SARU Press is proud to present a ground-breaking new book by *Zachar Alexander Laskewicz*

Music as Episteme Text, Sign & Tool:

comparative approaches to musicality as performance

ISBN 0-935086-35-8

What the professionals have to say :

"I find this new work by the performance theoretician and composer Zachar Laskewicz to be both exciting and innovative in its comparative approaches to musicality as performance. Certainly this young explorer extends frontiers of performance research whilst at the same time providing a forum for the age-old debate on the question of what performance is and how it can be theorized and articulated."
- **Dr Susan Broadhurst** - author of *Liminal Acts* (1999) performance practitioner & theoretician

"This is a ground-breaking work of international importance that - at long last! - brings music theory into the field of contemporary cultural philosophy, and also gives a new stimulus for development within this field of philosophy. After the release of Laskewicz's book, the recent literature in this field, including the work of Linda Hutcheon, Zygmut Baumann or Frederic Jameson, has to be reconsidered."
- Boudewijn Buckinx
composer, music educator & critic

LASKEWICZ, Zachar (2003) *Music as Episteme, Text, Sign & Tool: comparative approaches to music as performance*. Saru Press Brussels.

Pricing:
12.50 Euros for individual copies, 150 Euros for boxes of 10,5 Euros for PDF and HTML versions of the text.

Contact:
Het Luifhuis, Vermeersgemstraat 13/8
B-9100 Sint-Niklaas, BELGIUM
tel/fax: +32 (0)3 776 61 63
email: zachar.laskewicz@pandora.be

I would like to dedicate this work firstly to Sue Achimovich, my mother, without whose constant support I wouldn't have been able to have jumped across the abyss and onto the path;

I would also like to dedicate the work to Dr Saskia Kersenboom who gave me the light and showed me the way;

Finally I would like to dedicate the work to both Patrick Eecloo and Guy De Mey who supported me when I could have fallen over the edge …

This edition is also dedicated to Jaak Van Schoor who supported me throughout the creative process of this work.

Foreword

This work has been produced thanks to more than four years of work. The first years involved a great deal of self-questioning; moving from being an active creative artist—a composer and performer of experimental music-theatre—to being a theoretician has been a long journey. Suffice to say, on the gradual process which led to the 'composition' of this work, I went through many stages of looking back at my own creative work to discover that I had already begun to answer many of the questions posed by my new research into Balinese culture, communicating remarkable information about myself and the way I've attempted to confront my world in a physically embodied fashion. My early academic experiments, attending conferences and writing papers, involved at first largely my own compositional work. What I realise now is that I was on a journey towards developing a system of analysis which would be based on both *artistic* and *scientific* information, where 'subjective' experience would form an equally valid 'product' for analysis: it is, after all, only through our own personal experience that we can interface with the world. This process of weaning myself away from my own work to be able to apply my method more generally was a difficult one. Now, however, I realise how important this process has been.

This book consists of four major chapters. Using as its major tool post-Husserlian phenomenology and post-structural theory, the first chapter attempts to redefine 'music' not as a thing to be examined and dissected, but a way of interfacing with what I define as "sensual knowledge", functioning ultimately to influence how we experience reality. Music is more than this alone, and the chapters following the first attempt to come closer to individual performances. The major point of departure is viewing *musical experience* as a complex type of cultural sign; here a 'sign' is not necessarily a specified object or idea, but something which signifies (creates meaning) for someone. This musical sign is placed in a different light in each of these chapters, and the object of analysis moves from the static musical object to the dynamic process of musical performance; the significance of the musical sign is revealed to exist as much in its creation as its material form (as far as it has one). One of the major themes of the work is the investigation of the way 'musicality' can be experienced by all the senses. I define this as the 'multimediality' of musical processes and the 'multisensoriality' of human musical experience. Other major topics include the notion of the *embedded* and the *embodied* 'musical sign'. Here the sign is considered in terms of its semiosis in an 'embedded' (fully contextualised) environment and in terms of its 'embodiment' in human physicality. The whole first section is devoted to the discussion of an epistemology based on a transferral from *product*- to *process*-based thinking, representing a realisation of the importance of the dynamics of a contextualised and embedded situation to all processes of human semiosis. This study is intended to criticise and suggest alternatives to existing approaches to musicality. It is not intended to present a single all-encompassing solution to a problematic, restrictive paradigm stuck deeply in the confines of structuralism; it is rather intended to provide another set of options. I'd also like to take this chance to note that the theories that I propose are intended as models to be built upon rather than as complete edifices resistant to change; I have attempted to make suggestions about the complexity of musical experience based on five years of research in the Netherlands, Indonesia and the United States consisting of the analysis of interviews, meetings, encounters and also deeply personal experiences. Although the work is primarily about Bali, I have chosen to call this work 'comparative' because I believe strongly that 'comparative' experience is essential to the process of understanding how another culture experiences their music; before analysing the music of another culture, one has to deeply understand one's own 'musicality' and the socially and culturally embedded set of signs that go into making us 'musical' human beings.

