *topeng* pieces, not originally belonging to the ensemble.²²

Some instruments borrowed from *gong kebyar* (the most popular modern gamelan) are added to the *gong luang* ensemble in order to play the pieces mentioned above. These additional instruments are four *gangsas* (two *pemade*, the metallophone instrument, and two *kantilan*, an octave-higher pitched metallophone instrument than *pemade*) used to play the melodic elaborations or interlocking parts; *kajar* (the small gong placed on top of a special carved wooden case) that keeps the beat; *cengceng ricik* (the small set of cymbals attached to a wooden case and played by one person) to emphasize the accents and strengthen the pulse; and one additional drum to play the interlocking drum patterns with the other drum. The *saron*—when *gong luang* plays these dance pieces (*topeng wali, rejang*, or *baris gede*)—is not used. Its function is replaced by the four additional *gangsa*.

²² In general there are six pieces that accompany the *topeng wali* dance. These pieces accompany specific scenes of the play. The first two scenes are the introductory mask dances: the first is meant to illustrate the character of the king (called *topeng keras*), and the other one the character of the old man (*topeng tua*). The third scene marks the beginning of the story. The *penasar* (servant of the king) enters the stage accompanied by *tabuh penasar*. Next is the piece that accompanies the refined king, called *tabuh arsa wijaya*. *Tabuh kale* is used to depict intense scenes or war, and *bondres*, the clown. At the end of the play, the most important mask, *topeng sida karya*, will usually be performed to complete the ritual. This is accompanied by *tabuh sida karya*. The names of the pieces are the same as the names of the characters of the *topeng*.

In one of the scenes from *topeng wali* there is a part where the *rejang* and *baris gede* dance are performed. Both dances are accompanied by *gong luang* as well. The word *rejang* means "offering." The *rejang* dance is considered a self-sacrifice by way of devotion through dance. The dancers must be girls who are considered "pure" (often girls six years of age). The dancers are led by a *pemangku* who dances in front. Behind him is a row of dancers, including the *pemangku* who holds a piece of thread and passes it backwards. The music for *rejang* is relatively slow and has a similar feeling as *gong luang* pieces. Baris gede is a masked warrior dance. The term baris refers to a formation of warriors. Groups of men dressed in military attire headdresses and bearing spears (*keris*) and shields form lines (*baris*), enacting a fearsome war dance in unison. The tempo speeds up and the music builds up into a mock battle, sometimes resulting in trances. This dance is generally unrehearsed and performed by the men of the village who act as guards of honor for the visiting deities.

As explained in chapter one, these two dances are considered an important part of the ritual and are categorized as sacred dance. *Gong luang*—in this case providing musical accompaniment—is considered sacred, because of its function as the musical accompaniment to the sacred dances. Unlike in *ngaben*, however, *gong luang* does not have a special tie to the rituals themselves. Moreover, *gong luang* is not the only ensemble that can accompany these dances. It is because *gong luang* already accompanies the *topeng wali*, and the *rejang* and *baris gede* are performed during the *topeng wali*, that *gong luang* has to accompany these two dances as well.

²³ The main part of *rejang*, the *pengawak*, is a long slow melody with special melodic elaborations played on the *reong* (small gongs placed in a row on a special carved wooden case) similar to that of *gong luang*. The elaborations are either delayed or land on the strong beat in relation to the notes of core melody.

The *odalan* is usually held for three days. The first day is the most important. Even once all of the dances mentioned above are finished, the ritual still continues. In this case, the *gong luang* plays *tabuh petegak* (instrumental pieces) to accompany the rest of the rituals. These have no specific relation to the ritual, and are played continuously until the rituals are finished. The only exception is when the prayer begins, during which time all activities including the music have to be stopped. The pieces that are played as *tabuh petegak* are basically all of the pieces in the *gong luang*'s own repertoire, e.g., *Kinada*, *Lilit*, *Saih miring*, and *Mekar sari*.

In addition to the original pieces, according to Suma, *gong luang* also plays some pieces adopted from other ensembles, e.g., *Angklung, Gambang,* and *Gong gede.* The piece that is adopted from *angklung* is called *angklung jaum-jaum.* It is simply a transferring of the *jaum-jaum* piece from *angklung* to *gong luang* without any new musical arrangements. The *saron* acts as the lead metallophone instrument, and *gangsa* as the lead instrument in *angklung.* This instrument starts the piece by introducing the main melody, followed by the rest of the instruments. The *terompong* plays the melodic elaborations of the core melody played by *saron.* The *gambang* instrument is not used, but one pair of *angklung* drums is added to play the typical drumming parts of an *angklung* piece.²⁴ The *jalan* that is used here is *nyura gede,* because it bears the closest resemblance to the *angklung* scale.

²⁴ The drum parts for all traditional *angklung* pieces are quite similar to each other. Generally it is an interlocking of two drums (*lanang* and *wadon*) that is divided into two groups in an eight-beat cycle. In the first four beats there are alternating strokes of both *lanang* and *wadon* (*lanang* onbeat and *wadon* off-the beat), and the last four beats are more intricate interlocking figurations between the two. For example:

[/]LWLW/LWLW/LWLW/LULW/WLWL/LWWL/LWWL/LWLW/(L for *lanang*, and W for *wadon*).

The piece that is adopted from the *gambang* ensemble is simply called *gambang*. The basic melody—the typical melody of *gambang* pieces—is played by *saron*. The *terompong* and *gambang* instruments play the elaborations based on the core melody. These elaborations have the same characteristics as the *gambang*'s ensemble. However, I did not find any *gambang* pieces that are similar to the one that is played on *gong luang*. But there is a piece played on *semar pegulingan* and *gong kebyar*, called *Gambangan*, that has similar melodic progressions to the one that played on *gong luang*. Therefore, I am assuming that *gambang*-derived pieces for *luang* include another arrangement of the *gambangan* piece *Semar pegulingan* and *gong kebyar* that was not an original piece of the *gambang* ensemble. However, it has the special characteristics of *gambang* pieces. This argument is also reinforced by the use of two drums that play the same patterns to that of *semar pegulingan* or *gong kebyar*. The original *gambang* pieces have no drum parts.

The piece that is adopted from *gong gede* is called *Gilak adeng*. This is a very common piece played as accompaniment to the procession at the *odalan*. The piece is characterized by an eight-beat repeating melodic cycle, where the big gongs (G) are played on beats one and five, and the middle-size gong, *kempur* (P), is played on beats six and eight (G 2 3 4 G P 7 P). The *saron* (the metallophone) plays the core melody, and the *terompong* plays the melodic elaborations. The *gambang* instrument is not played.

²⁵ The core melody of the *gambang* ensemble has a special characteristic. Every four beats, the first note lands on beat one, and the second note is played after beat three (in between beat three and four). It is played continuously from the beginning to the end of the piece.

²⁶ The elaborations of *gambang* pieces are characterized by the arrangement of sixteen subpulsations grouped in 3+3+3+4. The first and the third notes of each group of three, and the first, third, and fourth of the group of four will match the core melody note.

Two drums are used to play the rhythmic patterns cuing the group of cymbals (*cengceng*) to start and stop their patterns.

Besides the above-mentioned-functions, *gong luang* is also used as the musical accompaniment to the *calonarang* dance drama.²⁷ The main ensemble of this dance drama is *semar pegulingan* or *bebarongan*. This ensemble is responsible for almost all of the scenes. At the *banjar* Seseh, however, *gong luang* is used in one of the scenes of this dance drama. It is played when the dead body (*bangke-bangkean*) enters the stage and when it is washed. Similar to what happens in real life, *gong luang* plays *Kinada* and *Lilit* to accompany those activities in the scene. It is intended to convey the feeling of a real funeral to support the ambience of the scene.

The Sacred Continuum: Gong Luang in Odalan

Like the Sacred Continuum model of *gong luang* in *ngaben*, the top line also marks the three places for *gong luang* performances in a ritual context. The bottom line of Figure 11 shows three levels of sacredness of *gong luang* performances in *odalan*. When *gong luang* is performed as a musical accompaniment to the sacred dances (*topeng wali, rejang,* and *baris gede*) it is integral to ritual. When it is played as *tabuh petegak* it is accompaniment to ritual. And when it is played as musical accompaniment to one of the scenes of *calonarang* dance drama it does not have any direct relationship to ritual, and is therefore the least sacred.

²⁷ The *calonarang* dance-drama is a historical depiction originating in Java. The principal character is *rangda* or *durga*, wife of Shiva. This dance, which has many versions, has several purposes. It is performed to celebrate the anniversary of the Temple of the Dead, to remedy ills that have been blamed on practitioners of black magic, to teach history, and as entertainment.

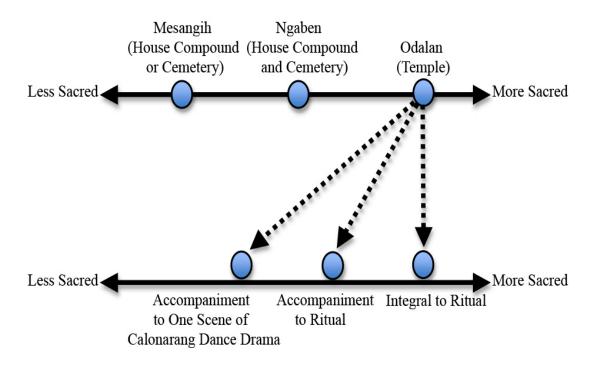


Figure 11. Sacred Continuum of *Gong Luang* in *Odalan*.

Gong Luang Today

The religious function of *gong luang* has been changed in the past ten years. In the past—as was mentioned previously—*gong luang* was used as the main ensemble for *ngaben* and the main musical accompaniment for *odalan*. According to Suma, since the 1990s it has been rarely used to accompany either of these rituals. When the *banjar* bought one set of gamelan *gong kebyar*,²⁸ this gamelan took over the function of *gong luang* as the musical accompaniment for *odalan*. The people thought that *gong luang* was no longer the appropriate gamelan to accompany rituals for Gods. It is considered *sebel*

²⁸ Gamelan gong kebyar is the most popular and influential genre of twentieth-century music developed in Bali. In the Balinese gamelan classification, gong kebyar is considered a new gamelan that refers to the explosive changes of tempo and dynamics characteristic of the style (Sugiartha 2006: 66; Bandem 2006; Tenzer 2000).

or *cemer*, "not clean or not qualified," for the ceremonies that are related to the higher levels of spirits and divinities.

Gong kebyar as a new popular genre is used to accompany the topeng wali, pendet, and rejang, and plays the tabuh petegak among its many roles. Its flexibility makes it a multifunctional gamelan. This means that it can be used to accompany any religious and non-religious activity in society, as well as to play any pieces from other gamelan genres or styles. Musicians are excited to play gong kebyar because of its dynamic characteristics. For instance, the calonarang dance drama now can be accompanied by gong kebyar. The kebyar feelings are added into the way the pieces of the calonarang are played. As a result, the gong luang has become rarely used to accompany the scenes of this dance drama. It is easier for musicians and organizers to only use one gamelan for this dance drama instead of asking two groups to play, because gong kebyar is able to accompany all scenes. Furthermore, in the 1980s gong kebyar began to take over the gong luang's function as accompaniment to the prembon, a dance drama that combines *topeng* (mask dance) and *arja* (a kind of traditional Balinese opera). It became a huge trend among the villages, not just in banjar Seseh, to convert everything (the pieces and the ensemble) into kebyar style. Luckily they have maintained the gong luang and not converted it into a gong kebyar.

Today *gong luang* is also rarely seen as the musical accompaniment to *ngaben*. Although it is still mainly considered as *gamelan kematian*, the gamelan of death, it is rarely used for the death rites. There are many different aspects that have lead to this change. One is when the family who holds the ceremony does not have enough money to pay the group to play in their ceremony. Although the group will play out of obligation

and dedication—when it is played within the *banjar* Seseh—the host still has to pay *batu-batu*, a traditional payment using offerings and some money based on the financial circumstances of the host. However, the cost for *ngaben* is often prohibitively expensive, and the *batu-batu* is usually not affordable for non-wealthy families.

The other aspect is that the rituals of *ngaben* are also considered successful even without the accompaniment of *gong luang*. This is supported by the fact that in other villages *ngaben* is never accompanied by *gong luang*, and the ritual is usually considered spiritually successful. In the past *gong luang* functioned to elevate the prestige of the family who included it in their ceremony, but many families today, usually poor, choose not to include *luang* in their family members' funerals. This will not lessen the significance of the rituals, but will lessen the social prestige of the family. It is ironic, but it happens today as part of the social life of people in *banjar* Seseh.

Today *gong luang* is still played at *ngaben* hosted by wealthy families. This level of *ngaben* is usually higher than the common one. It is usually called *pelebon*, and held by the royal family. In *pelebon, gong luang* is usually hosted for one to three days depending on the request. The function is the same as in *ngaben*. It accompanies the entire ritual, either playing the specific pieces related to the specific rituals (as discussed in section 6) or playing *tabuh petegak* pieces that have no special ties to the ritual. There are rituals that happen both during daytime and during the evening, or even after midnight. In this case the musicians usually stay over at the ceremonial area—usually the palace—for the length of the ceremony, and have to be ready to accompany all of these rituals at any time.

Concluding Thoughts

The function of *gong luang* in *banjar* Seseh, Singapdu has been significantly shifting. Although this gamelan is still used as the musical accompaniment of *ngaben*, its use has been declining. These days not all of the *ngaben* that are happening in *banjar* Seseh will be accompanied by *gong luang*. This shifting tradition is also reinforced by a modern understanding of the meaning and concept of the rituals in *ngaben*—in most people's minds—where the rituals are considered successful without the accompaniment of any musical ensemble, including *gong luang*.

The same thing is happening to the function of *gong luang* as the musical accompaniment for the *odalan*. The *gong kebyar* is taking over all of its functions, either playing *tabuh petegak* or accompanying the ritual dances and the dance drama. In the past ten years *gong luang* has never been seen as the musical accompaniment of the sacred dances and dance dramas. *Gong luang* is not a multifunctional gamelan anymore, and it has been replaced by *gong kebyar*.

Before the 1980s *gong luang* had become the icon of the village. It was considered of great value and a special pride for the village to own the gamelan. Today, however, this value and pride have gradually declined. The village is mostly focused on their *gong kebyar* ensemble, and *gong luang* is often forgotten—implying that it is not really important for them to own a *gong luang* in their village anymore. This situation has made the scope of the *gong luang* limited, and musicians have lost their pride as well. In older days *gong luang*'s musicians were given a special status in society. They were not obligated to the same degree to perform social work like other more common members of the village. They were considered a special asset, elevating the status of the village.

However, this pride has gradually declined, and *gong luang* musicians are often treated as just simple musicians and sometime share the same social status as others in society.

There is generous support from the government of Bali for preserving the rare sacred ensembles that have become almost extinct. They are giving grants to scholars to study and do research on these ensembles. To promote the continuation of the ensembles in the villages, the government is financially supporting the rare ensembles and asking them to reconstruct the old pieces that have almost been forgotten, or are never played anymore, by re-learning them from the elder musicians that are still alive. As a result, the groups will be asked to perform—outside of the music's original context—at the Bali Arts Festival.

The regeneration of *gong luang* is a matter of concern today. Anak Agung Anom Suma, the elder of the group in Seseh, told me every time I interviewed him that he worried about the continuation of the *gong luang*. He worried about the repertoire. He felt that the young generation is not showing interest in learning *gong luang*. Most of them said that *gong luang* is a gamelan for old people. Its music is slow, long, and really boring. Most of them are interested in learning the *gong kebyar*, the dynamic new gamelan. Because of this, there were two pieces, *Wargasari* and *Saih panji cenik*, which were used as the musical accompaniment for *ngaben* during the 1980s, but now are rarely used because the musicians have almost forgot its melodic sequences. Therefore, I feel that I have the responsibility as a Balinese musician to do something as a first step towards preserving this rare ensemble. By doing this research, I want to provide information for the next generation of Balinese musicians or for interested outsiders wanting to study *gong luang* in the future.

Chapter 3 Gamelan Gong Luang of Seseh and Tangkas

This chapter explores the instrumentation, *sekaa* (a traditional gamelan organization), and repertoires of *gong luang* in two places that still maintain the tradition: *banjar* Seseh of Singapadu village in the Gianyar regency (central Bali), and *banjar* Tegal of Tangkas village in the Klungkung regency (southeastern Bali). My description of *gong luang* in these two places is primarily based on data I collected during my research in 2010, which includes valuable information from the experts of the tradition. Some history is provided at the beginning of each section in order to provide context. Comparison between the two traditions is occasionally inserted in the exploration of the *gong luang* of Tangkas in order to bring to light their similarities and differences.

Historical Background of Gong Luang

Gong luang is regarded as a rare seven-tone ensemble in Bali. According to Colin McPhee, in the 1930s there were perhaps no more than ten still active—six to his personal knowledge, and the rest only by hearsay (1966: 281). Currently there are four villages that still maintain their gong luang instruments and perform for funeral and temple ceremonies. These are Tangkas, Klungkung (in eastern Bali); Seseh and Apuan banjars in Singapadu, Gianyar (central Bali); Kerobokan, Badung (southern Bali); and

banjar Wani of Kerambitan and Kesiut, Tabanan (western Bali).²⁹ In a few villages according to McPhee's 1930's report the instruments were still present but no longer used. He stated that the reason for this was always the same: "The *sekaa* had long since broken up and no new players were to be found" (1966: 281). This might be because of a lack of interest on the part of the younger generation, or perhaps because the older musicians who knew most of the pieces had passed away.

Gong luang has no known date of origin due to a lack of written documents. Musicians from the gong luang tradition usually acquired historical information through stories from their predecessors. These stories somehow became "real" because they contain some facts that can be verified by evidence. Another problem in addition to the lack of written documents involves the diversity of stories available in all the villages with the gong luang tradition. For example, according to Anak Agung Anom Suma gong luang in Singapadu originally came from Blambangan, East Java. Because of this the name of the group (sekaa) has "Blambangan" added at the end: sekaa gong Luang Blambangan, banjar Seseh Singapadu Gianyar. However, none of the elders in Singapadu know when it was brought to their village. Suma continues to explain that the gamelan was there long before Dutch colonization (Suma p.c. 23/07/10).

Andrew Toth in his article about *gong luang* of Tangkas states that *gong luang* existed in Tangkas under the rule of Dewa Agung of the Gelgel Kingdom, who fled to Bali from Java after the fall of the Majapahit kingdom around the 14th century (1975: 65). Toth's statement is echoed by the fact that some elder *gong luang* musicians of

²⁹ Klungkung, Gianyar, Badung, and Tabanan are the names of regencies. Tangkas, Singapadu, Kerambitan and Kesiut are the names of villages. Seseh, Apuan and Wani are the names of *banjar*, a traditional community smaller than a village.

Singapadu also believe that this gamelan was brought to Bali from the Majapahit kingdom in East Java (Sukerta 1998: 100).

Edward Herbst claims there is a connection between the *terompong* of the Balinese *gong luang* and the *bonang* of the Javanese *gamelan sekaten.*³⁰ According to him, "the ancient *saih pitu* 'seven-tone' Balinese *gamelan luang* also has a set of *terompong* played by four musicians in interlocking *kotekan* parts...Similarly, the *gong gde* arrangement of two musicians playing a separate pair of *reyong* side by side was precedent enough for the expanded Balinese *reyong*, save for the intriguing link with the term *sekatén*" (2009: 14). Herbst's statement is reinforced by a relevant description of Javanese *sekaten* provided by Sumarsam. In gamelan *sekaten* the *bonang*, unlike the common use of it in Javanese gamelan today, is played by three musicians. One musician in the lower octave plays a different melody from the other two. In this case the *sekaten bonang* can be seen as two instruments, although physically it is only one. The historical connection between Java and Bali continued to develop throughout the seventeenth century when Blambangan (East Java Kingdom) was under the control of the Balinese rulers of Gelgel, Buleleng, and Mengwi (Sumarsam 2011: 6).

These statements by Toth, Herbst, Sumarsam, and the elder musicians of Singapadu imply a connection between the Javanese *sekaten* and *gong luang*. Based on Toth's statement, the *sekaten* may have been bought or traded to Bali after the fall of the Majapahit kingdom. According to Sumarsam, this trading continued to develop when some Balinese kingdoms conquered the Blambangan kingdom of East Java. The similarities between the *sekaten* and *gong luang* instrumentation as explored by Herbst,

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³⁰ See also McPhee, 1966: 285.

and the name of the *gong luang* group in Singapadu as explained by Suma, also reinforce this connection. *Sekaten* could be the origin of *gong luang*, or vice versa.

On the other hand, Pande Wayan Tusan wrote in his book *Selonding: A Review of The Ancient Balinese Gamelan in the* $10^{th} - 14^{th}$ *Century*³¹ that one ancient ensemble made of bronze called *salunding* is kept in the village of Penida Kelod, Bangli (central part of Bali), and its instrumentation is similar to *gong luang*. According to the ancient *prasasti perunggu* (bronze inscription) found in the village temple where the ensemble is housed, this ensemble existed as early as 1103 (2002: 449). By looking at its instrumentation, Tusan argued that this ensemble is possibly the prototype of *gong luang*. If Tusan's conclusion is true, it is possible that *gong luang* was not brought to Bali from Java after the fall of Majapahit in the 14^{th} century, but already existed in Bangli since the 12^{th} century.

However, no one has confirmed the existence of *gong luang* in Bali prior to the Majapahit era. Although Tusan found the old *prasasti* in Bangli, it was not written specifically about *gamelan gong luang*. The similarity of *salunding*'s instrumentation in Penida Kelod to *gong luang* does not prove that it served as the prototype for *gong luang*. The use of bronze materials for its instruments—dated around the 12th century—is supported by the fact that bronze-age technology emerged in Southeast Asia (including Java and Bali) in the first millennium A.D. (Higham 1996: 17). It is possible that *gong luang* already existed or was made in Bangli around that time. Another supporting fact is

This book is an investigation of the date of origin of *gamelan selonding* (another type of ancient gamelan, made of iron) exploring the old *lontar* and inscriptions.