The major theme of the entire work is the importance of music in creating and perpetuating Balinese culture. Music is demonstrated to be not simply an expression of the current social, political or philosophical situation, but also a cultural force which in turn can influence the way a culture develops. Two terms are related to the expression of Balinese musicality: *tradition* and *innovation*, where new artistic works are explored in terms of either perpetuating strong cultural givens inculcated by society (tradition) or breaking away with radical new ideas (innovation), acting to change the society in which the artist lives. *Interculturality* as a musical issue is also explored in terms of how and why people belonging to certain cultures are turning more and more to other cultures to answer many of the questions which aren't sufficiently breached within their own cultural confines. This issue is dealt with in terms of what I refer to as *self-reflexive interculturality* which involves an artist finding in another culture what they expect or need to find rather than what is actually there, leading to western creations like *utopia* and *exoticism*.

Balinese culture has influenced artists and theoreticians from the West who are attracted to this remarkably well-preserved culture. Through the perpetuation of complex cultural systems, the Balinese have been able to remain largely self-sufficient; not being too 'adversely' affected by outside influence. Their culture is for us a truly

unique phenomenon, a structure that provides a coherent significative context to Balinese existence, supporting and perpetuating an intricately complex matrix of sound, movement and action. For the Balinese, music is certainly more than simply a diversion, but an important sacred and secular meaning-bearing phenomenon. In order to try and encompass this in theoretical terms it is necessary to open the discussion into a large number of different fields, including anthropology, linguistics, ethnomusicology, performance and ritual theory to name a few. I hope the reader enjoys the philosophical and theoretical journey I considered necessary in th.is work

Bali has been experienced as the fantasy come true for anthropologists throughout the twentieth century, having all the right elements to be the perfect specimen for fieldwork; it is a relatively isolated island paradise with an enormous amount of mystical and exotic charm. Post-colonial theory, however, has made us aware of possible personal agendas fulfilled in all types of cultural analysis. It was through working with Bali both 'practically' and 'theoretically' that I was impelled to see my own culture in a different light and question those things I had accepted as arbitrarily true. I learned also about my own personal agenda, which involved finding in Javanese and Balinese gamelan the answers to all the questions left unanswered in my own musical culture. The Balinese concept and experience of musicality perpetuates a non-elitist musical system which is truly 'multimedial' in nature and philosophy, something which I've always maintained but which was not always acceptable in many situations within my own cultural environment. Cultural estrangement and the necessity for a 'multimedial' or 'multisensorial' music culture attracted me to Bali. In performing this research, however, I was also taught a great deal about intercultural misunderstanding. This has made me very wary of and sensitive to theorists who write about a music system they haven't themselves learnt to play, as the process of education 'inculcates' certain embodied behavioural approaches which often provide epistemological information only communicable to those who have participated in the process of 'learning' it physically; in the field of ethnomusicology this may be a given, but in other academic fields practice is still to be appropriated into the realisation of theory.

What can you expect to learn from this study? There has obviously been enough written about Bali, so factual/historical information about the island is not my major concern. Instead, I have opted to look at the way performing arts traditions—particularly music—are perpetuated, in which forms this can occur and how they are perpetuated in vital real-life environments, with specific emphasis on *musical* expression (which I will demonstrate is a 'multimedial' experiential *process*). We are provided with dynamic possibilities as both anthropologists and performing artists to experience the world 'musically' through the eyes of another. I hope that this work will provide the reader with an alternative insight into the multimedial communication of 'musical' knowledge, something which hasn't really been considered theoretically because of specific sociocultural factors which are explored further on in this work.

There are many, many people who I would like to thank for their contribution to this work. Firstly I'd like to thank my partner and friend Guy De Mey who supported me emotionally during this difficult period. He was there for me when times got difficult, as was Patrick Eecloo in the preparatory period preceding this. Before the fieldwork I did in Bali I spent two years in the Netherlands learning Balinese gamelan and attending courses. I would like to thank Kersenboom for her theoretical assistance, encouragement and support. Vonck at the University of Amsterdam and Hinzler at the University of Leiden also deserve my thanks. They were both members of the Balinese gamelan group I played with called *Sandi Sari*, and they provided me with both unconditional advice and the chance to learn to play Balinese music, which I greatly appreciate. In Belgium, I have formed my own gamelan group (called *Saling Asah*) and that was also a highly educational experience. In this regard I'd particularly like to thank our teacher Wardana who has taught me both *Gender Wayang* and *Gong Kebyar*, in addition to being a remarkable source of information. During the fieldwork trips in 1997 and 1998 I stayed with Wardana's family, which was in itself an educational experience. Wardana's brothers, sister-in-laws, mother, father and other relatives all made me feel like an 'embedded participant', allowing me to partake in temple celebrations and other family affairs. At the STSI in Bali, I had the chance to interview important teachers and composers, and I'd like to take the chance to thank them: Windha, Astita, and Dibia. Barkin, Vitale and Wenten—all of whom live in California—also allowed me to interview them in both Los Angeles and Bali. Finally, there are an enormous amount of people I'd like to thank for their assistance to my research, some of whom I've never met. These are the people I came into contact with via the internet, either through personal contact or a major gamelan mailing list. Some of the people who assisted me include Herbst, Wallis, Grauer, Tenzer, Myers and Mack among many others. I'd like to thank them for the unconditional efforts they made to help me. Most importantly I'd like to thank Van Schoor who supported me in all my activities throughout this work's conception and preparation. Finally, without the last minute guidance and support from van Damme, Pinxten and Petkovic I wouldn't have been able to create this final version. The writing of this work has truly been an important event in my life, representing an enormous development in my ability to reflect upon the world and understand my role in it as both an observer and an (artistic) participant. My research tactics began in a sensual form through my work as a composer, which was followed by a gradual transformation which led to the

development of an ability to analyse not only my own work and its role in my personal experience of reality, but also into how ‘musicality’ provides our lives with unique levels of signification not attainable in any other way. I feel looking back over the last five years that I’ve covered enormous ground, although I admit this is in a way only the first step on what will become a life-time journey, one which I will take on, as always, with enormous enthusiasm.

Addendum

During the time period following the end of the fieldwork which resulted in the writing of this book, there has been an enormous surge in interest in the subject of musical experience and performance theory. Incorporating all the recent writing into the structure of this work is unfortunately impossible, but in publishing this book I am hoping to make a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge which this work encompasses.

—Zachar Laskewicz

16 May 2003

Contents

Chapter One: **The Musical Episteme**

> Since the inception of the mode of consciousness we refer to as 'the world', man has always thought of time as in itself a movement forward, an onward flow leaving only a little debris behind it. Evanescence is the essence of time. And since temporality is the medium in which this mode of consciousness has itself been expressed, since time is, as it were, the canvas on which we ourselves are painted, the empirical investigation of the structure of time possesses certain acute methodological problems. Could the Mona Lisa turn round, scratch her own background and then submit to a laboratory analysis the substance she found under her nail…? (Carter 1982: 99-100)

This work is divided into four main chapters. The structure of the work is relatively simple. Each of the four chapters presents an alternative way of interpreting musical behaviour in human culture. Bali is the major case study used in the work, but in order to demonstrate certain points the reader is directed to forms and structures present in other cultures, including our own. The intention is to demonstrate the complex ways we 'use' musical expression as a tool to influence our lives in a wide-range of fashions. Musicality is so deeply embedded in ourselves that it can have an impact on the way we experience our environment, sometimes without our knowledge. Rather than aiming towards any form of 'all-encompassing' semiotic theory, however, the intention here is to present a set of new options which are influenced by post-structural theoretical developments and new insights which can be gained from interdisciplinary work involving fields as varied as embodied philosophy and sociocultural anthropology. I intend to build this theoretical perspective on music by looking critically at the institutions, both physical and social, which perpetuate music within our culture in order to either initiate directions towards positive new options within the field of musicology or open the doors for performance studies into the field of music.