³² Today *gong luang's* instruments consist of metallophones, a small row of gongs called *reong*, a drum, a wooden xylophone called *gambang*, and hanging gongs (medium and small size), but the *selonding* ensemble consists of only keyed instruments made of iron. The *salunding* of Penida Kelod consists of the same instruments as the *luang* one but is made of bronze instead of iron. See Tusan 2002: 449-53.

that *gender wayang*—an ancient ensemble from the *tua* period³³—is also made of bronze to this day. The *pande* (gong smith) may have started using the technology to make instruments out of bronze in the *gamelan tua* period or around the 11th century.

While the exact origins of the *gong luang* are uncertain, evidence suggests that it is one of the oldest ensembles in Bali. This gives it a special significance and makes its preservation and continued use in the future a matter of concern for all who value Balinese culture

Gong Luang of Banjar Seseh Singapadu

In Singapadu there are two complete and active *gong luang*: one in *banjar* Seseh, and the other in *banjar* Apuan. Both are frequently solicited to play for ceremonies in surrounding villages, and occasionally in distant ones. According to one of the elders of the *sekaa* (group), Anak Agung Anom Suma, in the past there was only one set of *gong luang* in Singapadu and it was located in one *banjar*. Since the *banjar* was divided into two, now known as *banjar* Seseh and *banjar* Apuan, the gamelan was also split into two. One half went to Apuan and the other half to Seseh.³⁴

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³³ Balinese musical ensembles (gamelan) are also categorized into three broad historical periods: tua (old), madya (middle age), and baru (new). The gamelan that fall into the tua period are the ones that are relatively small and emphasize metal or wooden percussion instruments. Most of them are sacred and are housed in a special place inside the temple area. In the madya category, there are a variety of large ensembles with drums, metallophones, and gongs that were developed in the puri (the royal household). The baru period includes the innovations that characterize twentieth-century Balinese music.

³⁴ According to Suma, as the village grew more populated a decision was made to divide the village into two. This is why the gamelan was divided into two as well. This division, according to Suma, did not provide any political reasons (such as social conflict) for this division. He added that his ancestor tried to maintain a good relationship between these two *banjar*. To avoid conflict caused by the division of this gamelan, his ancestor allowed some exchanges of players. For example, some players from Apuan joined the group in Seseh, and vice-versa.

Instruments and Tuning

The *gong luang* of *banjar* Seseh consists of eight or nine bronze percussion instruments and one bamboo instrument. It has a distinctive sound and contrasting timbres produced from the bronze and bamboo, sustained at intervals by a bass metallophone and a large hanging gong. All this creates an orchestral resonance unlike that of any other Balinese gamelan.

The pitched instruments—melodic, lead, and elaboration instruments—are tuned to a seven-tone scale (see Figure 12). While the complex tuning system in Bali gives each individual set of instruments unique intervallic relationships, for the purposes of this dissertation the scale can be approximated by the western notes Db, Eb, F, Gb, Ab, Bb, and C. Through the procedure of choosing three consecutive tones (denoted respectively by the vowels i-o-e), skipping one, then adding the next two consecutive tones (u-a), seven five-note modes (*saih*) can be derived from this seven-tone scale, which musicians in *banjar* Seseh often call *jalan* (way).³⁵ However, not all of them are used in this

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I was a slightly confused because this arrangement made little sense, at least for me, in terms of the division of its instruments. For example, according to my knowledge *gong luang*, at least today, usually consists of two racks/sets of *terompong* (one rack/set in the lower octave and one in the higher), 2 gongs, 1 *saron*, 2 *gangsa jongkok* (lower and higher octaves), one drum, and two *jegogan*. This means that its instrumentation originally consisted of double the number of instruments compared to today (i.e., 4 *terompong*, 2 *saron*, etc.). I tried to investigate further but Suma said that he only knew this much, and instead responded by describing the ordering of the notes in the *terompong* instrument (Suma p.c. 23/07/10).

³⁵ Saih is a term I learned as a student at the Institute of Arts in Bali—it refers to a "scale system." During our interview I asked Suma to explain the saih of the gong luang. To my surprise, he did not understand the term saih. As a traditional musician, Suma did not attend university and is thus unfamiliar with modern musical terminology. Instead, he referred to a scale system as jalan or margi. Both jalan and margi mean "way," referring to the "way" to connect notes in a five-tone mode. Suma was familiar with several jalan: panji gede, panji cenik, giringan, and warga sari (the same as jalan gerudugan). (When Suma refers to gong gerudugan, he actually means to say gong kebyar. He uses gerudugan, literally "thunder," to describe the "bad noises" he hears when a gong kebyar plays.) I noticed Suma's jalan knowledge was passive, and that he was unable to explain to me what notes comprised each jalan. I returned at a later date to determine the notes of each jalan while the musicians were rehearsing.

repertoire. Usually each piece uses only two or even just one *jalan*. The lower case vowels, i-o-e-u-a, are an abbreviation of the Balinese five-tone scale solfege, *ding-dong-deng-dung-dang*.

9 10	Þo	0	Po	20		0	
1. i	o	e	_	u	a	_	Panji Cenik
2	i	0	e	-	u	a	Panji Gede
3. a	-	i	o	e	-	u	Wargasari
4. u	a	-	i	O	e	-	Nyura Gede
5	u	a	-	i	0	e	Panji Mirin
6. e	-	u	a	-	i	o	Nyura Ceni
7. o	e	-	u	a	-	i	Kartika

Figure 12. Seven Jalan in *Gong Luang* of Seseh.

The core melody (pokok) tones are played on two instruments called gangsa jongkok gede (lower octave) and gangsa jongkok cenik (higher octave). Below the core melody other instruments called jegogan follow the same melody at a lesser density, highlighting strong beats by playing every eighth gangsa jongkok tone. The gangsa jongkok melody provides a structural basis for the polyphonic development of the melody by the terompong. The pitches of the gangsa jongkok (metallophone) are arranged a bit differently from the common ordering of Balinese gangsa instruments.

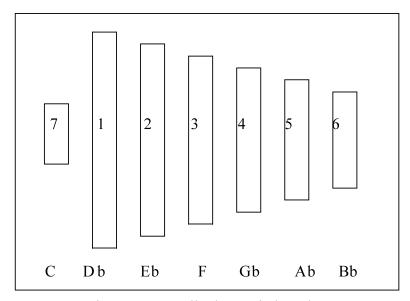


Figure 13. Metallophone Pitch Order.

As shown in Figure 13, the highest note is placed at the beginning of the row. These instruments require only two players; one player plays *gangsa jongkok gede* and *cenik*, and the other plays a pair of *jegogan* instruments. Both instruments are placed in a double row in the same direction, so the players can easily play both instruments at the same time.

Elaborations of the core melody are played by three instruments: *terompong pengugal*, *terompong pewilet*, and bamboo *saron*. These three instruments are the most characteristic instruments of this ensemble. *Terompong* consists of two racks of eight horizontal gongs arranged in a double row, each comprising an octave of eight notes: *terompong pengugal* in the lower octave and *terompong pengwilet* in the higher one. However, there is a skipped note in the upper register of *terompong pengwilet* (see Figure 14). These *terompong* are similar to the *bonang* of the Javanese gamelan, and are frequently referred to as such by older musicians (McPhee 1966: 285).

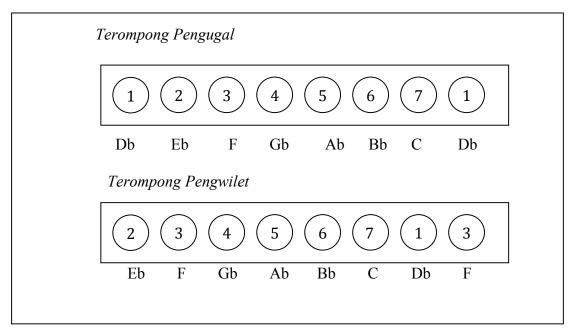


Figure 14. Terompong Pitches Order.

Four players are required to play these instruments, with one pair sitting on either side of the instruments facing the other pair. Each player has four gongs at his disposal. These four performers play different elaborating parts that support each other that, according to McPhee, creating a special form of melodic polyphony derived from the *pokok* tones of the *gangsa jongkok* (1966: 282). McPhee also states that the essence of the *terompong* melodic figuration, here known as *sekatian*, lies in the interlocking parts of the first two players, with the other two for the most part doubling them an octave higher (ibid.:285).

The bamboo *saron* consists of two racks with four bamboo bars on each rack. The ordering of pitches is similar to that of *gamelan gambang*, another *tua* ensemble, where the pitches are non-sequential in the first rack but sequential in the second rack (see Figure 15). It requires only one player and the instrument is placed beside the *terompong*. It plays a similar type of melodic figuration, or, in Suma's words, "nyanden reong"

(playing together with *reong*), which enriches the melody played by the terompong. The bamboo *saron* plays melodies that are either delayed or that sometimes land on appropriate pitches corresponding to the *pokok* melody. This style of playing, particular to *gong luang*, is called *nyekati*.

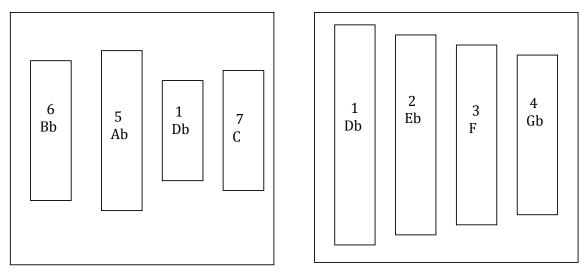


Figure 15. Bamboo Saron Pitches Order.

The arrangement of *gong luang* instruments is based on the instruments' functions. In Seseh the *terompong*, the lead instrument, is placed in a double row in the centre, the bamboo *saron* beside it, and other instruments are placed around it (refer to Figures 16 and 17).

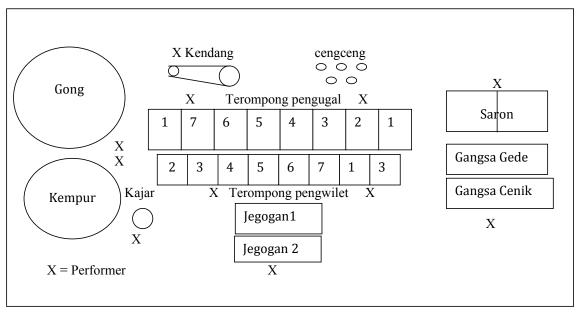


Figure 16. Arrangement of the Instruments.

The most important instrument in this ensemble is the gong. Particularly in the ensemble of *gong luang* in *banjar* Seseh, Singapadu, the gong is considered to be sacred (*tenget*)—the soul of the ensemble.³⁶ It is housed in a special holy place where the musicians can make daily or special offerings to it. Its musical function is very significant as the gong marks the end of each melodic cycle; its arrival heralded one beat earlier by the *kempur* (middle-sized hanging gong). The *kendang* (drum) is not the leader as it is in other Balinese ensembles, but creates a structure together with the gong and kempur, preceding them at fixed places, punctuating the cycle.

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³⁶ It is believed that a spirit resides within the gong. If the gong from another type of ensemble is played at the same time as the *gong luang* is played, this upsets the spirit of the *gong luang*. As a result, instruments from the other ensemble, especially the gong, will display unusual cracks or simply be broken. According to Suma, this supernatural phenomenon occurred frequently.



Figure 17. Photos of Instruments of Seseh. Photographs by the Author.

The Sekaa

According to Suma, the *gong luang* group belongs to the *sekaa* (a traditional music organization) and not the *banjar*. Members come from the sixteen families of the members of the original group. Membership is inherited: players today are either *keturunan* (original members of the group by family lineage) and/or *penyerep*³⁷ (substitution members). The *keturunan* members of the group in Seseh come from four *banjar*: Seseh, Kebon, Sengguan, and Mukti. The members of the group in Apuan come from Samu, Kebon, and Apuan. Based on history, Suma maintained that the royal center of Singapadu's palace was actually at banjar Seseh, which in fact is where the royal palace remains today.

There is no official hierarchy in the organization of the group. Unlike other modern organizations, the only named position in the group is the *ketua* (the head). However, they have traditional rules called *awig-awig* for membership, especially for the *penyerep*. Suma said that if you are *penyerep*, you are (obviously) not an original member. The position *penyerep* will open up only when no family member of an original player has sufficient musical ability to inherit the position. The family, together with the group, will assign a person with musical ability to substitute. The *penyerep* has the same rights and obligations as an original member. If the group adds more instruments, ³⁸ the *penyerep* is obligated to pay dues to buy these instruments. If the original member

³⁷ *Penyerep* (substitute member) is a status conferred by the *keturunan* (original member) to allow another to play in their place if no other family members are musicians or they could not attend rehearsals and/or performances for any reason.

³⁸ The additional instruments are added to the ensemble when the musicians use the gamelan to accompany dance pieces or play other repertoire from another genre. See more explanation in chapter 2 in the section titled *The Function of Gong Luang in Odalan*.

(*keturunan*) from whom the position of a *penyerep* was inherited asks for their position back, the *penyerep* will be compensated for the expenses accrued during the membership.

Another rule in the *awig-awig* is that there is no fine—as there is in many other gamelan organizations—when the members do not show up for rehearsals or performances. It is all *kesadaran*. The literal meaning of *kesadaran* is "to be conscious." Thus in this context, members are "consciously aware" of their responsibility to attend rehearsals—it is assumed that they will prioritize rehearsals over trivial matters.

Repertoires

Gong luang music is quite different from other Balinese ensembles. In banjar Seseh, most of the pieces in gong luang are long and slow, and typified by a large vocabulary of elaborative patterns that often avoid landing on the strong beats. According to Suma, however, there are only three main pieces that are considered to be original gong luang pieces: Kinada, Lilit, and Saih miring. The rest of the pieces belong to other Balinese ensembles but were arranged for, or simply adopted as, gong luang repertory. For example: Gambang is adopted from the gambang ensemble (another seven-tone sacred ancient ensemble), Angklung jaum-jaum is adopted from the angklung ensemble, and Gilak adeng is adopted from the gong gede ensemble (Suma p.c. 23/07/10).

The three original pieces of *gong luang* are sacred (*tenget*). It is believed that only a few players are capable of memorizing them. Therefore, other musicians are simply following the lead players.

Gong Luang of Tangkas Klungkung

The *gong luang* ensemble of Tangkas village was originally owned by the Klungkung palace. According to Toth, since the *puputan klungkung* (the suicide march of the Klungkung kingdom's army against the Dutch invasion in 1908) many palace gamelan, including *gong luang*, were taken by the local villages (1975: 65). Toth's statement is supported by the fact that Tangkas' musicians also believe that the ensemble was in their village since 1908. Since then, the king of Gelgel, Dalem Suwecapura, sometimes invited the group to perform at the palace (Tapa p.c. 15/08/10). In fact, a special connection between Tangkas and the royal family of Klungkung is maintained through *gong luang*.³⁹

Instruments and Tuning

The *gong luang* of Tangkas originally consisted of four different percussion instruments: two *jublag*, four *terompong*, one *bedug*, and one *gong*. Today, however, there are additional instruments: one *saron* (a bamboo xylophone) and one *gangsa jongkok* (a bronze keyed instrument).

As in *gong luang* of Seseh Singapadu, the pitched instruments are also tuned to a seven-tone scale system (see Figure 18). For the purpose of this dissertation, the pitches can be approximated to the Western D Major scale. Unlike in Seseh, there are only five five-note modes (*saih*) that can be derived from this seven-tone scale. In practice, however, the usage of these *saih* is similar to that of Seseh—the pieces usually use only two or even just one *saih*.

92

³⁹ Gong luang is never absent in ceremonial activity at the Klungkung palace.

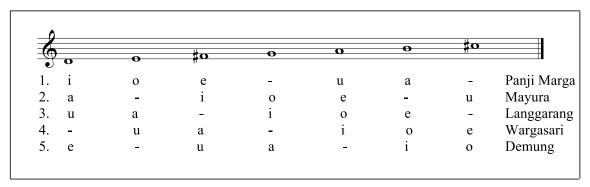


Figure 18. Five Saih in Gong Luang of Tangkas.

The core melody is played by two *calung*: *calung gede* (a bigger size *calung*) and *calung cenik* (a smaller size *calung* two octaves higher than *calung gede*). One musician plays these instruments. The instruments are placed in a double row so that a musician can play them at the same time using two *panggul* (mallets). The appearance of these instruments is similar to *gangsa jongkok*, but the pitches of *gangsa jongkok* are one octave higher than *calung gede* and one octave lower than *calung cenik*. *Gangsa jongkok* is played by one musician using two mallets. The function of *gangsa jongkok* is also different from that of the *jublag*. It plays a basic melody developed from the core melody played by the *calung*. The arrangement of the pitches of *calung* and *gangsa jongkok* is similar to that of Seseh. The highest note is placed at the beginning of the row (see Figure 19).

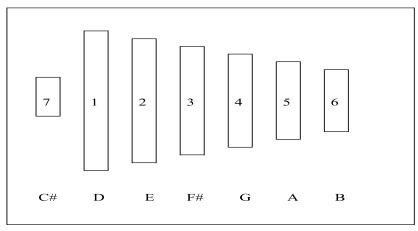


Figure 19. Metallophone Pitch Order.

The most characteristic instrument of the ensemble is the *terompong*. The *terompong* consists of two octaves: *terompong ageng* (lower octave) and *terompong alit* (higher octave). *Terompong ageng* and *terompong alit* are divided into two intruments each: *terompong penangga* and *terompong pemero*; and *terompong penyelat* and *terompong pemetit*. Each of these *terompong* consists of four bronze kettles. Unlike in Seseh, the kettles are arranged in non-sequential order (see Figure 20). Four musicians play these instruments. They are divided in two pairs. Each pair plays interlocking melodic elaborations based on the basic melody played by *gangsa jongkok*.

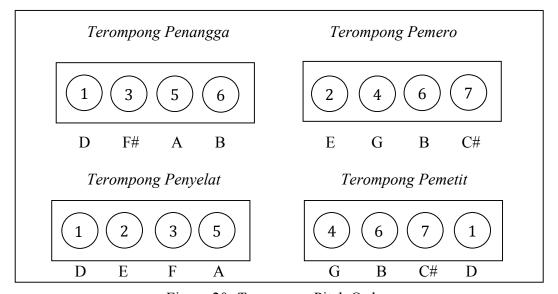


Figure 20. Terompong Pitch Order.

The bamboo *saron* also plays melodies that are developed from the basic melody of *gangsa jongkok*. It functions as a counterpart to *terompong* melodies. Like in Seseh there are two racks, and each consists of four bamboo bars. The arrangement of the pitches is similar to *gangsa jongkok* or *calung* with an additional note (D) at the higher pitch (see Figure 21). One musician plays this instrument using two mallets.

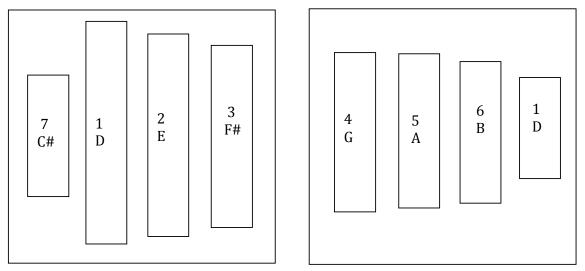


Figure 21. Bamboo Saron Pitches Order.

Unlike in Seseh, where the lead instrument is placed at the center surrounded by the other instruments, the *terompong* are placed in a double row at the front and the other instruments are arranged in a single line behind the *terompong*. The four racks of *terompong* are arranged in a double row facing each other (refer to Figures 22 and 23)— *terompong penangga* with *pemero* (the lower octave), and *terompong penyelat* with *pemetit* (the higher octave). This allows for the musicians to play interlocking figuration with direct interaction with their partners.

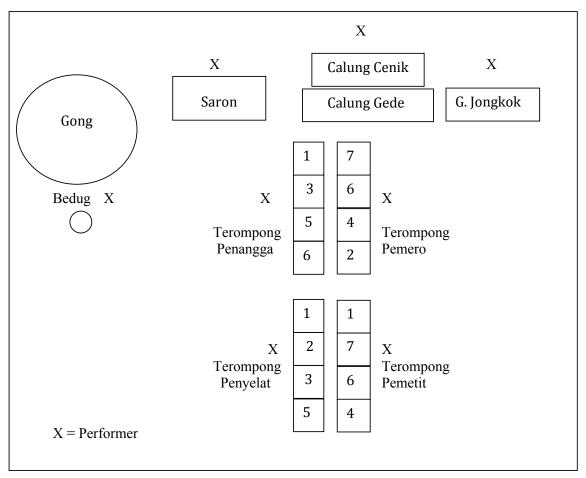


Figure 22. Arrangement of the Instruments.

The *gong* functions as a colotomic instrument that marks the end of melodic passages and is preceded by three strokes of the *bedug* (barrel drum). *Gong* and *bedug* are often played by one musician, but can also be played by one musician on each instrument. As in Seseh, the *gong* is considered to be sacred and is treated with more reverence than other instruments.

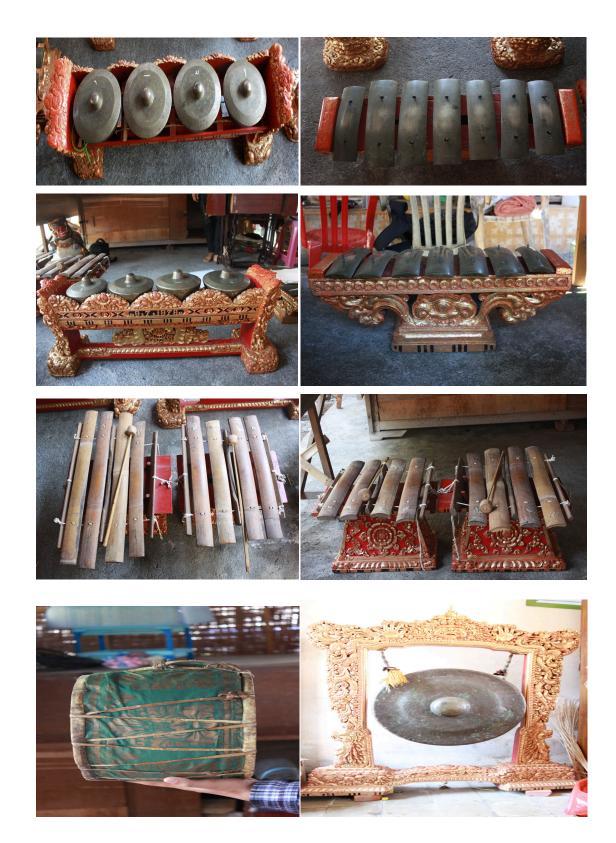


Figure 23. Photos of the Instruments of Tangkas. Photographs by the Author.