Each of the chapters has a clear set of theoretical goals. The first chapter has as its major theme the development of an 'epistemic' approach to music. This approach is based on the fact that the way we are taught to experience music within our culture impacts our lives in very specific ways. Using post-structural theory (particularly the work of Foucault, Bourdieu and Attali) a model is presented of both the western and the Balinese *musical episteme*. The second chapter presents a textual approach to music where 'musical texts' are viewed as dynamic and constantly refashionable blueprints used for the purpose of cultural perpetuation or cultural change. I develop a theory which includes the potential dynamism of 'artistic' texts. These texts are comparable to the *Rites of Modernization* presented in the work sharing the same name by Peacock. The third chapter takes a semiotic approach to musicality where the Balinese musical sign is viewed in terms of vital temporal and spatial factors while developing a theory for the *embedded* and the *embodied* sign. In the last chapter, using in particular the work of Bourdieu and Attali, I take a sociocultural approach to music based on processes of societal change and the role music plays in this regard. Here I develop a theory based on *Top-Down* (society controlled) and *Bottom-Up* (individually controlled) influences which can act in a bilateral fashion on the development of a culture and its (performing) arts.

It should be noted here that there are two main forces influencing each of the four chapters. The first involves music as a 'multimedial' phenomenon, one which involves more than simply the sound music makes but also other sensual information made accessible thanks to smell, sight, taste and even touch. Secondly, the concept of interculturality and the way it influences cultural change is also an important part of this work. It is playing a continually greater role for both composers and theoreticians around the world who are not satisfied with the musical concepts they are provided with in the context of their own culture. Both multimediality and interculturality are not considered in an especially positive or negative sense; rather they are viewed as elements that are playing an important role in both our theoretical and practical understanding of musical experience in the contemporary world.

One last note before we begin concerning the use of 'culture' and 'society': to clear up any ambiguity, I'm regarding both of these terms from the perspective of a cultural (or sociocultural) anthropologist, rather than a sociologist or even a social anthropologist. When using the term 'culture' I'm referring to the set of signs which a group of people make use of in the process of providing their lives with significance. This complex set of signs does not necessarily provide for every member a 'harmonious' existence. A *culture* can also be seen as an intersubjective body of knowledge, often consisting of many different types of *textuality* which a group of people make use of to provide their lives with meaning. From the perspective of a cultural anthropologist the term 'society' is often used to refer to many aspects which very much belong to a 'culture' but which concern specific areas not included in the definition of this term such as socially constructed hierarchies, cultural prejudices and social standing. According to Roosens, this includes precultural tendencies to situate oneself in a social hierarchy or the demographical relationship between cultural groups who live in a given area (1997: 35). When I am referring to 'society', I'm actually referring to those aspects of 'culture' which are not taken up in the 'culture as a complex system of signs' definition. Howard in his work on cultural anthropology sees society "as an abstraction of the ways in which interaction among humans is patterned," referring to the "varied ways in which people order their interaction with the human environment" (1993: 129). When I use the term society, I am referring to those aspects that don't play a part in the perpetuation of a 'culture' by adding to or adapting a set of culturally accepted signs, rather to a set of data that pertains to a sociodemographic group of people from a relative distance, such as how many people live in certain areas of the city or the percentage of the population who have the opportunity to hear classical music. This information may not be directly relevant to their 'culture' as such, but it can nonetheless be important in understanding how the *culture* works. The word 'sociocultural' is much-maligned because of its broad scope. When I use the term I'm *always* referring to a culture, even if there is some ambiguity about the source and relevance of the information.

1.1 Introduction

It goes perhaps without saying that music forms part of a complex set of cultural traditions that participate in the lives of its 'listeners' in a myriad amount of ways. The major goals of this work are as follows: to demonstrate—through the use of Balinese culture (particularly their performing arts)—the complexity of musical signification by proposing four contrasting (but equally significant) ways of looking at, experiencing or classifying music, all of which are intended as alternatives to a structuralist approach in which much contemporary western musicology is still largely embedded. We take a *multimedial* perspective on music, one that accepts as a given the fact that 'musical knowledge' can be realised in more forms than sound alone, and a *multisensorial* perspective in that we are able to experience forms of musicality through all our senses. It seems remarkable today at the dawn of a new millennium that the field of musicology is still expressing highly structural approaches to a dynamic and changing art-form when at the turn of the last century Roman Jakobson was already making rifts in this regard: In 1919, while still in Moscow, he wrote that "the overcoming of statics, the expulsion of the absolute—here is the essential turn for the new era, the burning question of today" (*quoted in* Kersenboom 1995: 195). At the entrance into a new age, one plagued by a disintegrating sense of security and an increasing sense of physical and theoretical uncertainty, this still seems to be a pertinent question, something which suggests the twentieth century has brought us—theoretically at least—few steps forward, and as many steps, if not more, backwards.