The Sekaa

As in Seseh, the ensemble belongs to a traditional music organization (the *sekaa*). All of the members come from one family clan: Tangkas Kori Agung, particularly the descendants of Mangku Ranten. Mangku Ranten was a prominent figure of the *gong luang* of Tangkas who fully devoted himself to the continuation of the *sekaa*, its instruments, and repertoires.

Like in Seseh, the organization of the group does not have an official hierarchy like those found in modern organizations. The *ketua* (head) takes on every organizational need. In its operations the group also has *awig-awig*. According to the rules for membership, for example, if one of the members cannot attend rehearsal without advance notice, this member has to pay *dedosan* (fines). If one of the members is sick and cannot attend a performance, this member is responsible for finding a *penyerep* (a substitute member) to replace him at the performance.

Since the *gong luang* is an icon of the village and an integral part of ritual life, the *banjar* expresses appreciation and respect to members of the *sekaa*. In *odalan*, where every member of the community is obligated to come to the temple and work together for the preparation of the ceremony (*ngayah*), the members of *gong luang* are *luput* or *saye*⁴⁰ from all of the voluntary works. Although they are *luput*, they are still obligated to attend the ceremony, as well as pay the *urunan* (dues).

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⁴⁰ *Luput* or *saye* means "lightness." In practice, a person who got *luput* or *saye* does not have to come to any of the *ngayah* (collective voluntary works at the temple).

Repertoires

According to I Gede Tapa, the grandson of Mangku Ranten, the original instruments of *gong luang* were taken by the Dutch and housed somewhere in Holland (Tapa p.c. 15/08/10). Ranten made a copy of these instruments, and these are the ones used by the current *sekaa*. Tapa also said that the Tangkas group played the "original and most pure" form of *gong luang*, and that the Singapadu groups (and others) go to Tangkas to learn the repertoire.⁴¹

There are five pieces in the repertoire of Tangkas: *Mayura, Demung, Wargasari, Caruk,* and *Panji Marga*. Each is about five to ten minutes in length. Like in Seseh, the pieces tend to be long and slow with typical ornamentations of the *terompong* and *saron*. The name of each piece correponds to the name of its *saih*. For example, when a piece uses *saih mayura*, this piece is called *Mayura*. The only exception is when the *saih langgarang* is used. This piece is not called *Langgarang*, but *Caruk*.

Unlike in Seseh, the repertoire of *gong luang* of Tangkas does not include adopted pieces from other ensembles. The *sekaa* perform only these five pieces for every occasion. The pieces are also considered *tenget* (sacred) and it is believed that only the leader can fully remember them.

⁴¹ There is no evidence on this matter because the pieces of *gong luang* of Singapadu bear no resemblance to those of Tangkas. There are some similarities in their periodic structure and form, but this does not by itself make them equivalent.

Concluding Thoughts

The differences between the instrumentations of *gong luang* in Seseh and Tangkas do not make people think that they are different types of ensembles. In other words, although there are instruments used in Tangkas (e.g., *bedug* and *jublag*) that are not used in Seseh and some instruments used in Seseh (e.g., *kendang, kempur, jegogan,* and *cengceng kopyak*) that are not used in Tangkas, people in both villages and musicians in general call both "gong luang" because of the use of three main instruments: the *terompong, saron,* and *gangsa jongkok*. For them, these instruments give a special character to the ensemble that becomes iconic and essential to every performance. Unlike these main instruments, the *bedug, kendang, jublag, jegogan, kempur,* and *cengceng kopyak* are considered supporting instruments. For the musicians of Seseh and Tangkas, the ensemble would still be called *gong luang* with or without the supporting instruments.

However, there are some distinctions between the words "luang" and "saron." According to Tapa, when the complete set of instruments is used he was told that this set is called *gong saron*, and when it is not complete is called *gong luang*. This is because the word "luang" means "less," "fewer," or "not complete" (Tapa p.c. 15/08/10). Today, however, the people of Tangkas village do not see this as a problem. The word "gong luang" is more often used as the name for the ensemble.

According to Suma, the group in Seseh divides their performances into two: the performance of *gong luang* when it uses the complete instrumentation, and *gong saron*

⁴² According to Suma and Tapa, both ensembles occasionally perform using only *terompong*, *saron*, and *gangsa jongkok*. A lack of musicians on the day of the performance or a performance space that does not allow a bigger set of instrumentation is the reason. Pers. Comm, July 2010.

when it only uses three instruments (*saron*, *gangsa jongkok gede*, and *cenik*; Suma p.c. 23/07/10). This contradicts Tapa's earlier statement. In addition, Bandem states that *saron* is not just a name of an instrument, but also another name for *gong luang* (1983: 46). However, today the name "gong luang" is commonly known and used by many Balinese, as well as within the Indonesian Arts Institution (ISI Denpasar). This is because in most cases the ensemble is still called *gong luang* when the *saron* (bamboo xylophone) is not included.⁴³

⁴³ In support of this argument, as stated earlier, the original set of *gong luang* of Tangkas does not include the *saron* in its instrumentation.

Chapter 4 Analysis of *Kinada* and *Mayura*

Balinese music, not surprisingly, is also nonlinear. It contains rhythmic cycles which repeat seemingly (to Western ears) without end, but the Balinese do not think in terms of specific durations to be filled by "meaningful" events. Balinese music, like Balinese life, is not oriented toward climax. Activities in Bali are understood and appreciated not as means towards goals, but rather as inherently satisfying in themselves. Thus it is not surprising that Balinese musical performances simply start and stop but have neither beginning gestures nor ultimate final cadences. (Kramer 1988: 24)

The music of the Balinese gamelan can easily sound noisy and unrelenting to the untrained ear. This problem appears to be common among those who do not yet understand the music. Although the intricate rhythms of Balinese music have often served as a resource of "exotic" compositional materials for western scholars or composers, historically it was often perceived as a primitive, atemporal, non-harmonic, and non-linear music. The assumption that the rhythmic aspect of Balinese music is more prominent and significant than melodic progression creates a misleading perception for many outsiders.

Kramer's quote about Balinese music claims that its musical gestures lack purpose and direction like that typically found in western tonal music. While it is true that Balinese music doesn't have explicit harmonic progressions or hierarchical pitch relationships, Kramer's sentiment is, from my perspective, somewhat contrary to the fundamental ideas of Balinese music.

Furthermore, in this era of globalization, every music in the world has its own unique features which are difficult to compare, especially if one is trying to find some similarities amongst these characteristics. It is difficult, perhaps even futile, to attempt to

make a universal analysis that can be applicable to music of diverse cultures. Michael Tenzer has underlined a fundamental point regarding this issue. He claims that for many outside observers and scholars, much music outside of Western culture appears to be static while Western music does not, and that this view is probably conditioned by observers' Western cultural attitudes. However, he goes on to say that the distinction between static and progressive musical time is itself false. "Musical time, consistent with experience of lived time, is not either/or. It is both/and" (2006: 208).

I do not wish to argue with all of these assertions, but rather to discuss the fact that intricate rhythmic interlocking in Balinese music has often become the primary object of Western fascination, for composers and ethnomusicologists alike. Notation of these patterns and their novelty to outsiders can make it seem as if the purely durational aspects of Balinese rhythm are paramount. However, as an experienced Balinese musician, and as my teachers have impressed upon me, interlocking rhythm in Balinese music should more importantly be considered in light of its relationship to melody.

The intent of this chapter is to suggest, through observation and analysis, that although Balinese music does not fit the more literal definitions of linearity as applied in western tonal harmony, it is still thoughtfully organized and has its own kind of directional character. The pieces that I will focus on are *Kinada* and *Mayura*, ⁴⁴ two compositions in the classical *gong luang* style from Seseh and Tangkas. ⁴⁵ I will use them to demonstrate the musical conventions of the classical *gong luang* form and the core

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⁴⁴ This *gong luang* piece, *Mayura*, is also called *Manukaba*. Musicians often alternately use either *Mayura* or *Manukaba* to name the piece.

⁴⁵ I selected these two pieces for my analysis mainly because they are musically representative of *Gong Luang* style. Other pieces in *gong luang* repertoire of Seseh and Tangkas exhibit similar musical structure and elaboration style. Additionally they are the first pieces performed in every ritual performance in both Seseh and Tangkas respectively, and are the first introduced to me by my informants.

melody as the most prominent aspect of the music. The following analysis will focus on the central section of the piece called *pengawak*, and will outline its layered textural periodicities, its melodically punctuated metric structures, and its periodic modulations within the core melody.

An important consideration in understanding both the Balinese metric conception and the notation used in this paper is the idea that the downbeat falls on the last beat of a cycle, rather than on the first. From a Western viewpoint this can be confusing. One natural Western way of counting (or "feeling") a cycle may be: "gong-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-gong...", where the Balinese would count: "gong-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-gong..." Therefore, in the notation the gong will not occur on the downbeat (beat one), but instead on beat eight. I am also not using bar lines in order to avoid confusion regarding this change. Instead, I am putting beat numbers under the *pokok* (core melody), following the Balinese way of counting. All of this is intended to support the Balinese conception of each cycle as leading towards a gong stroke.

An Analysis of Kinada

Gong luang pieces of Seseh are mostly divided into two sections. The first section is called *penyumu* or *muncuk*. It usually consists of material that introduces the gong structure of the piece and the melodic essence of the composition. After this introductory material is the second section, the *pengawak*, which consists of a longer melody that may be repeated many times as appropriate to the context. Elaboration parts in the *pengawak* higlight the core melody by tracking its contour, with the avoidance of attacks on strong

beats a characteristic feature. The *pengawak* is considered the torso or centre of the piece. Figure 24 shows the complete structure of *Kinada* from *banjar* Seseh Singapadu.

Penyumu (Muncuk) – (0-1:37)	<i>Pengawak</i> – (1:42-8:27)
Introduction to the <i>Pengawak</i>	The Main Body of the Piece
2 <i>palet</i> /gong cycles	11 palet/gong cycles

Figure 24. Structure of *Kinada*.

In the *penyumu* there are two gong cycles (two *palet*), each aligned with one melodic unit (one *pokok* melody). The *penyumu*'s duration in the recording is one minute and thirty-seven seconds. The *pengawak* consists of eleven gong cycles (eleven *palet*), and lasts for seven minutes and twenty-five seconds. As mentioned earlier, the *pengawak* section is very slow and contains melodic progressions that are sometimes repeated or transposed to a different mode until the piece ends.

The following analysis focuses on two aspects of structure in the *pengawak*. The first is the organization of the gong cycle and the drum pattern in relation to the periodic grouping of *pokok* tones. This musical action creates foundational periodic structures that are not specifically melodic. The second is the progression of the melody itself, the larger and smaller grouping structures of the core melody, and the ways in which the core melody modulates into different *jalan* (modes).

repetitions is tied to the progress of the ritual: when the ritual ends, the performance must as well.

105

⁴⁶ The recording of *Kinada* was made during my field research in 2010. Rehearsals were held for the upcoming ritual performance at the Tainsiat Palace of Denpasar. In general, the duration of each section of *gong luang* pieces could be differ from one performance to the other. This is because the tempo is not prescribed and could be slightly faster or slower depending on the musicians' sensibilities. Sections can also be repeated as many times as needed. The number of

Tabuh Pat Form and the Melodic Period of the Pengawak

The *pengawak* section in *Kinada* is classified as *tabuh pat*, according to which each *palet* is seen to have four *jegogan* (J) attacks, once every eight *pokok* beats (Figure 25). The *palet* terminates with simultaneous jegogan, drum (D) and gong (G) strokes, which are prepared by two more drum strokes on the 4th and 6th beats following the third *jegogan* tone. A stroke of the middle size gong, *kempur* (P), appears on the 7th beat. One further drum stroke, on the fourth beat between the second and third *jegogan* tones, is given prior to all of these events. This pattern is repeated eleven times.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	J	-	-	-		-	-	-	J	-	-	-	D	-	-	-	J	-	-	-	D		D	P	J/D/G

Figure 25. *Jegogan, Kendang, Kempur,* and *Gong* Strokes in Each *Palet* of *Pengawak Kinada*.

As stated, in *tabuh pat* form each cycle/*palet* has thirty-two *pokok* tones. However, while there are eleven *palet* in this *pengawak* only eight are distinct if seen from the point of view of the *pokok* melody. As shown in Figure 26, the first eight *palet* (p) are arranged in a 4 + 4 structure that I have labeled a b c d followed by a b c e. There are thus only five distinct *pokok* melodies (pm) in the first eight *palet*. In the last three *palet* there are three more new *pokok* melodies (pm6-pm8; refer again to Figure 26).

I call the first and second four *palet* groups A and A' respectively, because A' is a near-complete repetition of A. I group the last three *palet* together as B. In Figure 26 we can see the larger grouping structure of the *pengawak* of *Kinada* in the relation between the gong and drum cycle as the foundation, with the grouping of the *palet* indicating the melodic periods. Each box equals four *pokok* beats.

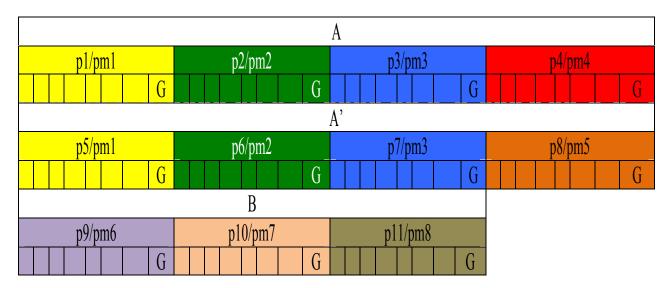


Figure 26. The Larger Grouping Structure of The Pengawak of Kinada

The transcription in Appendix A shows the elaboration (played by *terompong* 1, 2, and bamboo *saron*), *gangsa jongkok*, *jegogan*, the drumming pattern, and the gong cycles. Within these 704 beats or 352 *pokok* tones (the whole *pengawak*), the drum and the gong create internal non-melodic periods highlighting the repeating cycle. There is a little variation in the cycle of the drumming pattern: in *pokok* melody 6 (pm6) the first drum stroke occurs on the third beat of melodic segment *r* (Appendix A, page 193, second system) instead of the fourth beat. This is because of the asymmetric melodic progression in that particular spot, which the drum follows.

Jegogan notes ordinarily occur regularly at every eighth note of the *pokok*. However, there are a few spots in *palet* 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 where there are additional *jegogan* notes added in-between the others. The irregularities at the level of the *jegogan* notes highlight asymmetries in the melodies produced by the elaborative parts and the *pokok* tones, on which I will focus more in the following analysis.

Melodic Organization and Modulation in the Pengawak

The melodic organization of the *pengawak* is organized by *tabuh pat* form in which the gong and drum cycle serve as a foundation of the progression of the *pokok* melody. The following considers the melodic organizations of the smaller units inside each *palet*, and some modulation between modes.

The Organization of Melodic Segments in the Pengawak

Figure 31 is an analysis of the complete piece showing the progression of the *pokok* tones only. It shows the organizations of the smaller melodic segments inside each *palet* breaking up the *pokok* melody into small units or tonal sequences of the same length. Each *palet* has four segments (labeled alphabetically) in which each segment equals one *jegogan* tone or eight *pokok* tones. In section A there are two segments repeated: *d* in the last segment of *palet* 1 is repeated in the second segment of *palet* 2, and *g* in the last segment of *palet* 2 is repeated in the second segment of *palet* 4 (Figure 27). In section A' there are also two segments repeated: *d* repeats in the same manner as in section A, and *f* in the third segment of *palet* 2 is repeated in the second segment of *palet* 5. Section B contains a new melody made mostly of reordered segments of A and A'.

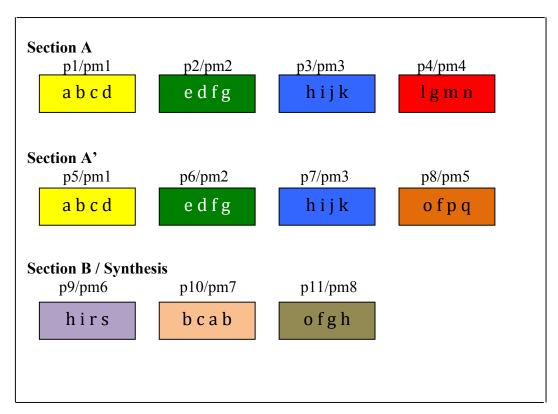


Figure 27. The Organization of Segments in the *Pengawak*.

Sections A and A'consist of similar segments in the first three *palets*, and end with completely different segments in the last *palet*. The melodic progression of A' functions similarly to what is known as *pengiwa* in the later musical form *lelambatan*.⁴⁷ A' repeats A, with the substitution a new melodic segment in the last *palet*, making it a transition to the next melodic section. Section B, largely a synthesis of the segments of the earlier sections, is the conclusion of the piece. It contains two new segments (the third and the last segment) in *palet* 9, and a new ordering of segments from section A and A' in *palets* 9, 10, and 11. The tempo is slightly increased, although it slows down at the second segment of the *palet* 11 toward the end of the piece.

⁴⁷ *Lelambatan* is a classical form of temple music that is played in another ensemble called *gong gedé* (see Tenzer 1998: 139-40, and Gold 2005: 22).

Two of these segments have an asymmetrical melodic structure created by *jegogan* tones or drum strokes. First, in segment *i* (see Appendix A, pages 187, 191, and 193), the durations in the *pokok* melody change so the *jegogan* comes on the (Western pitch) F, in between the third and the fourth half note beat. This segment occurs thrice, in *palet* 3, 7 and 9. The repetition of segment *i* adds another layer of repetition to the melodic cycle, in which the additional strokes of the *jegogan* project a different emphasis than the usual eight beat attacks. Second, the new segment *r* in section B provides a sense of asymmetrywhich is accentuated by the drum's stroke. This is the only time that a drum stroke falls in other than its usual place (see Appendix A, page 193, second system).

In Section A there is an interesting technique applied known as "wilet". ⁴⁸ The four *jegogan* tones in the first *palet* become gong tones of every *palet* in this section. In other words, the four gong tones are a *wilet* form of the four *jegogan* tones in the first *palet* (see Figure 28). The melodic progression of *palet* 1 is treated as a foundation for the development of the section, such that the melodic progression towards each *jegogan* tone in *palet* 1 is developed in the melodic progression of each upcoming *palet*.

⁴⁸ The technique of "wilet" is usually applied in the Balinese singing style that is called *macapat*. I Wayan Senen, a Balinese musicologist who is a professor of music at the Jogjakarta Arts Institute in Java, explains that there are two techniques used in *macapat*: "pacapriring" (diminution) and "wilet" (augmentation); see Senen 2001: 133.

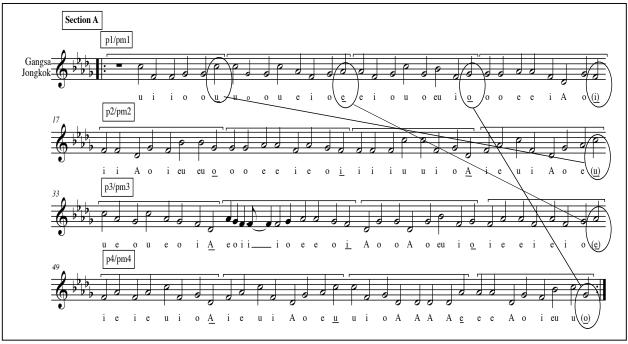


Figure 28. The Technique of "Wilet" in Section A.

However, this technique is only found in section A. The next two sections have different melodic arrangements, since their functions are different. Section A can be repeated an unlimited amount of times. The number of repetition depends on the specifications of the ceremonial context: the section could be repeated a hundred times, or played only once (Suma p.c. 23/07/10). In the recording that is used for this analysis, section A is not repeated. It is played only one time and is immediately followed by the next section.

Melodic Modulations

As with almost all of the seven-tone ensembles in Bali, modulation in the *gong luang* ensemble is a prevalent feature of the melody. Modulation to a new mode or *jalan* enriches the melody. However, most of the time only two are used in one piece: a

primary *jalan* modulating over time to a secondary one, then finally returning to the original. This is the case in the *pengawak* of *Kinada*.

The two *jalan* that are used in *Kinada*'s *pengawak* are *Wargasari and Nyura Cenik* (see Figure 29). *Wargasari* is primary and *Nyura Cenik* is secondary.

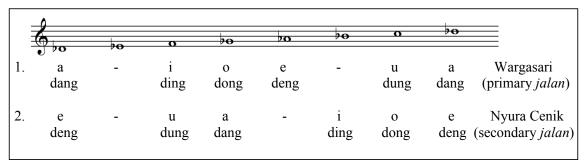


Figure 29. Two Jalan that are used in the Pengawak.

The change from the primary to the secondary *jalan* is actually a modulation to a new scale in which *jalan Wargasari*, serving as a primary or opening scale, modulates to the new *jalan* (*Nyura Cenik*) by replacing one note. The third note of the scale in *jalan Wargasari* (*deng/e*) modulates to a new note, called *pemero* (eu), that is situated in between *deng* (e) and dung (u). The *pemero* may occur in the melody merely as an occasional passing tone that gives the effect of a complete change in scale. Later, by reintroducing the original *deng* (e) and dropping the *pemero* tone, it returns to its original scale (see Figure 30).

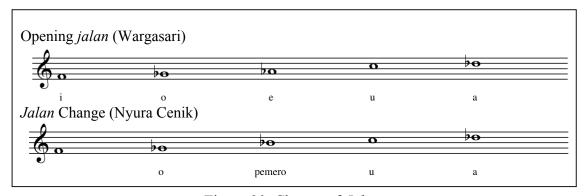


Figure 30. Change of *Jalan*.

Examples of how modulations from the original *jalan* to and from the secondary *jalan* are accomplished can be found in Appendix A, pages 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, and 194. The main characteristic of these changes is the appearance of the *pemero* tone in the elaborative parts (played by *terompong* and bamboo *saron*) prior to the tonal change in the *pokok* melody. Inside the rectangle is the modulation to the secondary *jalan*, and outside of it (after the rectangle) is the return to the original *jalan*.

Figure 31 demonstrates the modulations of the *pokok* tones to a new tonality. As we can see, the tonal changes are happening in almost every *palet* of the first two sections (A and A'), except in *palet* 5 of section A'. In section B tonal changes only occur in *palet* 7. If we look more closely at each *palet*, we find that in *palet* 1 and 3 section A and A' the modulation starts in the third segments (c and j) and returns to the original tonality in the last segment of the *palet* (d and k). In *palet* 2, the modulation starts in the first segment (e) and returns to the original tonality in segment d. In *palet* 4, it starts in the last segment (n) and returns to the original tonality in segment (n) which belongs to the next section (A'). Lastly, in *palet* 7 (section B) it modulates in the second segment (n) and returns to the original tonality in the next segment (n).



Those modulations are thoughtfully arranged "flowers" (to use a Balinese metaphor) for the melodic progression. They create both a symmetric and an asymmetric feeling in its periodic structure. It has a symmetric feeling because the modulations begin on the same beat in every segment (beat 5), and an asymmetric one because it modulates during different segments of the *palet* (as illustrated in the previous paragraph). The relation between these and the *palet* structure of the piece enrich the overall melodic progression.

Additionally, the modulations mostly happen in the first two sections of the piece and rarely in the last section (section B). The concluding section of the piece is formed by reordering segments of sections A and A' rather than by use of modulation. Figure 32 shows the composite analysis of the *pengawak* of *Kinada*.

Section	Drum and Gong Period	Palet /Pokok Melody	Melodic Segment	Modulation to the 2 nd <i>jalan</i> & Returning to the Original <i>jalan</i>
A		p1/pm1	a	
		1 1	b	
	D		c	modulation
	DDD/G		d	return
		p2/pm2	e	modulation
	D		d	return
	D DDD/C		f	
	DDD/G	p3/pm3	g h	
		рэ/ршэ	i	<u> </u>
	D		i	modulation
	DDD/G		k	return
	222,0	p4/pm5	1	
		L P	g	
	D		m	↓
	DDD/G		n	modulation
		p5/pm1	a	return
A'			b	↓
	D		С	modulation
	DDD/G		d	return
		p6/pm2	e	modulation
	D		d	return
	D DDD/G		f	
	ט/עעע	p7/pm3	g h	
		p7/pm3	i	<u> </u>
	D		i	modulation
	DDD/G		k	return
		p8/pm5	0	
		1 1	f	
	D		p	
	DDD/G		q	
		p9/pm6	h	
В	_		i	
	D		r	
	DDD/G	10/ 7	S	
		p10/pm7	b	modulation
	D		С	modulation return
	DDD/G		a b	
	טיטטע	p11/pm8	0	1
		p11/pillo	f	
	D			
	DDD/G		g h	▼

Figure 32. Composite Analysis of *Pengawak* of *Kinada*.

An Analysis of Mayura (Manukaba)

The *gong luang* pieces of Tangkas are mostly divided into two sections: an introduction and the main body. The introduction and closing section of the main body are called *mijil*. *Mijil* is a short opening or ending phrase. In *mijil* all of the melodic instruments play in unison, while the *gong* marks the end of the phrase following three strokes of *bedug* (a barrel drum). The introductory *mijil* consists of a ten-beat introductory melody and the closing one consists of a four-and-a-half beat melody. The main body is called *pengawak*, which consists of five gong cycles with an asymmetric structure. As in *Kinada*, elaboration parts highlight the progression of the core melody and also tend to avoid the strong beats. Figure 33 shows the complete structure of *Mayura* from Tangkas.

_Mijil	Pengawak
The Introduction	The Main Body
	5 Carik / gong cycles

Figure 33. Structure of *Mayura*.

The following analysis focuses on three aspects of the structure: the organization of the gong cycle and the drum pattern in the *pengawak*, the progression of the melody itself in relation to the sung poetry *kidung* Manukaba that creates the melodic framework of the piece, and the organization of $pada^{49}$ and the melodic segments of the pokok that construct the whole piece.

⁴⁹ The term *pada* in *gong luang* of Tangkas is equivalent to *palet* in *gong luang* of Seseh.

Drum and Gong Periods within the Pengawak

The *pengawak* of *Mayura* consists of 224 beats in total. It is divided into five sections known as *carik*, with each *carik* consisting of smaller divisions called *pada*. Each *pada* consists of 16 beats. The length of a *carik* varies—it may contain two *pada*, three *pada*, or four *pada* (see Figure 34). The *gong* (symbolyzed with a G in Figure 34) is played at the end of each *carik* with the preceding three strokes of *bedug*.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cari	<i>k</i> I : T	hree	Pada	(lines):48	beats									
•								-		•					•
	•								•	•					•
						•			•	-			D	DD	G
Carik II: Two Pada (lines): 32 beats															
•		•			•	·			٠						
•		•			•	·			٠				D	DD	G
Carik III: Two Pada (lines): 32 beats															
		•			•	ē									
					•	-							D	DD	G
Cari	k IV :	Thre	e Pad	a (lin	es) : 4	48 bea	its								
															-
	-								•						•
		•			•	·			٠				D	DD	G
Cari	<i>k</i> V :	Four <i>I</i>	Pada	(lines): 64	beats									
															•
															•
•													D	DD	G

Figure 34. Carik, Pada, and Gong Periods of the Pengawak.

Each sixteen-beat pada is divided into groups of ten and six beats (10 + 6). The calung, which plays one note on the last beat of each group (i.e., the tenth and sixteenth beats), marks the grouping structure. This is similar to the grouping structure of gamelan

 $gambang^{50}$ in which an eight-beat melody is grouped into five and three beats (5 + 3). The grouping of pada in $gong\ luang$ is essentially an augmentation of that in the $gambang\ style.^{51}$

The Melodic Period and Organization of Pokok

Figure 35 is an analysis of the whole piece showing the progression of the *pokok* melody played by the *calung*. Eight different *pokok* melodies are used as shown and labeled alphabetically. Nothing is repeated until *carik* IV. Within *carik* IV *pokok* melodies 4 and 5, first heard in *carik* II, are repeated. Within *carik* V four *pokok* from three different *carik* are repeated: *pokok* 6 of *carik* III, *pokok* 8 of *carik* IV, and *pokok* 4 and 5 of *carik* II.

⁵⁰ The gamelan *gambang* is a seven-tone gamelan ensemble in Bali which is considered an ancient and sacred ensemble used for temple and funeral rites.

⁵¹ This similarity is possible since the village of Tangkas also owns a *gamelan gambang*, and it is likely that either the two gamelan share similar musical structures, or that one influences the other.

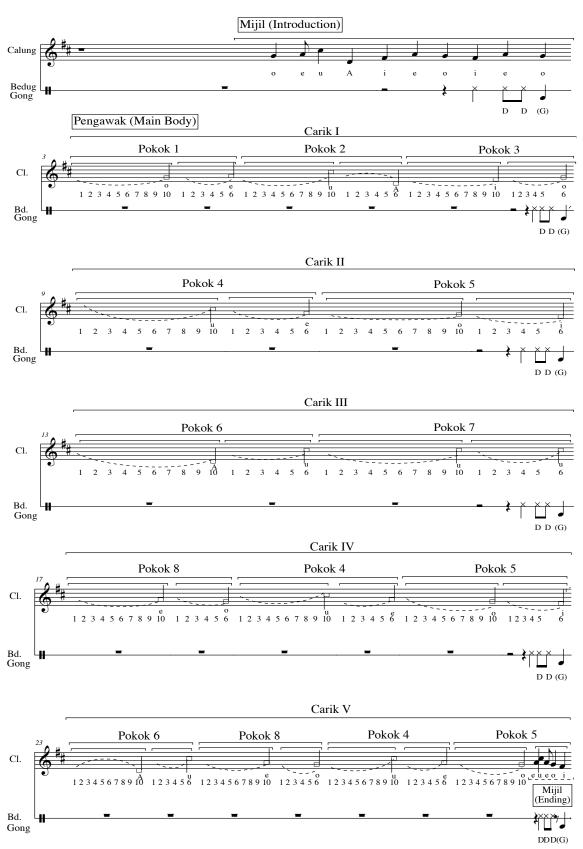


Figure 35. Analysis of Melodic Periods in the *Pengawak* of *Mayura*.

There are several interesting compositional techniques developed in this piece. The first is *wilet* (similar to *wilet* in *Kinada*), and the second is *ulungan* (literally, "fall," and it is applied to ending phrases). The technique of *ulungan* involves creating a characteristic ending for a *carik* by quoting from a melodic phrase of *kidung*. *Wilet* happens in *carik* I (see Figure 36). The melodic progressions of *pokok* 1, 2, and 3 are based upon the melody of the opening *mijil* (introduction). The first half (five notes) of this *mijil* is augmented into a longer (42-beat) melody using the same five notes. In the second half or the last five notes of [A G F# A G], the note G that functions as the end note is selected to be the last note of *carik* I. The *mijil's* preceding As and F# do not receive stress at the end of a subsequent *pada* phrase; I feel that they function as the upper and lower neighbor tones of G (the goal note that falls on the gong).

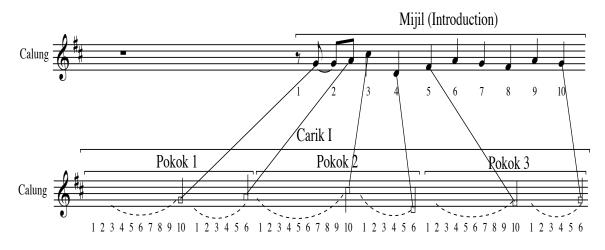


Figure 36. *Wilet* – Augmentation of *Mijil* in *Carik* I.

Ulungan is introduced in *carik* II. The four-note sequence of *pada* 4 and 5 [C# A and G F#] is based upon the ending phrase of *kidung Manukaba*. Figure 37 is a transcription of *kidung Manukaba*. It shows the core notes (melodic skeleton) from which

the singer develops his/her "improvisatory" style.⁵² This transcription shows how each section of *kidung Manukaba* has the same melodic sequence [C# A G F#] as its closing phrase. The first half (C# A) corresponding to *pokok* 4 is colored in yellow, and the second half (G F#) corresponding to *pokok* 5 is colored in blue. In *Mayura*, *ulungan* happens in *carik* II, IV, and V (see Figure 38).

	A	A	-	F#		D
-	D	A		G		C#
	(D)C#	A	•	G		F#
	F#A	G		F#	•	D
	C#	A		G		F#
-	F#	C#		A	•	A
	(D)C#	A		G		F#

Figure 37. Kidung Manukaba Source of Ulungan.

Two more new techniques are introduced in *pokok* 6 and 7 of *carik* III and *pokok* 8 of *carik* IV. The technique of *ngubeng*⁵³ happens in *pokok* 6. The initial note, *dung* [u] or C#, of *pokok* 6 is sustained in *pokok* 7—the notes of *pokok* 7 are also *dung* (u) or C#. Thus, for Balinese musicians, the two *pokok* in *carik* III can be thought as one longer *pokok* that has a melodic sequence from *dang* (A) to *dung* (u) or from D to C# (see *carik* three in Figure 38). *Carik* IV is a combination of new material (*pokok* 8) and a repetition of the *ulungan*.

52 This melodic skeleton is called *periring*, and the augmentation part is called *wilet*.

Michael Tenzer defines *ngubeng* as points of stasis: "static, as in motion of a melodic stratum, drum pattern level, etc." (2000: 452).

-

Mijil (Introduction)															
						1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
				. 0	. e	u	A	i	e	0	i	e	(o)		
													D	DD	(.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cari	Carik I														
									0						e
									u i			٠	٠	•	A
									i				D	DD	(o)
Cari	k II –	Ulun	gan	1	1		I				1	1	1	1	
		-	-	-			-		u	٠			-		e
									0				D	DD	(i)
Cari	k III	ı	1				ı				ı	ı			
									A						u
·	•	•	•	•	٠	٠		÷	u	_ •	•	•	D	DD	(u)
Cari	k IV -	- Ului	ngan												
			-						е						О
	-	-	-	-			-		u	٠	-	-			e
		T 71	•	•	•	•	•	•	0	•	•	•	D	DD	(i)
Cari	k V –	Ulun	gan												
									A			٠			u
									e						О
-	-	-	-	-			-		u		-				e
•		•				•	•		0	Е	u	e o	•	(i)	
											D	DD		(.)	
1			1	l -	-	7	0	0	1.0	1		(End		4.5	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	4.5	

Figure 38. Melodic Period and Structure in Mayura.

Carik V consists of material from carik II, III, and IV. Pokok 6 of carik III is placed at the beginning, followed by pokok 8 of carik IV, and ulungan of carik II comes at the end. However, pokok 5 is rearranged, and the second part of it becomes the ending mijil.

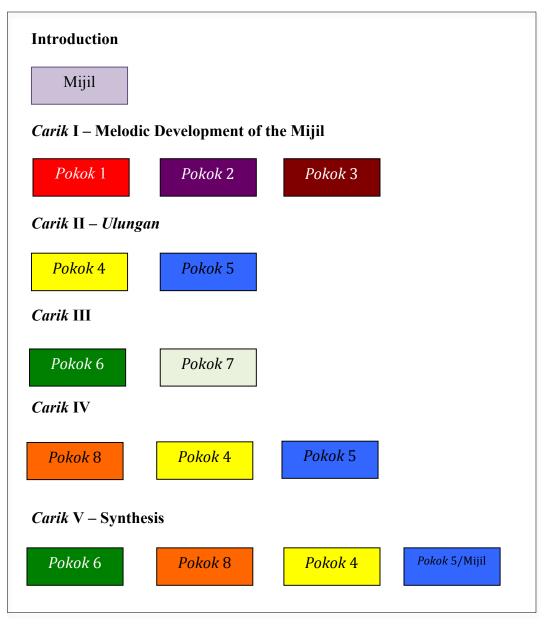


Figure 39. Organization of *Pokok* in *Mayura*.

In the bigger picture (see Figure 39), the melody of *Mayura* can be divided into two parts. The first part is the *mijil* and *pokok* 1 to 3 of *carik* I. The second part consists of *carik II* to *V* and consists of the *ulungan* (*carik* II), some new material (*carik* III and the first *pokok* of *carik* IV), and a synthesis of these, plus the final *mijil* (*carik* V). Figure 40 shows the composite analysis of *Mayura*.

Section	Drum and Gong Period	<i>Pokok</i> Melody	Ulungan
Mijil	Gong i chou	Miciody	
(Introduction)	D . DD (G)		
(miroduction)	D . DD (G)	Pokok 1	
Carik I		Pokok 2	
		Pokok 3	
	D . DD(G)	2011	
Carily II		Pokok 4	171
Carik II		Pokok 5	Ulungan
	D . DD(G)	1 OKOK 3	
	2.22(3)	Pokok 6	
Carik III			
		Pokok 7	
	D . DD(G)		
		Pokok 8	
C 1 W		D 1 1 4	7.71
Carik IV		Pokok 4	Ulungan
		Pokok 5	
	D . DD(G)	1 0/10/1/2	
	· /	Pokok 6	
- 4		Pokok 8	
Carik V		D 1 1 4	Ulungan
		Pokok 4	
		Pokok 5	
Mijil (Ending)	D . DD(G)		

Figure 40. Composite Analysis of Mayura.

Concluding Thoughts

In summary, I wish to consider the statements of Kramer and other scholars in relation to the *pengawak* of *Kinada* and *Mayura*.

Balinese musical performances simply start and stop but have neither beginning gestures, nor ultimate final cadences... Balinese music, like Balinese life, is not oriented toward climax. (Kramer 1988: 24)

This is a common anthropological view of the Balinese culture. Others, such as Christopher Small, have stressed similar ideas:

The absence of climax is a frequently remarked-upon feature of Balinese life; we have already noticed it in Balinese music... This absence of the sense of climax is closely allied to one of the most important characteristics of Balinese life, one which must surely be a vital formative influence on Balinese music: activities in general are carried out not as a progression towards some desired but deferred goal, but as inherently satisfying in themselves... Balinese music, with its lack of harmonic tensions and absence of climax, designed as it is to be enjoyed moment by moment, is clear. (Small 1977: 46-47)

The examples I have shown seem to contradict what these two scholars have stated. The *pengawak* of *Kinada* and *Mayura* each exhibit their own unique arrangement of materials. Inside section A of *Kinada* and *carik* one of *Mayura*, the technique of "wilet" is applied to the arrangement of its melody. The periodic structure of melody in the *pengawak* of both *Kinada* and *Mayura* is thoughtfully organized, and the melodic modulation (only in *Kinada*) enriches the melodic progression.

In *Kinada*, section B can be seen as the synthesis of sections A and A'. Similar to *Kinada*, in *Mayura carik* V is the synthesis of *carik* II, III, and IV. The synthesis in both pieces may be heard as climactic. The climax does not always have to be the most intense part of the piece (in terms of its tempo and feeling); it can also be understood as a process of developing materials that are gathered in the last section. In addition, the tempo in the last section is increased which arguably adds to a climactic feel. The foundational cycle played by drum and gong provides the feeling of a series of cadences in which the gong stroke at the end of every *palet* (in *Kinada*) or end of every *carik* (in *Mayura*) preceded by drum strokes, and overlaid with a constantly developing melody, strongly suggests, for Balinese musicians, motion towards a climax.

Kramer's and Small's understanding of climax in Balinese music is based on what they have read of the context of Balinese life in general. For them, the lifestyle and the rituals of Bali suggest no desired goals. According to Kramer, start and finish whenever people are ready to start and stop them. For Small, this is because the enjoyment and the harmony of life are prominent aspects of Balinese life and rituals. Thus, Kramer and Small's analysis makes sense to them. They impose a literal connection between Balinese socio-religious life and its music. For them the music as the accompaniment for ritual is simply played from the beginning until the end of a ritual, with no important musical moments. However, in my view, the essence of Balinese life (as explained in chapter one) is oriented towards a desired goal: the harmony of life. But the process of reaching this goal is complex, which could make it seem, superficially, to be an endless and non-teleological action. It is thus misleading to state that Balinese music, like Balinese life, is not oriented towards a climax.

Additionally, are the meanings of musical climax for Kramer and Small the same as for a Balinese musician? Climax is a subjective word, and different musicians can have different concepts and experiences of climax based on their musical experiences. The cultural background of musicians affects its meaning. In regard to Western music, Evelyn Simonian states that

A climax is essentially the most intense and emotional part of a phrase. It is not necessarily the highest or the loudest tone, but it is the most emphatic one in the cycle of a performance phrase or a musical section. There is always a beginning, a climax and an end. The climax can occur at any point between the beginning and the end of the cycle, but usually occurs in the middle. (2010)

While it is true that the most intense and emotional part of a musical phrase is a kind of climax, for Balinese musicians who have different musical backgrounds, a sudden change of musical moments (e.g., from intense to silent [or vice versa], from slow to fast tempo,

from an unmetered and non-repeating phrase to a metered and repeated phrase, etc.) may also be felt as climax. The generalization of the meanings of climax as it is applied by Kramer and Small to Balinese music is misleading and does not convey the perception of Balinese musicians. Even within Balinese music, such generalization is not appropriate, since there are many different kinds of musical genres that might have different characteristics of musical climax.

Kramer also said: "The Balinese do not think in terms of specific durations to be filled by 'meaningful' events." The gong and drum period that underlines the cadential phrasing of the melodic progression and modulations suggests that those moments may indeed express some form of "meaning."

When dealing with Balinese music (or non-western music), notions of linearity and non-linearity seem to be derived from the musical notation rather than from the actual music. Many western scholars who studied Balinese music during the 1960s and 1970s, like Kramer or Small, were mostly working from notated scores. This method leads to a misleading perception of the music. For instance, consider the well-known Balinese piece *Baris* (the warrior dance). This piece has a simple eight-beat repeated melody, *gongan* (meter), and *kotekan* (the interlocking figuration based on the basic melody). The visualization of the piece in a musical score of the basic cycle will show the exact same music repeating over and over again. However, if one watches the live performance of Baris, one would perceive it differently. Although the cycle is repeated throughout the piece, there are many changes in tempo, dynamics, and timing that are not shown in score of the melody. Moreover, the dancer is not moving in a circle, but in a linear space in accordance with the dance structure. So, when Kramer and others state

that the Balinese music is non-linear, this is because of the image of the musical notation (score) is in their mind, *not* the music or dance performance itself.

One could argue in more depth against Kramer or Small's outdated western perspectives on Balinese thought, but hopefully the analyses of these *luang* compositions helps clarify how such perspectives might lead to misleading ideas about the music. Within a Balinese melodic cycle there is always a rule (*pakem*), which provides the basic form that helps to structure and manage the materials, and there are interrelationships between metric and melodic progressions that exhibit a high degree of linearity and thoughtful organization.

Chapter 5 The Future of *Gong Luang*

Most sophisticated thinkers have all along been aware that ethnomusicologists must take change into account because it is always there, and they have a special stake in the understanding of history. Indeed, if there is anything really stable in the musics of the world, it is the constant existence of change. (Nettl 2005:275)

In Balinese religious culture, change is regulated by *desa kala patra*: how people integrate with each other and develop their culture in accordance with place, time, and situation. Change relates, through a particular time and place, to an earlier situation. Bruno Nettl states:

Humans cannot create culture from scratch; they use building blocks already present, combining and recombining them. If we imagine a point at which music was something new, we would do well to view it as a unique fusion of elements that were already present in human culture. (2005: 261)

Change involves modifying preexisting elements to be more appropriate for the current time. This can be positive or negative, since change is not always accepted as a good thing, and can be "an incidental, disturbing, exceptional, and polluting factor" (Nettl 2005: 272).