This chapter, and in fact each of the four chapters, takes as a basis the fact that 'music' as it is realised in a temporal and spatial environment is not an 'object', but a dynamic process, and that this should strongly influence the way we analyse it. Developments in other disciplines have helped us realise that complex cultural events like music are so much more than simply the marks on a page or the sounds on a CD. The opening section of this chapter is involved with an overview of the development of contemporary thought in order to help us understand better the contexts in which musical meaning is seen to be perceived or experienced in the contemporary western world, both on an academic and a practical level. The title of this chapter introduces an important term: the *musical episteme*. Examining music as an 'episteme', a term introduced into academic vocabulary by Foucault, presents music as a system which helps us to 'make sense' of certain aspects of our reality. This, in itself, is a step outside the terrain of traditional approaches to music; here music is treated as being far more than simply the 'product' or

'result' of what is experienced in a musical act, but as a vital way of interfacing with one's environment. These are broad claims, and I ask the reader to be patient as I try to demonstrate these cultural forces through analysing data collected during fieldwork trips that took place in Indonesia, the Netherlands and the United States during the last five years, and also thanks to my life experience as a composer and a performer. Although I don't mean this as an affront to traditional 'product-based' approaches to music, in order to follow this path many assumptions made by western philosophy and musicology need to be questioned. After having discussed possible ways for looking at this concept we explore the complex systems which influence the way the Balinese realise their own *musical episteme*. I apologise on the beforehand to all those people who feel I have dealt too lightly with important philosophical or cultural issues relating either to the concept of music as an aesthetic experience or the Balinese culture. The amount of time I spend on each subject has to be economised, so it doesn't mean I find any of the issues less significant.

This discussion begins with a general description of the *fixity-flexibility* epistemic condition which is now facing (and dividing) many contemporary theoreticians. Risking over-simplification, it presents two models of thought, one of which is based on the permanence and safety of homogeneous and static cultural models (inherent in positivist and structuralist research methods), and the other which recognises the importance of a heterogeneous and dynamic approach to culture (inherent in *embedded* and *embodied* approaches to research). We examine Foucault's 'archaeology of science' to help us understand how each era brings with it a new way of perceiving knowledge, thus disseminating through institutions (such as schools), social inculcation at home and daily interaction with the world many different types of knowledge and ways of interacting with that knowledge. Demonstrating an extended concept of musicality and the importance of the *episteme* is one step forward, but before the conclusion there are still other bridges to cross. The next step on our theoretical journey involves bringing the individual who creates or experiences the music into the process of musical signification. To help us here I've taken significant developments in the field of phenomenology, from Hüsserl through Heiddeger to Merleau-Ponty, to build an approach to music which includes the individual as an active part of the process of musical signification. As Lakoff & Johnson suggest, this requires us "to abandon some of [our] deepest philosophical assumptions" (1999: 3). After having presented this complex given, the first step is taken towards building a theoretical model for the analysis of this type of musical experience. To do this the *musical episteme* is brought back and explored as a dynamic tool embedded in cultures which is used by individuals to perform real functions in the world. Rather than a set of rigid principles to apply to all music, I will attempt to define it as a framework which assists us in perceiving the world in a musical fashion to demonstrate contrasting musical epistemes. I compare examples from Javanese, Balinese and 'western' culture. Finally the Balinese musical *episteme* is explored and some of its complex intricacies are expanded upon.

Chapters Two and Three function to bring us closer to the musical sign. The opening chapter may well put forward a viable model of the 'musical episteme', but it has its limitations when it comes to observing individual examples of musical expression. In order to build a more general theoretical model for music, three major steps are taken. The first involves viewing music as a type of 'text'. Using as a foundation Balinese concepts of textuality, an open model for text is presented which includes not only the text itself as 'product' but also the 'text' as a dynamic vehicle in the Barthesian sense; one which is in a process of constant development, adapting itself to a changing environment. In Chapter Three the musical sign is explored further by extending musical semiosis to include the dynamism of both spatial and temporal factors, as suggested by Jakobson's interpretation of Peirce's famous semiotic model consisting of the *icon*, the *index* and the *symbol*. Chapter Four demonstrates a sociocultural perspective on musicality, in terms of the impetus within society to create art works for the purpose of perpetuating given cultural ideals or presenting radical new ones. At the end of Chapter Four a long theoretical journey has been completed. But there is one thing I would like to make clear here: the theoretical journey does not end up with a 'result' or a series of 'truths' that can be applied. The journey itself is as important as the 'results'.

1.2 The FIXITY-FLEXIBILITY Schism

Before beginning to explore the development of the Balinese *episteme*, two contrasting tendencies present in contemporary theory will be examined. This examination involves a generalisation making use of both theoretical and practical issues. Although all generalisations are reductions, I think that this one is useful for clear comprehension of this discussion. On the one hand, there is a *drive* or *tendency* towards constant change and development. This is an inevitable quality of time, and cultures have to constantly adapt to keep up with it. On the other hand there is a force which attempts to halt this constant movement, to freeze in time all human knowledge and to accept that frozen state as the completed human condition. I refer to this as *the longing for stasis*; and it is a strong force to reckon with in culture represented theoretically as a belief in science as a system of understanding with unchanging and permanent values. This move towards stasis assists people attempting to adapt to a culture whose rate of change is only continuing to increase; what is finished is mostly always better than what is coming or what will come. We connect ourselves to facts and rules which are sure and reliable because every change can

bring about a new insecurity; we long for a durable permanence, a static reference framework because our time on earth is short, and constant confusion about the nature of reality is for many unbearable. This provides us with the basic theme for the coming discussion: *fixity* and *flexibility*, *fixity* representing this desire for stasis, and *flexibility* representing a movement in contemporary theory which stands opposed to this apparent movement towards reduction. I would like to suggest in a general sense that *fixity* is for many an unquestioned epistemological condition inherent in our culture, particularly its musical institutions, and that this can restrict the way we approach other cultures. It comes part and parcel with our cultural heritage and filters down to our social existence. As will become clear in Chapter Two, this has also influenced the way we have 'interpreted' Balinese (musical) behaviour and the various intercultural processes which have been active between our cultures since colonial times. A dialogue between 'scientific' and 'artistic' research is becoming increasingly necessary in a world whose significance is continually being brought into question. It is only thanks to such a dialogue that a coherent and comprehensible approach to musicality can be formed.

Foucault (1926-1984) attempted in his work to demonstrate that the basic ideas which people normally take to be permanent truths about both human nature and the environment, are actually arbitrary and are in a constant state of change and development, just like the cultures which harvest them. His work spanned across many different areas, demonstrating, for example, that mental health and human sexuality can and have been interpreted in many different ways depending on the applicable epistemology of a given age. His method demonstrates that many aspects of the reality which are created and endorsed in our cultural institutions are not necessarily *given truths* but the product of an arbitrary system which functions to mould or restrict the way we experience our reality.

Our culture, like all others, can only exist thanks to a set of beliefs on which its members can base their understanding of everyday events. Metaphorically, this set of beliefs can be viewed as an 'instrument' through which we can look at the world. This instrument has a very particular set of lenses finely tuned to the specificities of our culture. If we use this instrument to view another culture, we will probably only be able to see them from our own distorted viewpoint. If, however, we were able to drop our instrument and take on that of the culture we are observing, we could look at the world in a totally new way, not only at their world but at our own as well. Foucault makes clear that it is only by becoming aware that we are using such an instrument that we can even begin to understand how people think. Although Foucault applied this to European history, I will demonstrate that this has a clear cultural extension particularly useful for interpreting the way another culture experiences 'musicality'.

The notion I present of *fixity* is part of the instrument some of us use to perceive the world. It is through *fixity* that the power of the human body to influence human reason has been to a certain extent neutered by movements in philosophy and science, leading back to the work of the important European philosophers Descartes and Kant. The approach to reality which has emerged in the modern *episteme* sets up a dichotomy between the notions of 'mind' and 'body'. Johnson & Lakoff's work concerns the development of an embodied approach to meaning which questions this *fixed* paradigm (1999: 6). In the context of this discussion I am hoping to demonstrate the importance of recognising the body in the human understanding of music. This will become clearer as the musical world of the Balinese is explored. The western *episteme* emerging from the classical era still influential to much contemporary thought is outlined by one recurring theme: the longing for a 'universal calculus' transcendent of any individual or context. Empiricism was, in a way, the institutionalisation of an already existing way of approaching knowledge, which Foucault expresses by noting that "l'homme devenait ce à partir de quoi toute connaissance pouvait être constituée en son évidence immédiate et non problématisée" (1966: 356). This whole movement which saw the expression of these beliefs in the nature of human knowledge is commonly referred to as *positivism.* It's important to consider this aspect simply because if we realise that this influences the way we approach many elements of our lives, it places us in a better position to approach other cultures who have undergone similar processes, rather than accepting our *episteme* as some kind of basic truth.