As explained in chapter two, the role of *gong luang* has been changing in contemporary Balinese society. What happened in the past, according to the elders of *gong luang*, is different from what happens today. This is an example of the application of *desa kala patra* on *gong luang*'s role: the religious and social functions have developed in accordance with the current situation in society. The ritual function of *gong luang* is in decline, and there are issues with the regeneration of its musicianship. However, the music, in terms of its styles and playing techniques (and despite the

regrettable loss of several pieces from the Tangkas and Seseh repertories), mainly remains stable.⁵⁴ This makes *gong luang* an asset, since it is one of the most distinctive extant ensembles. And the characteristics of *gong luang* often attract the attention of interested musicians and composers.

This chapter does not investigate changes in *gong luang* repertory, but rather examines contemporary interpretations of *gamelan gong luang* through two different perspectives: 1) the incorporation of its elaboration patterns in contemporary compositions for the modern ensemble known as *gamelan gong kebyar*; and 2) how the distinctive characteristic sounds of *gong luang* (or the ideas about its tuning system) often serve as the source of inspiration in creating new sets of *gamelan*.

In the first section of the chapter, a comparison of standard *gong kebyar* elaboration and *gong luang* elaboration is provided to highlight their differences. From here the interpretation of *gong luang* elaboration by contemporary composers is analyzed. The second section investigates newly created *gamelan* ensembles that were inspired by the characteristic sound of the *gong luang* tuning system over the past twenty years. It also describes a number of *gong luang* ensembles owned by individuals and/or institutions today, and the purpose of having the ensemble in homes or schools.

Reong Elaboration in Gong Kebyar

Reong is a percussive-elaborative instrument of the gong kebyar ensemble that consists of gongs arranged in a row spanning two octaves. This instrument is similar to the terompong of gong luang. Their playing techniques also seem to have some

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⁵⁴ Most of my informants state that the music they play today is the original version, which has been passed down to them orally from their predecessors.

similarities at first glance. However, there is a significant difference in the melodic progressions used. The *reong* of *gong kebyar* mainly uses standardized, predictable elaboration based upon a melody provided by other instruments.⁵⁵ The *terompong* of *gong luang* uses elaboration that often does not have such a clear relationship with the melodic instruments like that of *reong*. An understanding of both is needed prior to analysis of the *leluangan* style of contemporary *gong kebyar* pieces.

The two most prevalent kinds of *reong* elaboration in *gong kebyar* are *kilitan* and *norot*. The instrument is played by four musicians divided into two pairs—player one and two as one pair, and player three and four as another—that play one composite melody. Sometimes all of them work cooperatively to produce a single melodic line.

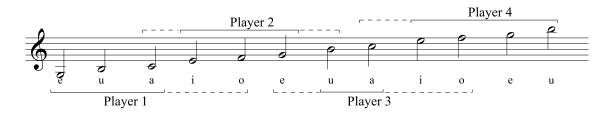


Figure 41. Players' Position in *Reong*.

Figure 41 shows the position and the division of notes for each player. Player one and two in the lower octave mainly play three notes, and occasionally use one or two notes that belong to the next player. Player one sometimes has to play the note E (*ding*) and F (*dong*) that belong to player two, and player two sometimes play the note B (*dung*) that belongs to player three and C (*dang*) of player one. ⁵⁶ Player three has two notes only, but

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⁵⁵ *Reong* elaboration is widely known by musicians and has been analyzed by Balinese and Western scholars (Sukerta 2010, Tenzer 2000, Tilley 2005, etc.).

⁵⁶ Gong kebyar uses a five-tone scale. There are terms used to name the notes respectively within the scale: Ding (i), Dong (o), Deng (e), Dung (u), and Dang (a) (or represented as E, F, G, B, C in

like player one and two will occasionally play the note E(ding) and F(dong) that belong to player four, and G(deng) of player two. And finally, player four has the top four notes and occasionally plays the note C(dang) of player three.

Kilitan Reong

In *gong kebyar*, there are different terms used to describe the interlocking patterns of different instruments. *Kotekan* is associated with the interlocking patterns of the *gangsa* (the metallophones). *Kilitan* is often used to describe *reong* interlocking. The difference lies in the way the interlocking figurations are constructed, and in the contour of the composite melody. Ketut Gede Asnawa states that "the word *kilitan* is inseparable from the word *kotekan*, because their meanings are similar: that is, an interlocking pattern produced by one pair of *polos* and *sangsih*⁵⁷, (*kilitan* adalah kata yang tak terpisahkan dengan *kotekan* yang keduanya memiliki pengertian yang sama, yaitu pasangan *polos* dan *sangsih*; Asnawa p.c. 15/11/12). In terms of the melodic contour resulting from the interlocking of *polos* and *sangsih*, however, Asnawa explains that there is a fundamental difference: *kilitan* patterns "move in a circle" (gerakan melingkar), and *kotekan* "moves forward and sideways" (gerakan lurus kedepan dan kesamping).

Asnawa uses an analogy based upon the literal meaning of the words *kilit* and *kotek* to illustrate the difference. *Kilit* means coil, like a rope that is tightly coiled

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western staff notation). The *calung* consist of one octave (Ding, Dong, Deng, Dung, Dang), and the *reong* consists of two octaves with two additional notes after the higher one. Unlike *calung*, the order of *reong*'s notes are different; it starts from the *deng* (e) in a lower octave (see Figure 41).

⁵⁷ *Polos* is the first part of the interlocking. Its pattern is often more simple, on the beat, and straightforward. *Sangsih* is the second part of the interlocking, tracking the *polos*. Its pattern is often more challenging and fits in-between the *polos* tones. It is often, though not always, more "off-the-beat" than the former.

together. *Kotek* means prod, and it is usually used to describe an activity of prodding something using a stick. The movement of the stick is usually forward or sideways. He observes that the interlocking patterns of *kilitan* are often coiled, and that the interlocking patterns of *kotekan* tend to move forward towards a specific place. Although in practice we do find some *kotekan* that are coiled like *kilitan*, this is because the *kilitan* patterns played on *reong* are often adopted by the *gangsa* who originally played only *kotekan*. In regard to Asnawa's definitions, we need to understand that these terms were given before the development of the interlocking techniques that are currently used, and that are still developing. This is the reason why there are so many exceptions found in the art of interlocking figurations in Balinese gamelan.

In playing *kilitan*, the four *reong* players are divided into two pairs in two different octaves. Player one and three play the *polos* part, and players two and four play the *sangsih*. They work together to construct a melodic elaboration based on the *pokok* or the core melody, a succession of tones played on the *calung*. ⁵⁸

There are two steps in analyzing basic *kilitan* elaborations. The first is to look at its relationship to each note of the *pokok*. *Reong* players play a set of fixed, pre-composed interlocking melodic patterns chosen from among a restricted vocabulary of such patterns. Each pattern uses a four-note subset of the five-tone scale, in which one of the lower three tones matches the *pokok*. The highest of the four tones never matches the *pokok*, but is always struck at the same time as the lowest one, creating a *kempyung*

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⁵⁸ Calung (sometimes also called *jublag*) is a one-octave mid-register instrument that plays basic melodies together with the *penyacah* (one octave higher) and *jegogan* (one octave lower). These three instruments divide the basic melody into three different strata: the *penyacah* generally plays every beat, the *calung* accents every second beat of the *penyacah*, and the *jegogan* stresses the same note as the *calung* every fourth beat of the *penyacah*. See Tenzer 2000: 53-54 and Gold 2005: 55-58.

interval. Figure 42 shows two possible "stable" *kilitan* for each of the five notes of the *calung* within *gong kebyar*'s five-tone scale system. They are idiomatically "stable" because they can be repeated for as long as the *pokok* tone is prolonged, and will always sound that tone in alignment with the *pokok*.

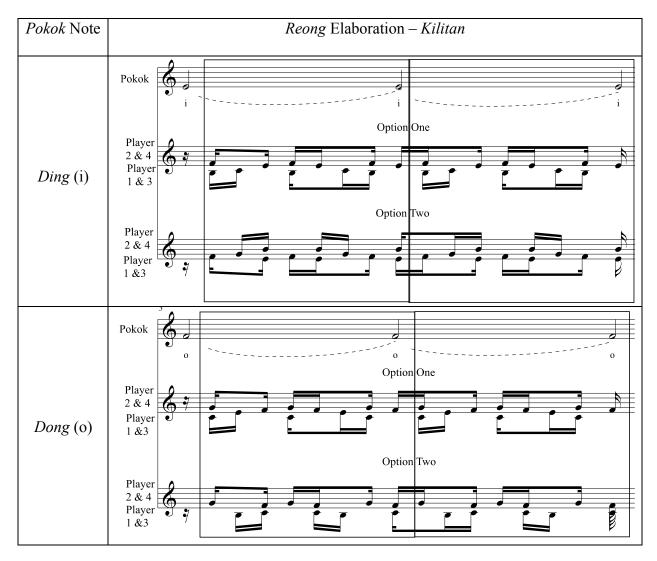
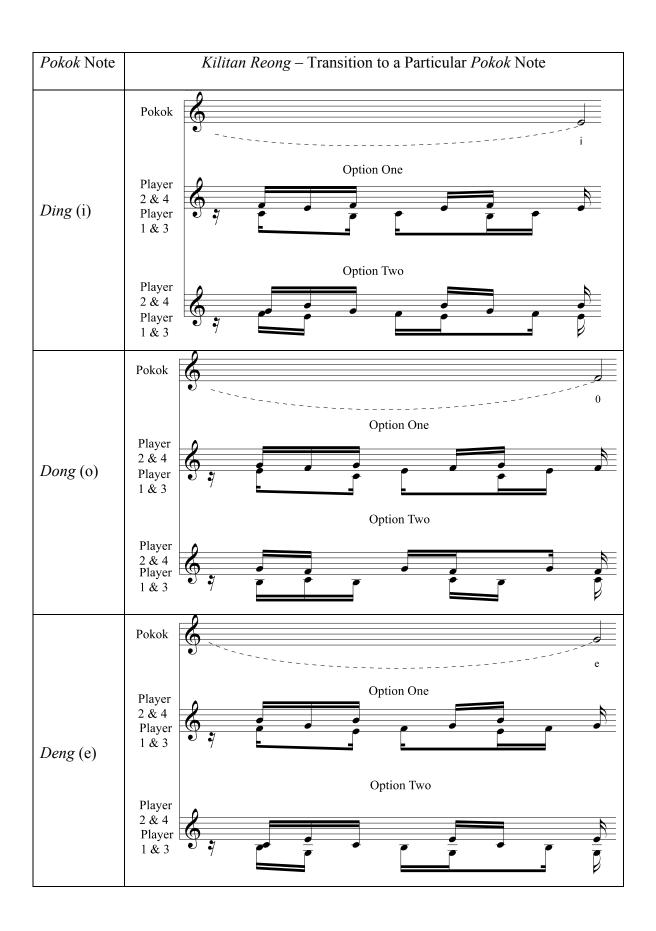




Figure 42. The Stable Kilitan for Each Pokok Note.

If we look at the two *kilitan* options for *ding* (the first example of Figure 42), option one uses ding (E) as the focal point of the interlocking pattern and two lower neighbor notes of the pokok as counterpart notes, dung (B) and dang (C), that interlock with ding. The interlocking is completed by adding dong (F), upper neighbor note of the pokok, as a "harmony" note (kempyung) of dung (the lowest note in the pattern). Dung and dong are thus played at the same time. Unlike option one, option two uses three upper neighbor notes: dong (F) – deng (G) – dung (B), and ding. As in the first option, ding is the focal point. Dung functions as kempyung of ding, and they are played at the same time. The options for dong, deng, dung, and dang are all patterned similarly.

The next step is to look at transitions from one *pokok* note to another. There are five possible transitions within the five-tone scale of *gong kebyar*. These are considered unstable patterns, because the melodic contour they trace is idiomatically associated with motion to a new pokok tone. Figure 43 shows two options of *kilitan* for these transitions. The selection of notes for these two options uses similar methods as the *kilitan* for each *pokok* note. Option one uses the lower neighbor notes, and option two uses the higher ones.



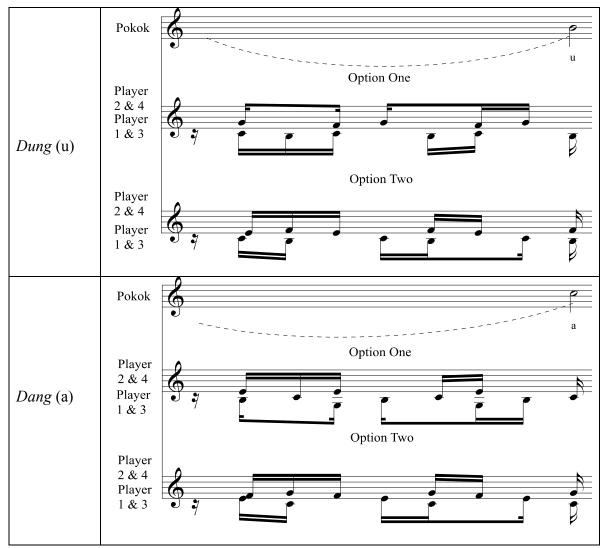


Figure 43. The *Kilitan*: Transitions from One *Pokok* to Another.

These stable *kilitan* for each *pokok* note and the unstable transitions from one to another form a musical lexicon from which a full *kilitan* pattern can be constructed to elaborate any given *pokok* melody. For example, in the eight-beat melody in Figure 44, the sequence of *pokok* tones is dang(C) - ding(E) - deng(G) - ding(E) - dang(C). Each *pokok* note within this melody is two beats long, and the length of each pattern from the toolbox is also two beats. A span of two beats does not allow for a combination of a

stable *kilitan* and a transition; four beats of *pokok* is a minimum required length.⁵⁹ Thus there is only time for two of these notes to provide orientation for creating the *kilitan*: *dang* and *deng*. Coming at the metrically stronger beginning and middle they are elaborated with stable patterms, while both *ding* function as connecting tones. In Figure 44 stable *kilitan* of *dang* option two, *kilitan* transition to *deng* option one, stable *kilitan* of *deng* option two, and *kilitan* transition to *dang* option one are selected.



Figure 44. An Example of *Reong Kilitan* Elaboration.

Kilitan is a fully composed elaboration. Although there are two options for each *pokok* note and transition to another note, the selected *kilitan* for a given melody has to be agreed upon and well rehearsed. The players do not have the authority to select particular *kilitan* from the available options and play them spontaneously in the course of the performance.

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⁵⁹ A combination of a *kilitan* and a transition is commonly used and is found in the elaborations of many classical pieces. Although one could create an elaboration that only used transitions, it would not sound "right" for the musicians because it does not follow the traditional aesthetic sensibility.

Norot Reong

Leslie Tilley states: "norot, also called nyok cok, is a style of elaboration, used by both gangsa and reyong players, which produces, on the gangsa at any rate, a fairly simple composite melody.........[norot] has a very identifiable shape, characterized by a wavering or neighbor-note motion around each pokok tone" (2003: 25). While it is true that today the term norot is often used to describe a "single note" interlocking on gangsa (Tenzer 2000; Tilley 2003; Gold 2005), norot was originally used to describe melodic elaboration on reong. An older musician often uses the terms nyokcok and noltol interchangeably for gangsa interlocking figuration (see Figure 45), but norot is always used for reong elaboration of this style because there is no "single note" interlocking by reong.

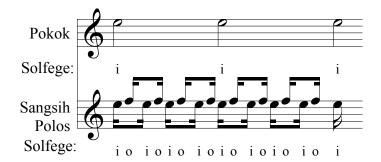


Figure 45. *Noltol* or *Nyokcok* Interlocking Figuration.

Norot is derived from the word *nurut*, which in Balinese means "to follow" (Asnawa p.c. 15/11/12). Michael Tenzer describes *norot* as "a common and elegant orchestral texture used in a variety of musical contexts and tempi," and "is considered

⁶⁰ Single note interlocking on *gangsa* means that "The *polos* part subdivides the *pokok* pulse, repeating the *pokok* pitch, playing evenly on the beat. The *sangsih* part starts with the *polos* then immediately moves to the upper neighbor pitch (i.e. the metallophone key adjacent to the one the *polos* is playing), playing a continuous offbeat" (Gold 2005: 59).

simple and basic because of the close emulation of the shape of the *pokok* observable in all melodic strata" (2000: 63). The figuration of *norot* is indeed simple because it follows the movement of the *pokok* melody by playing the *pokok* note alternately and repeatedly with the upper neighbor note within the scale (see Figure 46). However, the realization of this "simple" figuration by an individual *reong* player is actually quite abstract. There are layered textural melodies played by the four *reong* players that use the "simple" figuration of *norot* as its guideline.

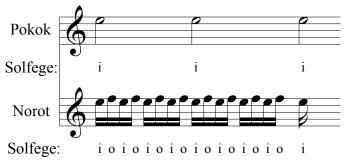
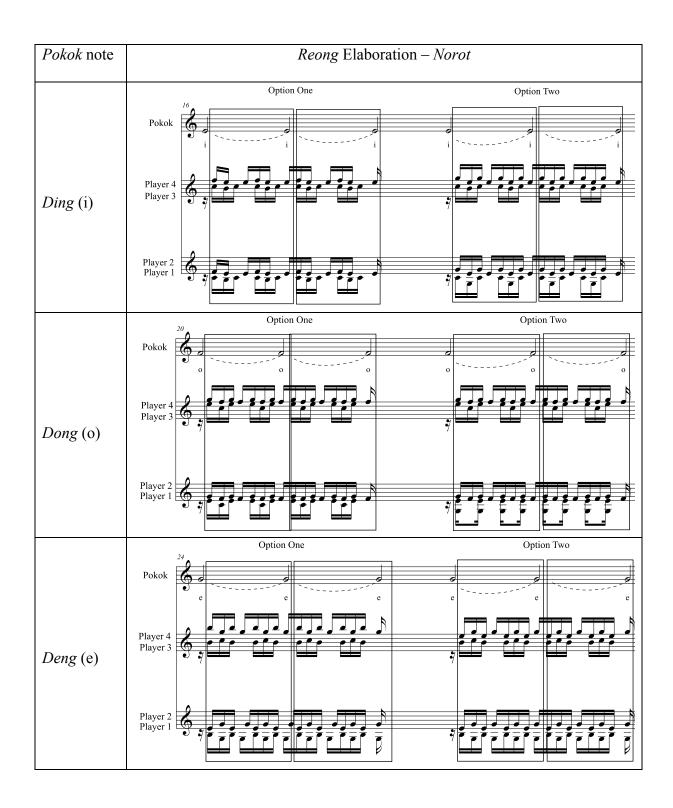


Figure 46. "Simple" Norot Elaboration.

The melodic elaborations developed from "simple" *norot* can be completely composed and well rehearsed or have some degree of improvisation. There are two options of basic *norot* for each *pokok* note (see Figure 47). There are also two options of basic *norot* for transition from one *pokok* note to the other (see Figure 48). Like in *kilitan*, these two serve as a musical lexicon for constructing basic *norot* elaboration. An important difference, however, is that players 1 and 3, as well as players 2 and 4, only occasionally double each other at the octave. The four parts are often independent.



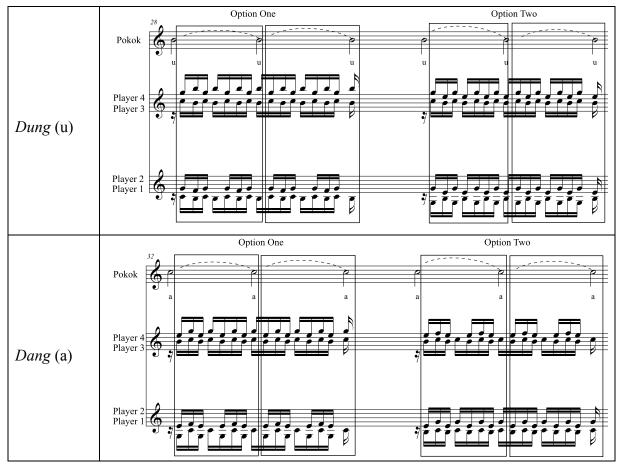


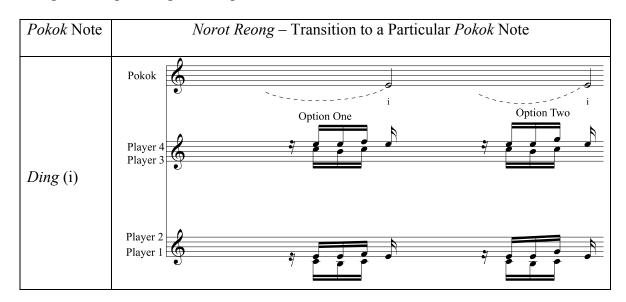
Figure 47. Basic Norot Elaboration.

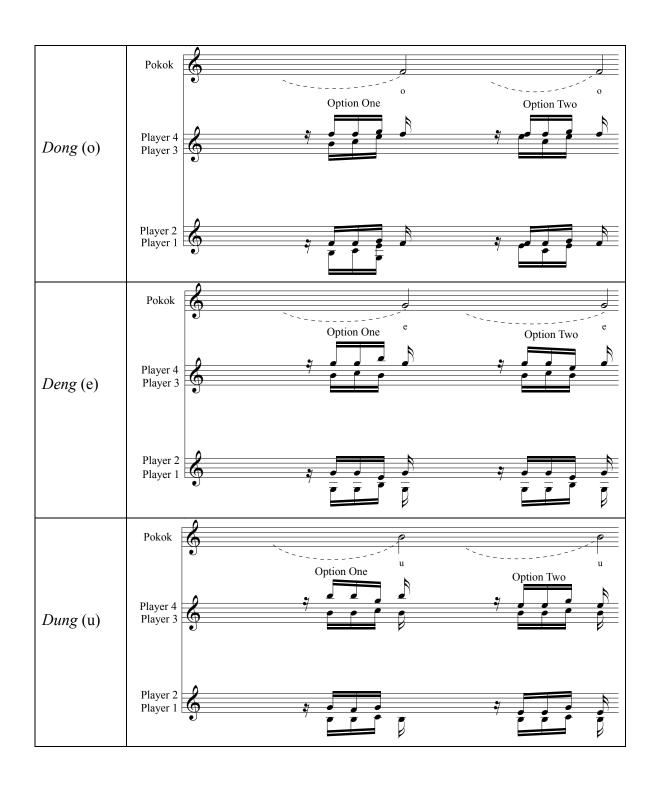
An important aspect of realizing *norot reong* is that players who have the *pokok* note within their division of notes will often play the same pattern as the "simple" *norot* elaboration, and the players who do not will play a harmonized or leading pattern of the *pokok*. For example, in option one of the first example of Figure 47 (basic *norot* elaboration of *pokok* note *ding*), players 2 and 4 play the rhythm characteristic of "simple" *norot* elaboration—the *pokok* and its upper neighbor note (*ding* and *dong*) are played alternately. However, every second *dong* within the sequence is skipped. The decision to skip a note is up to the players. Playing the "simple" *norot* pattern at a fast tempo requires good technique, but would be considered *nguda* (literally "young" or

immature) if played with no development. Skipping every second upper neighbor note, especially at a fast tempo, is considered *wayah* (literally "ripe" or mature) and is commonly done by experienced players. In the same example players 1 and 3 play patterns that lead to the *pokok* note. They leave spaces on each beat so as not to "disturb" the *pokok* note played by player 2 and 4. They use two lower neighbor notes of the *pokok* (*dang* and *dung*).

Option two is similar to option one. Player 3 plays the same part, while players 1, 2, and 4 change one of the two notes they play. Player 1 replaces *dung* with *deng*. Players 2 and 4 replace *dong* with *deng* and as shown in the transcription; player 2 and 4 play the basic *norot* elaboration instead of skipping the notes.

Transitions to new *pokok* notes are presented in Figure 48. The upcoming *pokok* note is repeated and is followed by the upper neighbor note or the tone two steps above before it resolves back to the *pokok* note. Player 2 and 4 could use combinations of *ding* and *dong* or *ding* and *deng*: *ding* is the *pokok* note and *dong* and *deng* are the neighbor note and the note above that (see example one). Player 1 and 3 could use combinations of *dang* and *dung* or *dang* and *deng*.





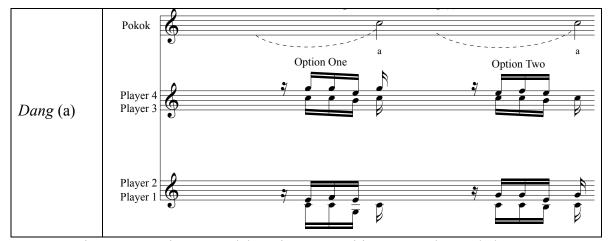


Figure 48. Basic *Norot* Elaboration – Transition to Another *Pokok* Note.

Beginner musicians often play basic *norot* patterns with no development. The selected patterns are agreed upon and rehearsed by the players. Skilled musicians, however, often develop more elaborate *norot* based on the two options presented in Figures 47 and 48.⁶¹ This development sometimes happens spontaneously in the course of the performance, but it is also often a process of re-playing a rehearsed elaborate *norot* that is internalized and recognized by all the players. Thus, players that have been playing together for a long time will achieve well-synchronized patterns.

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⁶¹ I will not go into further detail analyzing elaborate *norot* patterns, because the focus of this chapter is not *reong norot*. Leslie Tilley at the University of British Columbia wrote an M.A. thesis specifically about *reong norot* elaboration (2003).

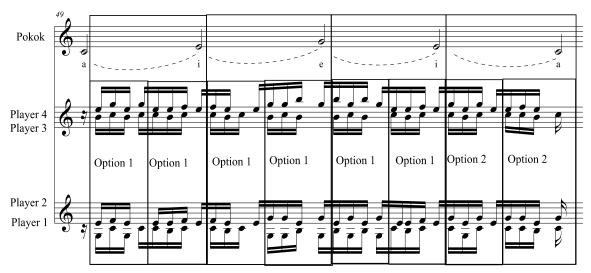


Figure 49. An Example of *Norot* Elaboration.

Unlike *kilitan*, the length of a *norot* pattern and transition to another *pokok* each last only one beat. In another exemplary eight-beat melody (see Figure 49) there are four *pokok* notes, and all are now equally important because it is now possible for a combination of *norot* pattern and its transition to happen on each note. The selected *norot* elaboration for *pokok* note *dang*, the first *ding*, and *deng* is option one, and the *norot* transition to the first *ding*, *deng*, and the second *ding* is also option one. The *norot* for the second *ding* and transition *dang* are option two.

Terompong Elaboration in Gong Luang

The melodic elaboration of *gong luang* is played on two instruments: *terompong* and *saron*. Elaborations on *terompong* and *saron*, according to McPhee's explanation presented in chapter three, are based upon the *pokok* melodies played on *gangsa jongkok*. Each note of *gangsa jongkok* is present within these elaborations. However, compared to *kilitan* or *norot* on *gong kebyar's reong*, the relationship between the melodies played on

gangsa jongkok and the terompong is more abstract, and there are no clear rules for formulating the elaboration. There are no fixed, standard patterns that can be inferred from the pokok played on gangsa jongkok.

This section explores this abstract relationship. It focuses on analyzing *terompong* elaboration of Seseh and Tangkas village styles. The melodies played on *terompong* are considered to be a unique characteristic of the ensemble and are complex. The analyses show the relationship between the *pokok* and melodic elaborations. It demonstrates how they are related and what connects them.

Balinese musicians learn to play their parts within an oral tradition stressing rote learning. This process involves memorizing and internalizing relationships between melodic parts. Some parts are considered *nandan*: they lead or guide the others. Skilled musicians, who understand the principles of these relations, are able to hear and realize parts that are *nuwutin*, that is, they follow the part that is *nandan*.

I benefitted greatly from my experience as a Balinese musician while I was learning and playing *gong luang* at two different places: the Institute of Arts (ISI Denpasar) and the Pitamaha group in Ubud. This background informed my analysis of *gong luang* elaboration. The musicians of both Seseh and Tangkas did not provide thorough explanations of the music or the theory behind it. This does not mean that they do not understand the music, but rather that their knowledge of it is practical. They explained to me that this is the way they have been taught by their predecessors, and that this has been passed down through generations.

Terompong Elaboration of Seseh

As with *reong* of *gong kebyar, terompong* of *gong luang* in *banjar* Seseh is performed by two pairs of players. Players one and two play the instrument in a lower octave, and player three and four play the instrument in a higher octave. Figure 50 shows the division of notes for each player.

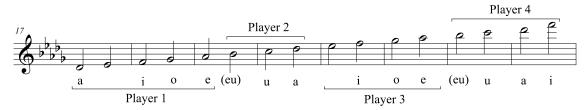


Figure 50. The Division of Notes for Each *Terompong* Player.

In terms of the ways governing each player in producing melodic passages, however, the division mentioned above is too rigid. The four *terompong* players are not always working with just one partner to produce the melody. All four are actually working co-operatively to produce one unified line. Player one is considered to be the leader. It plays a part that, according to Suma, is closely related to the *pokok*. This part is mostly independent from the others. That is, most of the time a partner is not needed to complete it. However, when the melody moves to notes that are beyond the range of player one (i.e. eu [Bb] and u [C]), player two will play notes needed to complete the intended melodic passage. Player two, besides working occasionally with player one, most of the time collaborates with player three to make a different melody. Player three can also create a melody with player two or player four. And lastly, player four occasionally works with player three but has some independent melodies. An important point is that players two, three, and four interpret and develop melodies played by player

one using the notes available to them (see Figure 50), and most of the time their parts are denser than that of player one.

Suma's explanation of the relationship between the *pokok* and the four *terompong* players is quite abstract. He could not explain how they are related. Instead, he demonstrated the terompong part, and said: terompongane puniki nandan gendinge ring gangsa jongkok (this terompong part leads the gangsa jongkok melody; Suma p.c. 23/10/12). 62 This contradicts McPhee's earlier report (McPhee 1966: 282). According to Suma's explanation, the four terompong players play an interwoven melody, and the gangsa jongkok players play a succession of notes that follows (nuwutin), not guides (nandan), the terompong parts. This relationship between the terompong and the pokok is the opposite of that of reong elaboration of gong kebyar. As explained previously, the reong players are usually able to make their own elaboration once they have memorized the pokok (the pokok guides or nandan the reong). But in gong luang the terompong players do not need to memorize the melody of gangsa jongkok in order to play their parts. Instead, they have to learn composed melodic lines as the *nandan* melody, the melody that guides the others who are *nuwutin*. And from this they will understand the pokok melody played on gangsa jongkok.

When Suma says "terompong players," he is not referring to all four players but a specific player: terompong player one. This is because, as stated earlier, player one is the leader and its melody guides (nandan) the rest of the terompong players, as well as the pokok. Figure 51 shows the relationship between each note of the pokok and some notes within the melody of terompong player one, with the exception of the note eu (Bb) that belongs to player two.

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⁶² This interview was conducted by Anak Agung Bagus Khrisna using questions I sent via email.

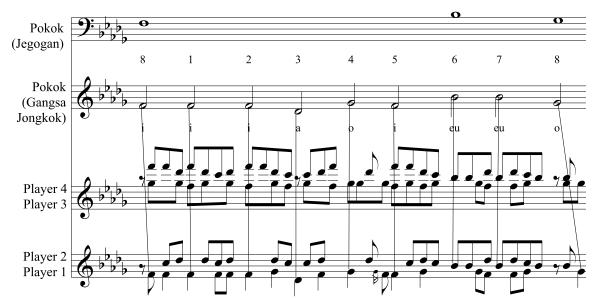


Figure 51. An Example of *Terompong* Elaboration in the *Pengawak* of *Kinada* of Seseh (Audio Example 1).

If player one plays composed melodies that *nandan* the *pokok*, what does he play when the melody goes to the notes that do not belong to him? Does this mean that the melody played by player one is incomplete or is not fully stated? And, how do players two, three, and four interpret and develop the (incomplete) melody provided by player one?

Player one has to memorize all of the melodic passages, though not all of these are fully stated (especially when it goes to the notes that do not belong to player one, i.e., eu [Bb] and u [C]). Player two has two tasks: 1) to help player one complete the melodic passages, and 2) to interpret and develop the melodies of player one. Players three and four follow (nuwutin) the melody of player one and two. They have denser melodies that derive from player one and two's melodies. Emerging from this relationship are melodies that are memorized and agreed upon. These melodies direct each player in realizing their parts. However, these melodies are not those actually stated. It is the interpretation of

these melodies by the four *terompong* players that is audible. These inaudible melodies are what I call the "unplayed melodies" —denser versions of the *pokok* that are agreed upon, well rehearsed, and that function as a connecting link between the *pokok* and the full texture of the elaborating parts.

An unplayed melody is a melody that is sung in the musicians' imagination and that guides their parts. Marc Perlman states: "There is nothing especially mysterious about these sorts of unplayed melody: they are melodies that can be, and often are, played, but are simply left unstated in some contexts" (2004: 2). Is it guaranteed that each musician sings the same melody while they play? This is a crucial question that might emerge from a discussion of unplayed melody. Perlman answers this question within the context of Javanese gamelan practices: "Musicians conceive it [unplayed melody] in different ways. Relatively few musicians speak of it, and while the ones who do so are highly respected, there is no consensus among them on its nature" (2004: 2). The characteristics of Javanese gamelan differ from Balinese gamelan. Melodic elaborations in Javanese gamelan usually involve some improvisation, whereas in Balinese gamelan, and particularly in *luang*, it usually does not. The unplayed melodies sung by the players of gong luang are agreed upon in practice. That is, everything is decided during the rehearsal. This limits the freedom to invent a new elaborating part in the course of a performance. Direct interpretation of a given pokok is limited, and because of this the unplayed melody is imagined in the same way among musicians in the same group. However, there are no discussions of unplayed melody among Balinese musicians. Neither issues of unplayed melody within Balinese musical practices nor specific studies

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⁶³ This term is inspired by Marc Perlman's concept of unplayed melody (2004). Although I borrow his term, I do not intend it to mean precisely the same thing.

of the issues among scholars of Balinese music exist. Musicians simply play the music and do not conceptualize the multipart relationships explicitly. Hence, my idea of unplayed melody is an explicit attempt to clarify the principal relationships between *terompong* and *gangsa jongkok* in *gong luang*.

The following analysis is an intuitive one drawing upon my instincts as a Balinese musician. I combine my knowledge of melodic style in Balinese classical composition, acquired from my experiences in learning and teaching the repertoire, with my experience as a *terompong* player of *gong luang*. The *terompong* parts are broken down into smaller segments that are related to the *pokok*. From here I construct a melody, the unplayed melody, that is sung internally by the musicians of Seseh while they play.⁶⁴

Figure 52 is an analysis of the first three pokok notes presented earlier in Figure 51. *Terompong* player one plays a melody that stays on one note, i (ding). The pokok follows the melody played by player one by accenting every other beat. Player two and three work together to produce an interlocking melody that refers to the note i (ding). Player two uses two tones below the pokok tone, u (dung) and a (dang), to create a melodic progression that leads to the pokok note: [. . u a / . a u a / /]. Player three uses the pokok's i (ding), and its upper neighbor note, o (dong), to create a melodic counterpart of a melody played by player two: [. o . o / i o . o / i o . o / i . . . /]. The note o (dong) played by player three is a kempyung note (a harmonized note) of u (dung) of player two. This interlocking melody and its relationship to the leading melody played by player one and the pokok is similar to norot elaboration in reong of gong kebyar. Player four plays

⁶⁴ While the empirical research needed to fully confirm this assertion is a project for the future, a combination of my personal experience with *luang* and other related genres, my interactions with the Seseh musicians, and my analysis of the music in the course of writing this thesis give me confidence that further investigation will bear me out.

an independent type pattern that is developed from what player one does: [.iia/iaua/iaua/iii../]. The notes a (dang) and u (dung) are below and adjacent to the pokok and function as leading notes to i (ding).

By considering the relationship between the *terompong* parts and the *pokok*, I develop two kinds of unplayed melody which connect clearly to both the *terompong* parts and *pokok*. The first unplayed melody is created by adding a note in between each *pokok* note. The selection of these additional notes is based upon the melodic progression of the *terompong* parts—it can be a repetition of the same note or a passing or neighbour note with respect to the *pokok*. In Figure 52 I added *i* (*ding*) in between the first two *pokok* notes, and *a* (*dang*) in between the second and third. The note *i* is a repetition of the *pokok* and *a* is a neighbor note. I could have added a neighbor note to both, but that would not feel characteristic of classical Balinese melody, and to not have added one in either spot would have made the melody feel too static. The second unplayed melody is created by developing the first unplayed melody in relation to the *terompong* parts. In this example, the first note is delayed by a half-beat. The melodic progression of the rest of the notes is maintained.

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⁶⁵ This characteristic of Balinese classical melody is to begin *ngubeng* (staying on the same note or not moving that much) in the first half, and to become more *majalan* (tending to move more) in the second half.

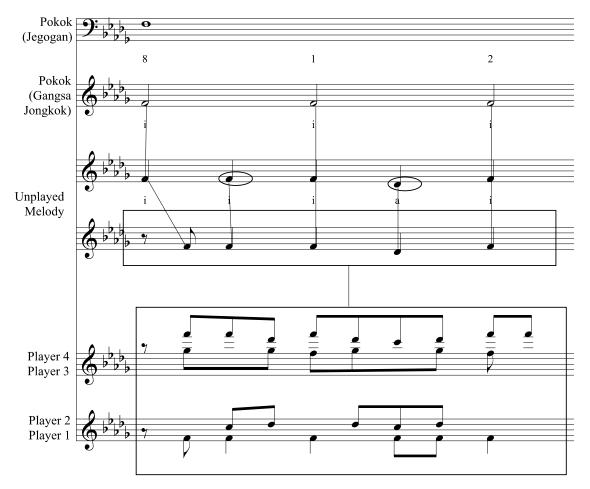


Figure 52. Analysis A (Audio Example 2).

Figure 53 is an analysis of elaboration for the next two *pokok* notes, *a* (*dang*) and *o* (*dong*). Like in Figure 52, each *terompong* player has the same role in producing his melody. The melody played by player one is *nandan* the melodies played by player two, three, and four.

In the first unplayed melody, the additional notes o(dong) and i(ding) are inserted in between the pokok tones. The selection of these notes is completely based upon the melodic progression of terompong player one (it is, in fact, identical to it in this case). The second unplayed melody is based on a reduction of the composite melodies of

player two, three, and four. It is important to keep in mind that player two, three, and four *nuwutin* the melody of player one, which also serves as the basis for developing the second unplayed melody (see Figure 53).

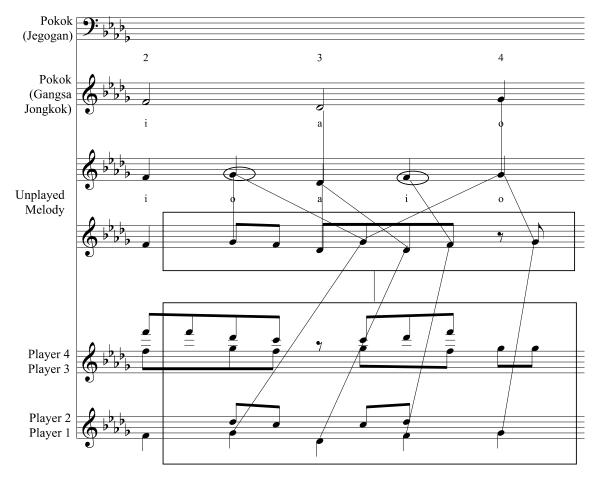


Figure 53. Analysis B (Audio Example 3).

An interesting development happens in the second unplayed melody of Figures 53, 54, and 55. It is created by subjecting the first one to transformations such as rhythmic displacement, tone repetition, and halving of durations, and the result is often that the first melody's contour—and often its precise content—is reflected in the second melody, but with double rhythmic density. For example, the first unplayed melody of figure 55 is [eu . i . / o . eu . / o . . . /]. There are two notes inserted in between the first

two notes of this melody: eu (deung) and o (dong). Eu is a repetition of the first note, and o is a passing note to i (ding). After this first step, the entirety of the first unplayed melody is then played twice as fast, with an additional repeated note (eu) before the last one (o), which delays the position of the last note (o) by a beat (see Figure 55). Something similar also happens in Figures 53 and 54.

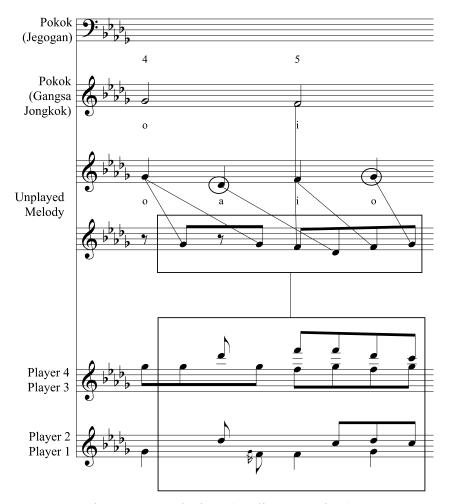


Figure 54. Analysis C (Audio Example 4).

The role of each *terompong* player in Figure 54 is similar to that in Figures 52 and 53. However, the roles are different in Figure 55. Players one and two act as one pair, and players three and four as another. Player one and three play only two notes, *o* (*dong*) and

i (ding), while players two and four have three notes, eu (deung) – u (dung) – a (dang). The notes u and a are the kempyung notes i and o.

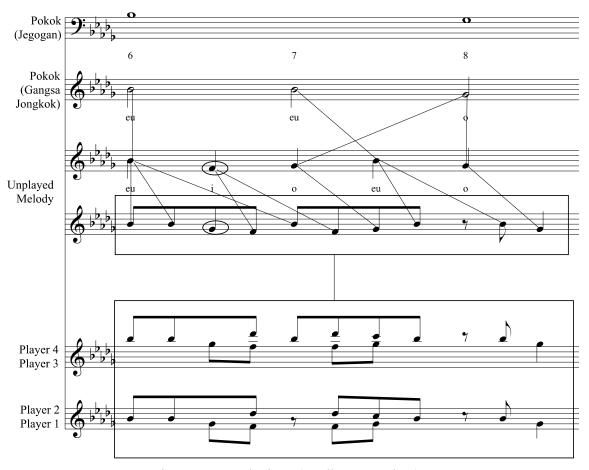


Figure 55. Analysis D (Audio Example 5).

An important aspect of *gong luang* elaboration, as stated in chapter four, is that melodies played by the four *terompong* players often tend to avoid attacks on strong beats. In this case, this technique delays a note that is supposed to be played with every fourth *pokok* note. I Made Bandem, a well-known Balinese scholar, refers to this typical rhythmic pattern as *nyekati* or *sekati* (Bandem p.c. 13/11/12). He contrasts *nyekati* with

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⁶⁶ Sekati and nyekati are common words used interchangeably to describe a playing technique of the terompong instrument of gong luang. Sekati is a noun, and nyekati is the verb of sekati.

norot on gong kebyar's reong in which the playing technique of the reong players is rangkep, meaning that all the subdivisions of each beat are filled with no rests (nyekati).

Ketut Gede Asnawa, however, uses a different term for describing the playing technique of *terompong* elaboration of *gong luang*. He uses the term *ngutang nuduk* or *nyelogcag*. *Ngutang* literally means to throw out, *nuduk* means to pick up, and *nyelogcag* means to skip. Asnawa explains that *ngutang nuduk* or *nyelogcag* is the characteristic of *gong luang* elaboration where its pattern tends to "throw out" or "skip" the note that is supposed to be played on the important beat, and "pick it up" again in the next beat (Asnawa p.c. 15/11/12).

Bandem's and Asnawa's terms, though different, are similar in meaning. *Gong luang* musicians from Seseh or Tangkas do not have a special term for describing the elaboration technique in *gong luang*. These terms come from Balinese scholars and music thinkers like Bandem and Asnawa for academic purposes.

Figure 56 shows a composite analysis of Figures 52, 53, 54, and 55. It shows the *Nyekati* pattern of the second unplayed melody, aligning it with the first one. Every fourth *pokok* note is delayed. The *terompong* parts, however, have only the notes of the strong beat delayed. This melody is from the first eight *pokok* tones of *palet* two of *pengawak Kinada* shown from the last tone of the previous *palet*.

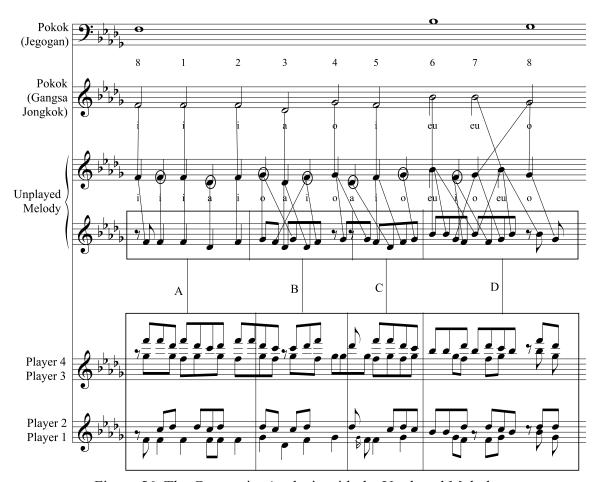


Figure 56. The Composite Analysis with the Unplayed Melody.

Terompong *Elaboration of* Tangkas

As in Seseh, *terompong* is the most idiomatic instrument of the *gong luang* ensemble in Tangkas. As explained in chapter three, there are four *terompong* instruments spanning two octaves, and each musician plays one of these instruments. They are divided into two pairs, players one and two as one pair, and players three and four as another. This division is fixed. That is, unlike in Seseh, the members of the pair always play interlocking melodic elaborations with their partners. The non-sequential order of the pitches gives the four musicians a distinct type of elaboration. Figure 57

shows the division of notes for each player. The solfege written under the score shows the notes in the *mayura* scale used in the passages analyzed below.

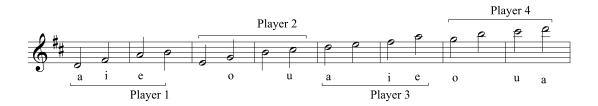


Figure 57. The Division of Notes for Each *Terompong* Player.

The elaborations are based on the basic melody played by *gangsa jongkok*, or, in Tapa's words, *gangsa jongkok e sane nandan terompongane puniki* (The melody of *gangsa jongkok* is *nandan* the melodic elaborations of the *terompong*; Tapa p.c. 23/10/12).⁶⁷ Like Suma, Tapa demonstrated the *gangsa jongkok* parts that guide the *terompong*. Note that in Tangkas the *gangsa jongkok* is denser than it is in Seseh. The *terompong* players work together in pairs to produce the melodic development of the *pokok*. The first pair (players one and two) plays the same as the second pair (players three and four), although in practice the second pair is allowed to double the melody, especially in a situation where the melody is repeated.

Figure 58 shows the relationship between the *pokok* and the interlocking melody of the first pair. All of the *pokok* notes are present in the interlocking melody of players one and two. They are either played at the same time or delayed. Other development techniques include: 1) neighbor notes that connect *pokok* notes to upcoming ones, 2) *kempyung* (harmonized) notes that are mostly played by player two, and 3) *ngulunin*

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⁶⁷ This interview was conducted by Anak Agung Bagus Khrisna using questioners I sent via email.

(anticipatory) notes that "lead the ways" to and are played prior to the upcoming *pokok* note.

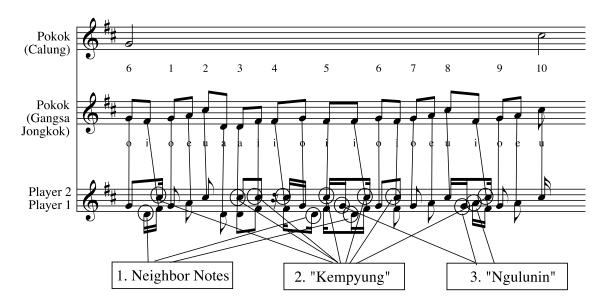


Figure 58. The Relationship between *Pokok* and *Terompong* (Audio Example 6).

Based on these development techniques, the selection of the *kempyung* notes is logical. The note u (dung) of player two is the *kempyung* note of a (dang) and i (ding) of player one. ⁶⁸ Dung (C#) is always played at the same time as either ding or dang (D or F#). However, the technique of adding the neighbor notes and ngulunin notes is abstract. How do the terompong players select which passing note or ngulunin note to include within their elaboration?

Since *gong luang* music, like many other Balinese musical genres, is learned orally, the musicians memorize their parts with all of the details. There is almost no freedom for improvisation. Consequently, there are neither rules nor techniques for

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⁶⁸ In *luang*, a *kempyung* is a note that is always played together with the *pokok* note in an adjacent *reong* part. In *gong kebyar*, however, as explained in the section on *reyong kilitan* above, a *kempyung* note can also be two notes above the *pokok* or three notes below the *pokok*.

developing the elaborative parts from the *pokok*. The elaboration parts are not created in the course of performance, but they are fully composed and agreed upon during practice. However, there is room for some (limited) interpretation by musicians in realizing their parts. This is because the composed melodic elaborations are not actually stated, but are re-interpreted by the two pairs of terompong players. Each player memorizes the composed melodic elaborations and sings them in their head while playing their interpretative parts. Thus, like in Seseh, an unplayed melody sung in the musicians' heads guides what they actually play. The musicians of Tangkas (including Gede Tapa) make no reference to it and have not conceptualized it. But when asked whether they sing something in their head while they play the *terompong* parts, they said "yes" (Tapa p.c. 23/10/12).⁶⁹ This is because it is difficult to play a melody, especially when the notes available are limited and not in a sequential order, without a melodic reference in mind. The confirmation of Tapa is enough to show that, while playing their parts, the terompong players are referring to a melody that is composed and is not stated by just one player.

The relationship between the *pokok* played on *gangsa jongkok* and the elaboration parts played on *terompong* in *gong luang* of Tangkas is less abstract than that of Seseh. Thus, the unplayed melody can easily be derived by looking at this relationship (see Figure 59). There are two steps in drawing the unplayed melody out of this. The first is to look at the composite melody of the *terompong*'s interlocking parts, ⁷⁰ and the second is to look at the relationship between the composite melody and the *pokok*. The note *dung* (C#) that is played at the same time as *dang* (D) or *ding* (F#) is omitted throughout the

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⁶⁹ This interview was conducted by Anak Agung Bagus Khrisna using questions I sent via email. ⁷⁰ The composite melody shown in Figure 59 is only taken from player one and two's parts. This is because the first and the second pair of *terompong* players are basically playing the same part.

melody because, as explained earlier, it functions as a harmonized note of both *dang* and *ding*. Figure 59 illustrates these two steps.



Figure 59. Two Steps of Realizing the Unplayed Melody.

Figure 60 shows the complete analysis of the relationship between the unplayed melody and the *pokok*, as well as the *terompong* parts. Like in Figure 58, there are three notes that function as neighbor notes and *ngulunin* notes.

Unlike in Seseh, where the main feature of elaboration is *nyekati*, the elaboration of terompong in Tangkas does not nyekati. The melodic elaboration of Tangkas tends to follow a rhythmic irregularity based upon the 10 + 6 beat division of the pokok played on the *calung*.⁷¹

The interlocking figuration between player one and two or player three and four add another unique feature. The non-sequential order of the terompong's notes, as stated earlier, creates a special interlocking type unlike any other *gamelan* ensemble in Bali.

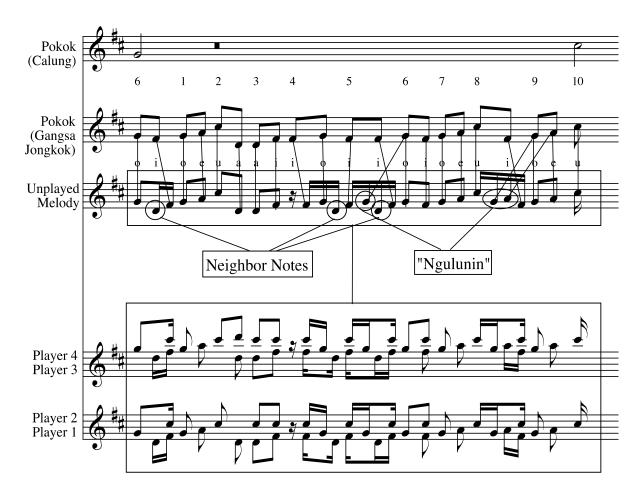


Figure 60. A Complete Analysis of the Relationship Between the Unplayed Melody, *Pokok*, and the *Terompong*.

⁷¹ See Appendix D for an illustration of 10 + 6 division in the *gong luang* elaboration of Tangkas.

Leluangan in Gong Kebyar

The word *leluangan* comes from the root word *luang*, with the additional prefix *le* as a *dwipurwa*, ⁷² and the suffix *an* as an ending syllable. The meaning of *luang*, as explained in chapter two, is *ruang* (a place) or *sunia* (emptiness). However, *leluangan* does not mean *ruang* or *sunia*. But because the technique of *dwipurwa* converts the word *luang* (noun) into *leluangan* (adjective), the meaning of *leluangan* can be understood as emulating or imitating (*menirukan*) *luang*. I Wayan Dibia, a well-known Balinese scholar, defines *leluangan* as a playing technique of Balinese gamelan that is modeled on the playing technique of the *terompong* of *gong luang* (Dibia p.c. 03/12/12). *Leluangan* technique, also refered to *nyekati* or *sekati*, is often used by composers for composing new works for other ensembles, especially the modern *gong kebvar*. Bandem states that:

Leluangan adalah teknik permainan melodi gamelan Gong Luang yang diterapkan pada gamelan lain, seperti pada gamelan Gong Kebyar. Seperti di Rejang Dewa, lagu ini dibuka oleh instrumen reyong dengan teknik permainan sekati dan diikuti permainan melodi oleh gangsa dengan pukulan kaklenyongan seperti permainan saron dalam gong luang. (Bandem p.c. 13/12/12)

Leluangan is a playing technique of gong luang that is used in other gamelan, such as gong kebyar. The [gong kebyar] piece Rejang Dewa begins with an introductory melody on the reong that uses sekati technique, and it is followed by kaklenyongan melody on the gangsa. Both are characteristic playing techniques of gong luang.

In composing a new work, composers often use material from classical genres, as Bandem states, and re-interpret them in their new composition. In *Rejang Dewa*, both *sekati* and *kanklenyongan*⁷³ are adopted in the main part of the piece.

Keklenyongan is a term used in the religious ensemble gong gede, which means playing a

single note on every beat. This term is used exclusively for the melodic parts of *gangsa jongkok* of *gong gede*.

⁷² *Dwipurwa* is a technique of doubling or repeating the first syllable of the root word with or without changes on the vowel in the repeated syllable. For example, the root word *jari* becomes *jejari*, *sendi* becomes *sesendi*, and *luang* becomes *leluang*.

The following analysis explores the *leluangan reong* elaboration in a recent *gong kebyar* dance piece called *Rejang Dewa*.

Rejang Dewa

Rejang Dewa is a dance piece created at the Indonesian Dance Academy of Denpasar (ASTI) in 1983. The music was arranged by I Nyoman Windha and I Ketut Gede Asnawa, and the dance was choreographed by Ni Luh Nyoman Suasthi Widjaja Bandem. According to Bandem, who directed the project and named the piece, the movements and music reconstruct a sacred ritual dance (rejang) of Asak, Bungaya, and Tenganan villages of East Bali (Bandem p.c. 13/12/12). Windha and Asnawa collaborated to provide an idiomatic elaboration style inspired by gong luang elaboration, and this was applied to a melody adopted from an old temple piece called Tabuh Ancagancagan Pengilen Dewa Yadnya used to accompany ceremonies in banjar Cerancam, Kesiman village of Denpasar.⁷⁴

The piece uses a standard musical form modeled on *tri angga*⁷⁵: *kawitan* (introduction), *pengawak* (main body), and *pengecet* (conclusion). This analysis focuses on the *pengawak* in which the *leluangan* technique is clearly demonstrated.

The *pengawak* is a 64-beat melody. Each of its two 32-beat halves is divided into four phrases of eight beats (see Figure 61). (It is important to keep in mind that in the notation the gong or the downbeat is not written as beat one, but instead is written as beat

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⁷⁴ According to Asnawa, the late Ki Kumpi Kuta of *banjar* Ceramcam around 1800s composed the Ancag-ancagan Pengilen Dewa Yadnya. And he continued to say that he composed the melody of the *pengecet* section (the last section of Rejang Dewa; Asnawa p.c 18/01/13).

⁷⁵ The concept of *tri angga* refers to a tripartite division of the body into the head, torso, and legs, each of which has respective properties and in turn relates to a wide range of other spiritual and material realms in Bali.

eight.) The melody of the first section revolves around the higher octave, and the second revolves around the lower octave.

Section 1			
Phrase 1	Phrase 2	Phrase 3	Phrase 4
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Section 2			
Phrase 1	Phrase 2	Phrase 3	Phrase 4
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Figure 61. Phrase Structure of Pengawak Rejang Dewa.

The melody is played by three instruments in different strata: the *penyacah* plays every beat, the *calung* stresses every second *penyacah* note, and the *jegogan* every fourth. The *gangsa* play the same melody as the *calung* in phrase one, two, and three of both sections. In phrase four, also in both sections, the *gangsa* play a denser line derived from the *penyacah* melody. This style of playing the *gangsa* is what Bandem called *keklenyongan*.

The elaboration of *reong* in phrase one of section one uses the *kilitan* technique nearly exclusively (see Figure 62). It can be seen between player two and three. Player one and four play independent melodies resembling a Seseh *terompong* elaboration style, i.e., one derived from a composite melody produced by the *kilitan* of player two and three.

The second phrase of section one uses a *leluangan* elaboration in all four parts. Like in Seseh, the players develop their parts based upon a composed melody that is internally heard. The downbeat and beat four are left empty. The *pokok* notes that govern these beats are delayed by a quarter-beat in the reong. Players one, three, and four repeat

the *pokok* note, dung (B), three times [. u u . / u . . .], while player two plays the *kempyung* note of dung, dong (F), in the same rhythm [. o o . / o . . .].

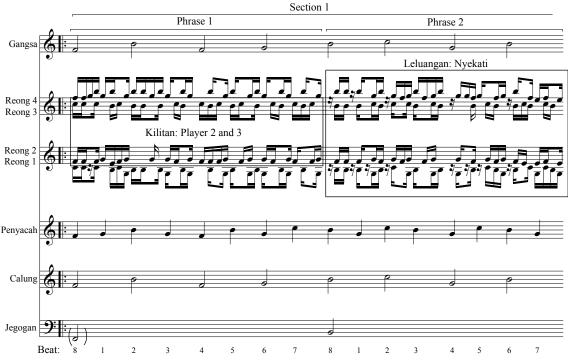


Figure 62. An Analysis of Section 1: Phrase 1 and 2 (Audio Example 7).

Figure 63 shows phrases three and four of section one. The elaboration of the first half of phrase three is similar to phrase two of Figure 62, but the second half of this phrase uses *kilitan* interlocking between players one and two, and three and four. This same 4-beat *kilitan* phrase is used twice more at different pitch levels in phrase four, with the interlocking also between the same players.

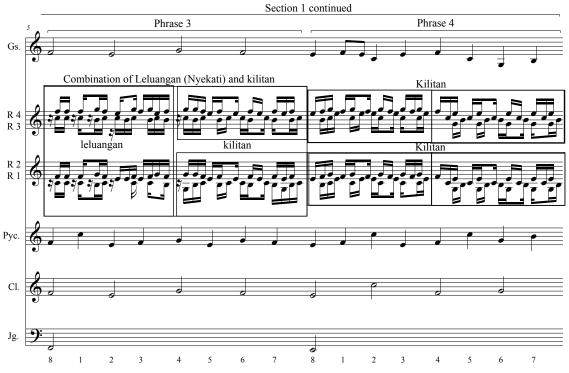


Figure 63. An Analysis of Section 1: Phrase 3 and 4 (Audio Example 8).

In section two in the first half of phrase one the *norot* technique is used (see Figure 64). Player one and three play the same part in different octaves, as well as player two and four. Each beat of the *norot* elaboration follows the progression of the first five notes of the *penyacah*. In the second half of phrase one *kilitan* is used between player one and two, and player three and four. In phrase two all four parts play *leluangan* style.

 76 See page 140 for the analysis of *norot*.

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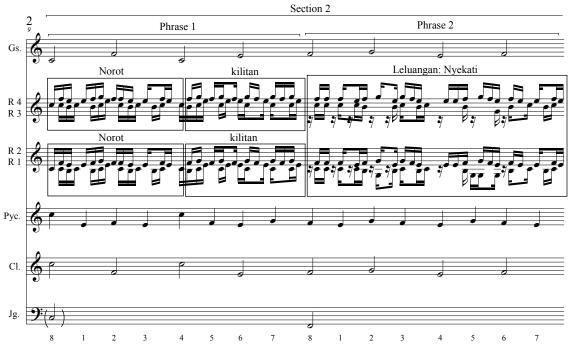


Figure 64. An Analysis of Section 2: Phrase 1 and 2 (Audio Example 9).

In phrase three (Figure 65) the *leluangan* continues. The notes that are usually played on beat eight and four of the second phrase, and beat eight of the third phrase, are delayed. And in the last phrase *kilitan* technique is used to conclude. In the first half of phrase four *kilitan* happens between player one and four, and player two and three. In the second half it happens between player one and two, and player three and four.

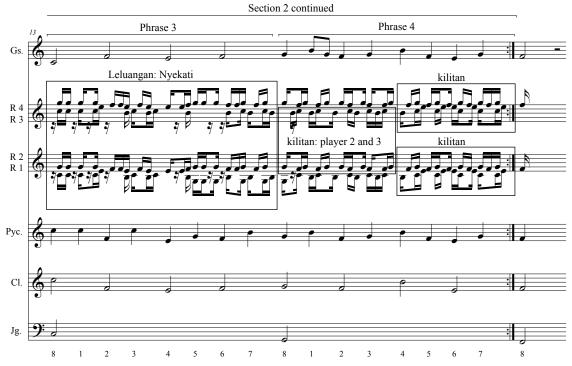


Figure 65. An Analysis of Section 2: Phrase 3 and 4 (Audio Example 10).

Thus *leluangan* elaboration in *gong kebyar* is often a hybrid of the *terompong* elaboration of *gong luang* and *gong kebyar reong*. *Leluangan* is not exclusively applied to *reong* however, as Dibia noted:

Dalam gong kebyar, pukulan leluangan bisa digunakan dalam elaborasi pukulan gangsa. Dalam iringan Sendratari, untuk tabuh-tabuh bernada sedih, Pak Beratha sangat suka menggunakan pukulan leluangan, sehingga pukulan gangsa yang variatif tidak merubah suasana lagu. (Dibia p.c. 03/12/12)

In *gong kebyar*, *leluangan* is often used in the melodic elaborations of the *gangsa*. In accompanying Sendratari, especially for a dramatic scene, Beratha (the composer) loves to use *leluangan* technique, so that it changes the feeling of the melody.

The creation of new elaboration techniques is based upon composers' intuition or imagination. These skills are obtained through knowledge of classical repertoires and experiences of learning or playing them. Composers like Beratha, who have been

learning, playing, and teaching both modern and classical gamelan, are inspired by the nuances of *leluangan* technique.

Although the *reong* parts are fully composed, players have some freedom to make small changes in performance. As in Seseh, the *reong* players develop their style during rehearsal in collaboration with others. Successful elaboration is usually achieved by players who are fully aware of their partners' patterns. Cooperation and understanding between players is the most important aspect of producing a *wayah* ("ripe" or mature) composite pattern.

Gong Luang as a Resource

The Conservatory of Music (KOKAR), founded in 1959, and the Indonesian Arts Institute (ISI; originally called ASTI, or Indonesian Dance Academy), founded in 1967, have two noble goals: the preservation of Balinese performing arts, and the training of Balinese intellectually aware artists fluent in the rationalizing languages of modernization and development. ASTI was upgraded to STSI (Indonesian College of the Arts) when it added the department of *karawitan* (music) and *pedalangan* (shadow theater) in 1974 under the leadership of I Made Bandem. STSI offers undergraduate degrees in Music, Dance, and Shadow Theater (BA equivalent) that allows its graduates to gain employment in government institutions, and that also certifies musicians for teaching traditional dance and music clubs throughout Bali. STSI was upgraded to ISI in 2003 under the leadership of I Wayan Rai S., and now offers MA-equivalent degrees.

Gong luang as one of the rare and sacred ensembles has received serious attention from both KOKAR and ISI. Each purchased a duplicate of the ensemble and housed it on

campus. Students who were interested in studying the ensemble, and who could not have had any access to instruction from a traditional group, were exposed to the ensemble and able to learn the music.⁷⁷ They invited teachers from the villages to give workshops and sometimes reconstructed some of the old pieces that were almost forgotten. Students who were interested in the ensemble wrote academic papers about it, and travelled to the villages to do research. There were at least two Bachelor theses written for the final examination that focused on gong luang in two different villages (gong luang in Kerobokan by I Nyoman Sudiana in 1982, and gong luang in Kesiut by I Made Wardana in 1985).⁷⁸

For students of karawitan, gong luang provides many musical resources for developing ideas for their required final composition. Some use the actual ensemble (either the complete ensemble or some of the instruments) as a medium for creating new works. Some also employ *luang* ideas in their music for other instruments. For example, Dewa Ketut Alit composed a piece entitled "Luang" for his final recital piece in 1998. He used the complete ensemble and the style of gong luang melody and elaboration techniques, and combined these with kidung (a traditional metered poetry). He was required to do research in Seseh and intuitively explored new musical possibilities based on that research before composing the piece (Alit p.c. 05/01/13). Another example is I Gede Arsana who composed "Moha" for his recital piece in 2001. Unlike Alit, he used some of the gong luang instruments and combined them with some other instruments (i.e., one pair of kendang angklung [drums of the angklung ensemble], two pairs of kendang of gong kebyar, suling [Balinese flute], two snare drums, three gongs, one gong

⁷⁷ This was the case for myself, having known *gong luang* only after I went to STSI. ⁷⁸ I refer to these two theses in the introduction to this dissertation.

bheri [flat-surface gong], keyboard, and cymbals). He was inspired by the tuning system of *gong luang*, and created an experimental development within the Balinese contemporary composition scene that draws upon traditional *gong luang* melodies (Arsana p.c. 09/01/13).

ISI graduates directly or indirectly brought their new knowledge back to their villages. Some who have more connections spread out this knowledge to other villages or to private gamelan groups through teaching. Traditional musicians in direct contact with ISI artists are exposed to a wide range of musical ensembles (from old to new), and are newly aware that these ensembles exist.⁷⁹ Some villages, which appreciate the functions of the old ensembles in ritual, decided to purchase a set of one of these ensembles. For example, the village of Kesiman, particularly in banjar Kedaton, purchased a gong luang in 1987. They followed the instrumentation and style of gong luang of Seseh Singapadu, and asked the experts to teach some of the pieces. Since then the Kesiman group has regularly performed to accompany the *memukur* ceremony (one of the ceremonies in a Balinese funeral). As another example, in 1999 Cokorda Putra Sukawati, the Bendesa Adat Ubud (the chief of traditional village of Ubud), purchased instruments for gong luang, selonding, gong gede, and gambang. He gathered ISI graduates (including myself) to help him form a group for each ensemble. Village experts of the ensembles were invited to Ubud to teach them. The cluster of groups is officially called the Pitamaha group, and is responsible for performing at ceremonies in the Ubud area. Since then

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⁷⁹ Most of the people in Bali who live in villages that do not own old musical ensembles (i.e., *gong luang, gambang, selonding*, etc.) are not aware of the wide range of musical ensembles in Bali. This is partly because of the overwhelming influence of the most famous gamelan, *gong kebyar*, which has spread throughout Bali ever since the 1920s. Because of ISI graduates, knowledge of older ensembles is becoming more available through projects or simply hearsay.

Pitamaha groups have also been invited to perform at neighboring villages. The function and context of each of the ensembles in the rituals are also linked to their original state.

Despite the decline of the ritual function of *gong luang* in Seseh, other villages began to redevelop the ritual function of *gong luang*. These villages, like Kesiman and Ubud, adopted this tradition that originally and exclusively belonged to others (i.e., Seseh, Tangkas, Kerobokan, and Kesiut). Of course the adoption of a tradition from one village by others involves a process of assimilating only the elements that are appropriate for the new villages. For example, one of the functions of *gong luang* in Seseh is tightly connected to the pre-cremation rituals held at the deceased's house (see chapter two). In Ubud this function is not rigidly followed. People who are financially better off and who are willing to perform the same ritual as in Seseh will invite the *gong luang* of Pitamaha to perform at their house. Others simply follow what has been passed down from their ancestors, and do not invite the ensemble to perform. As in Ubud, the *gong luang* group in Kesiman only performs to accompany rituals at the *puri* (former royal palace) or *griya* (priest's house). These two places are, most of the time, able to afford the highest rituals which are required to include *gong luang* as one of the musical accompaniments.

However, the series of rituals and the musical accompaniments of any one particular ceremony (such as a funeral) in each village are completely based upon *desa kala patra*: where and when it is held, and how it is to be done. *Desa* and *kala* are determined by the traditions of each village, which have been either passed through generations or else revived because of a process of renewing the traditions of the society. *Patra* is relative, which allows the villagers to choose something that is appropriate to their needs: what level of the ritual is going to be held, who is going to perform it, what

musical accompaniment is needed, etc. Thus the practice of borrowing (adopting) from other traditions is allowed as long as it follows *desa kala patra* and respects the owner of the tradition, its original function, and its people.

Manikasanti and Salukat

The tuning system of older gamelan genres including *gong luang* has inspired some musicians to develop a new type of ensemble. At least seven new ensembles have emerged in Bali within the past twenty years that use the instrumentation and/or tuning systems of older gamelan. They are gamelan *Genta Pinara Pitu* (1983) and *Semara Dhana* (1987), and gamelan *Gong Gede Saih Pitu* (1996) developed by I Wayan Beratha; gamelan *Slokat* (1991) by Dewa Made Darmayasa; gamelan *Manikasanti* (1994) by I Wayan Sinti; *JES* gamelan fusion (2006) by I Nyoman Windha; and gamelan *Salukat* (2007) by Dewa Ketut Alit. Only two of these new sets of gamelan were inspired by *gong luang: Manikasanti* and *Salukat*. This section explores how *gong luang* has influenced Sinti and Alit in developing their new ensembles.

In the article "Gamelan Manikasanti: One Ensemble, Many Musics" (2006) Wayan Sinti and Annette Sanger explore ideas behind the construction of gamelan *Manikasanti*:

The idea for creating one gamelan able to play music from different repertoires with disparate tuning systems arose out of my concern, still ongoing, for the demise of many older ensembles and repertoires in Balinese music, and the increasing domination of the very popular gamelan gong kebyar. It is therefore hoped that gamelan *Manikasanti* can facilitate the revival of older genres of Balinese music, particularly in terms of the different modes (*saih* or *patut*) that are in danger of being forgotten by all but a few contemporary musicians. Furthermore, gamelan *Manikasanti* will be a resource for the creation of new works utilizing older scale systems and instruments. I have attempted to create an ensemble with a unique set of instruments and tunings capable of playing pieces from a wide range of musical genres, both old and new. (2006: 36)

Sinti went to several villages to do research on the tuning system of many older types of gamelan, and listened to recordings of famous gamelan groups on commercial cassettes. 80 Using the knowledge of the tuning systems he collected from his research, he developed a new tuning system that can produce different modes (*saih* or *patut*) that approximate the specific *saih* of gamelan from different places. For example, he uses gamelan *angklung* (the four-tone *saih slendro* gamelan) of Kamasan as a guideline for *saih slendro* of *Manikasanti*, gamelan *Semar Pegulingan* (a seven-tone *saih pelog* gamelan) of Budaga for *saih tembung*, gamelan *Semar Pegulingan Saih Lima* of Teges Kanginan for *saih sunaren*, gamelan *gong luang* of Tangkas for *saih luang*, gamelan *Semar Pegulingan* of Kamasan for *saih semar pegulingan*, and gamelan *gong kebyar* of Peliatan for *saih selisir* (Sinti n.d.).

The *saih* tracing to the villages mentioned above are approximations, chosen by Sinti on the basis of his *rasa*—a personal intuitive feeling rather than a precise measurement. He also states that "the tuning of the gamelan relates directly to his own voice: the highest and the lowest tones correspond to his own" (2006: 44). Thus, for Sinti, those *saih* characterize the tuning of the gamelan he was inspired by as he imagined them. Others might not agree with his choice of tuning.

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Those who have been to Bali or studied its culture will know that Balinese music has well over thirty kinds of ensembles. Although there may be some overlap or borrowing of repertoire between them, in general terms each ensemble has a unique corpus of pieces that are usually linked to specific performance contexts (for example, a particular ritual, dance, or drama). As well, each category of ensemble has an explicit combination and number of instruments, albeit within somewhat flexible boundaries. Depending on available resources, some instruments may be omitted or others added to an ensemble. Another distinguishing feature between musical genres is the tuning, yet since there is no standardization there is even a degree of flexibility within the same category of ensemble: for instance, two gamelan *gong kebyar* may have similar tunings, though hardly ever will they be exactly the same" (Sinti and Sanger 2006: 37).

His idea to provide one ensemble that can play many musics from other gamelan genres came to fruition with the inaugural and blessing ceremony of gamelan *Manikasanti* in 1994. The instrumentation of *Manikasanti* is similar to that of *gong kebyar*, with additional instruments (bamboo *gambang* and *caruk*) that allow this ensemble to play pieces from the *gong luang*, *gambang*, and *caruk* repertoires.

The name *Manikasanti* (*manik* means "jewel" and *santi* means "peace"; Manikasanti means "gamelan for promoting peace") carries a noble goal. In Sinti's words,

Tujuan dari pembentukan sekaa Manikasanti adalah untuk memperkaya khasanah musik Bali dengan menghidupkan kembali dan merevitalisasi permainan dari repertoar tradisi kuno dan juga menyediakan kesempatan untuk berkreasi dengan memanfaatkan saih-saih gamelan tua. (Sinti n.d.)

The purpose in forming the *Manikasanti* group is to enrich Balinese musical tradition by reviving and revitalizing the playing techniques of old repertoires from older gamelan genres, and also to provide opportunities for creating new works that utilize the *saih* of old gamelan genres.

Manikasanti performs at ceremonial performances and non-ceremonial occasions ranging from local temple ceremonies to prestigious performances at the Bali Arts Festival. In a ritual context the performance of some gong luang Manikasanti is different from that of Seseh or Tangkas. They do not perform at specific rituals like in Seseh or Tangkas (as explained in chapter two). This involves the whole society and it was not within Sinti's power to bring about. But he is impelled to preserve the wide range of pieces from older ensembles, and feels responsible for passing these pieces on to young generations.

Like Sinti, Dewa Alit also developed a new set of gamelan whose tuning and spirit is derived from older gamelan ensembles. Alit calls his new set *Salukat*, which combines the words *salu*, meaning "a place or home," and *kat*, which signifies

regeneration or the cycles of birth. The word connotes a place for new creativity based upon old traditions. According to Alit, the purpose for creating this new ensemble is to reflect his deep roots in traditional music and to show his optimism in facing the challenge of developing his music as a new path for the modern Balinese compositional scene (Alit p.c. 05/01/13).

The instrumentation of *Salukat* is similar to that of *gong kebyar*. The difference is that Alit added more keys to both octaves of the *gangsa* so each has a total of 14. Alit's initial idea for the tuning system was inspired by the tuning of *gong luang* of Singapadu (Seseh and/or Apuan). He had been composing a piece for *gong luang*, and had been immersed in the characteristic sound of *gong luang* ever since the first time he heard it. However, in the realization of *Salukat*'s tuning Alit said that it was ultimately up to the gamelan maker's (Pande Made Sukarta) *rasa*. He continued to say that his concept of tuning is still developing. He wants to further develop the traditional system of *ngumbang ngisep*, ⁸¹ increasing the frequency difference between each pair of notes in the *ngumbang ngisep* system to make them more than 10 Hz apart. ⁸² He is attracted by the idea that the beating sound would be maintained, but the notes could also be interpreted as independent pitches rather than as a pair with a single pitch identity (Alit p.c. 05/01/13).

With all of these innovations, Alit creates a space to satisfy his compositional needs. He gathered 25 highly talented young musicians—the musicians that have been working with Alit from a young age—to form a new group that is totally focused on new music for gamelan.

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⁸¹ Ngumbang ngisep is a traditional tuning system that is used in Balinese gamelan in which the same tone is tuned in pairs, each at a slightly different frequency. The result of this is a wavy (shimmering) sound produced by both tones played at the same time.

⁸² The typical difference for most gamelan is 6 to 10 Hz.

Concluding Thoughts

Elaborations in Balinese gamelan are mostly composed and not improvised. But this does not mean that the composer always provides fixed elaborative parts for each musician. The composer or musicians often create the "composed" elaborations based on learned habits and constraints during practice. The interpretations are decided upon and based on the skills of the musicians, and there is often a correlation between the skill of the musicians and the intricacy of the elaborations taught to and performed by them. Each of the elaborative parts works cooperatively in its individual idiom. Musicians practice the parts continuously until an agreement between players is established.

The intended elaborations produce a particular style of melody attained through experience and without explicit formulation. Balinese music is not learned through verbal explanations or analysis, but the elaborations that sound "right" to the musicians' ears are the ones that are commonly used. If the elaborations do not satisfy the musicians' aesthetic sense (or sound "wrong"), they are not able to offer explicit corrections either.

In *gong luang* the musicians learn the "right" *terompong* elaborations through listening, watching, and imitating experts. No teaching is required. Culturally authoritative models are of paramount importance; students imitate these examples repeatedly in rehearsal until they are internalized. Once the musician is capable of acceptable imitation, the understanding has become implicit. This implicit understanding remains un-verbalized.

The unplayed melody is the un-verbalized understanding of *terompong* elaboration. This can become explicit knowledge as I have tried to show, but normally remains implicit. It is clear that according to my research musicians sing it to themselves

while they play. But the transformation from the unplayed melody to the part that is realized in its place is a flexible one. A musician will likely play slightly different parts each time. When the question "do you play the same pattern every time?" is posed, players respond "yes." The different versions are culturally equivalent.

The elaborations of *gong luang* in Seseh and Tangkas are different. Although based on the analysis presented in this chapter, and with both demonstrating the existence of an unplayed melody, comparison leads me to speculate that Tangkas is older. In Tangkas the 10+6 beat phrasing is derived from the ancient *gamelan gambang*. In Seseh, in contrast, the elaborations are similar to *norot*, which trace to the later gamelan *gong gede*. Seseh melody also exhibits qualities of a typical *lelambatan* (ritual repertoire of *gong gede*) melody, which has a symmetric structure. In terms of instrumentation the notes on the *terompong* of Tangkas are in non-sequential order. This is similar to the non-sequential order of *gambang* instruments. Unlike in Tangkas, the *terompong* in Seseh are similar to *gong gede*'s *terompong*, whose notes follow a sequential order. The fact that the *bedug* (a barrel drum that was adopted from Java) is used in Tangkas, and the *cengceng kopyak* (taken from *gong gede*) is used in Seseh, also supports this hypothesis. However, there are no historical documents that support this speculation.

The ritual use of *gong luang* is in decline in contemporary Balinese society. However, this is part of the process of ever-changing cultural systems. What took place in the past is different from what takes place today. This is the law of nature. Balinese society is continually changing in all aspects: rituals, belief systems, ways of life, etc. Thus the ritual context of *gong luang* is also changing. As a Balinese I believe that as long as the Balinese are able to maintain their religion, all of the performing arts

(including *gong luang*) that accompany ritual life are going to be supported and thus sustained. In fact, there are at least two villages that have begun to incorporate *gong luang* within their ritual activities, Ubud and Kesiman.

In terms of musical elements, *gong luang* is often one of the musical resources that musicians and composers draw from. Its unique melody, elaboration, and tuning system inspire composers, musicians, and intellectuals. This includes the creation of new compositions, new ensembles, and new trends in scholarly inquiry. The hope now is that the preservation of such a unique and important ensemble, which offers inspiration for new musical pursuits, will continue to play a role in Bali's future and contribute to its rich musical soundscape.

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Appendices

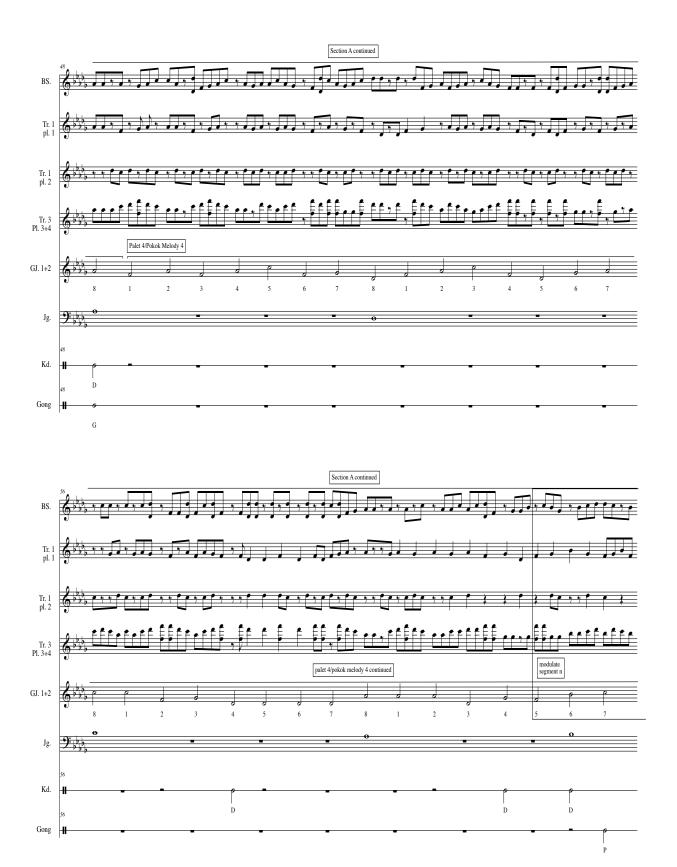
Appendix A
Pengawak Kinada – Analysis (Audio Example 11).



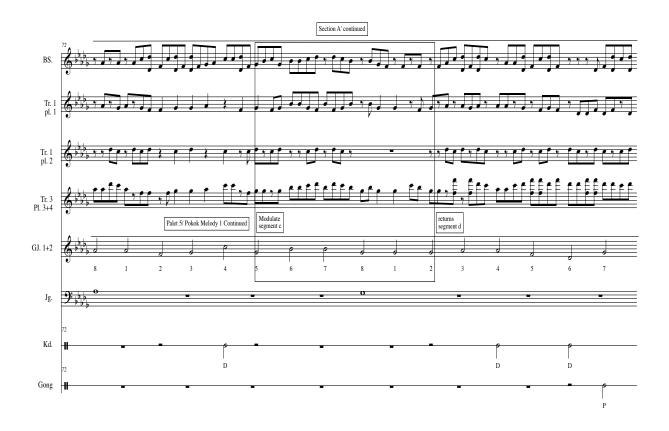










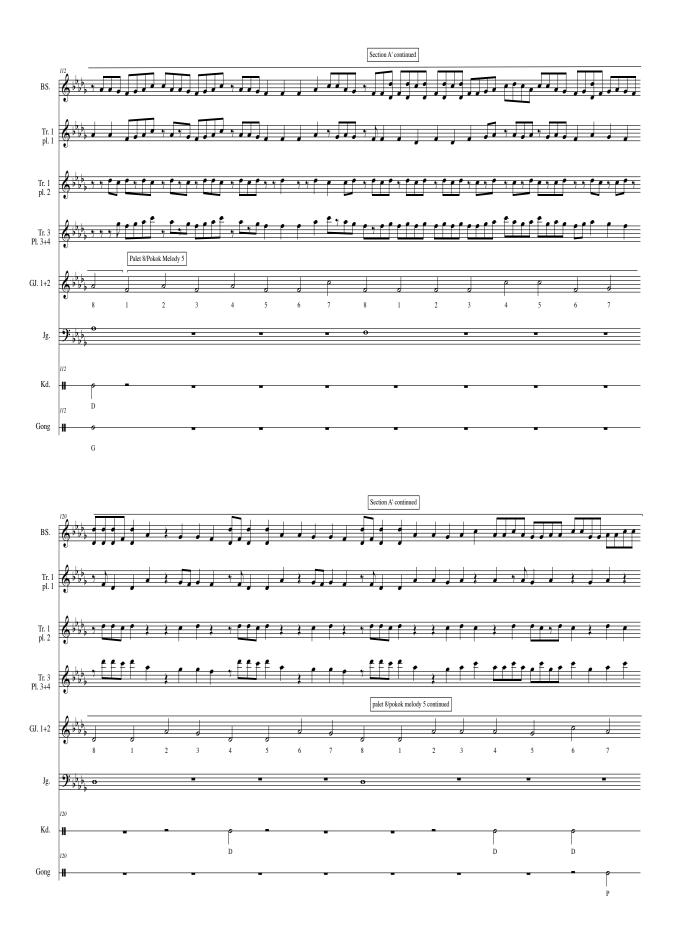




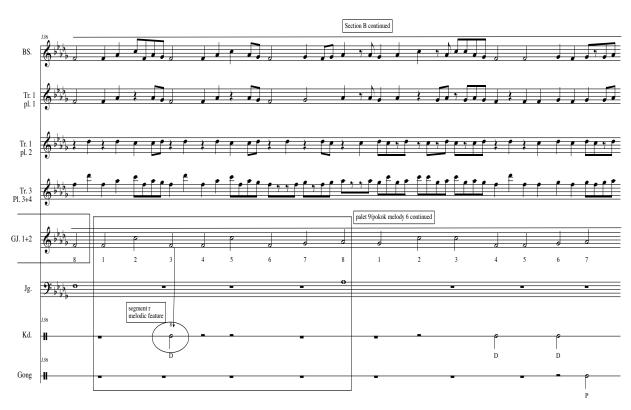




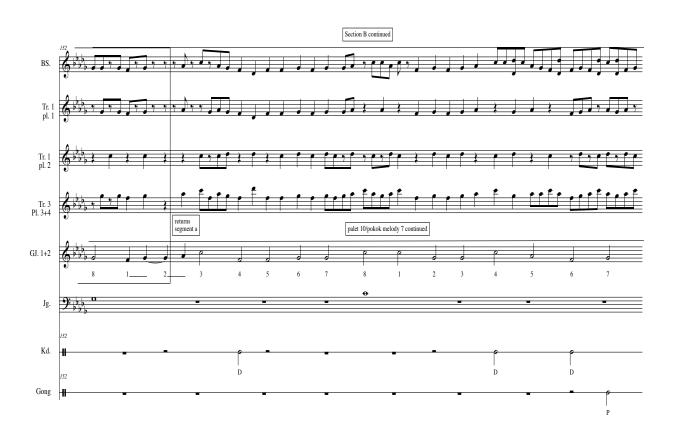




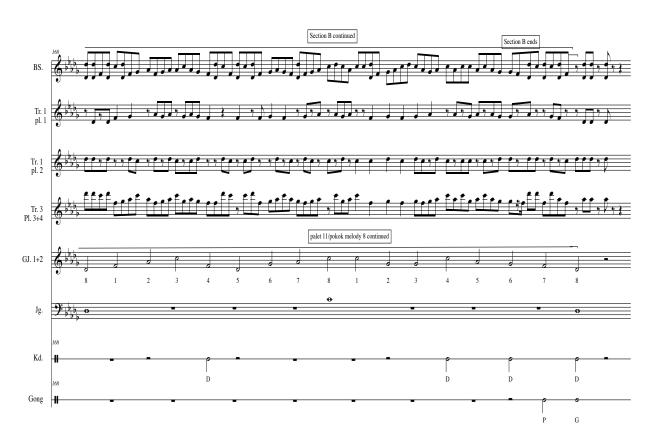












Appendix B
Analysis of *Mayura* (Audio Example 12).









Carik V continued

Pada 5

Pada 6/Ending

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

cl.





Sr. Bd. Bd.

Appendix C
The "Unplayed Melodies" in *Palet* Two of *Kinada* (Audio Example 13).





Appendix D
The "Unplayed Melodies" of *Carik* Two of *Mayura* (Audio Example 14).