Foucault's work is the first step on a complex journey through new insights made possible by the 'post-structural' movement. *Post-structuralism* is a blanket term used to refer to a general movement in theory which is made up of many different facets. The general theme of post-structuralism is its movement against the longing for dichotomy; here all the accepted truths of pre-structuralist theory are questioned or destabilised. Language is no longer considered to be a tool which gives us access to *real* truth; it is now seen as a means to describe our world using a set of arbitrary symbols, recognising the infinite number of ways this reality can be interpreted. Grauer notes that post-structuralist theory recognises that there is nothing 'outside' signifying systems such as language, "no 'metaphysical presence' that could conceivably transcend language, no prior perceptual or even sensory 'givens' that could serve as its building blocks; that there is, in 'fact', no 'reality' 'out there' for all the many 'signifiers' to be either made from or 'signify'." It is only in such a context that we can conceivably have the theoretical apparatus to approach any musical experience (especially of other cultures) whose significance transcends verbal description. Two areas of particular interest which have certainly influenced the contemporary paradigm in the

direction of *flexibility* have been the advent of quantum theory in the field of physics and in particular the philosophy of Derrida and his well-known *deconstruction* technique. Derrida's work questions the contemporary *fixity* episteme forcing us to reanalyse the dichotomies many of us accept as truths. Post-structural theorists Bourdieu and Attali contribute particularly to the questioning of existing power hierarchies restricting musical knowledge in our culture, and I make use of their writing further on in this work. Any innovative developments in post-structuralist thought, however, should not misinform us in any way or present a utopian vision of what this theory can achieve. In many ways, it has only been successful in questioning those systems it stands deliberately in opposition to rather than providing any type of solution. This includes blind existentialism obsessed with the individual or at the other extreme the quest for universal truths in semiotic theory or cybernetics. These are all, of course, expressions of our culture searching in a more rarefied form for the mystical abstraction which makes us human. The Lyotardian 'quest for cognition without a body' has become one of the obsessions of contemporary science. Kersenboom notes that "although postmodernism has proved its intention of setting out to make its move, at least conceptually, it has proved too that it is hard, if not impossible, to move away from a 'critical' representation of knowledge implying a static and linear form" (1995: 203). In other words, Kersenboom realises how difficult it ultimately is for us to abandon our cultural shackles for the seemingly greener pasture on the other side. As the world is in a constant state of change, so is the way individuals are able to apply this knowledge, which results in a continuous process of improvisation and application.

Post-structural developments have been able to question the somewhat outdated Geertzian conception of a 'cultural web'. It is now generally accepted that culture is involved not with passive perpetuation but a constant struggle: the 'web-spinners' are often in a position of power meaning that many are just grappling to retain their position rather than adding to the web's complexity as a result of an often unjust division of power over cultural knowledge. As Wikan notes, although some spin the web, many are just caught in it (1990: 12). In addition there is a growing necessity to recognise our praxes as equally unmotivated as those of the cultures we are observing; everything from personal greetings through politics to funereal rites and the legal system. In order to learn to comprehend new cultures, we have to 'unlearn' what we accept as the *status quo* within our own culture, which doesn't of course imply that we have to literally forget what we have learnt, but that we have to learn to be aware of the practices which have allowed us to appropriate our own culture and the cultural ideologies connected to this praxis. This is particularly significant in terms of the musicological discussions within this work: I will try to demonstrate that 'musicality' is a culturally learnt or 'inculcated' way of behaving rather than an object of study in any material sense. At a relatively young age learning Javanese gamelan necessitated a complex process of 'unlearning' what I already thought were the basic givens of musical experience. This provided me with an important insight into how wary we have to be of the limitations of observing only the 'products' which emerge at the end of a complex process of musical education both in the context of everyday existence and in educational institutions.

1.3 The Musical Episteme

The intention of the following discussion is to more clearly define a discourse related to culturally embedded artistic communication involving human *musicality*. To do this, we will take a well-known term from the work of Foucault introduced above—the *episteme*. Epistemology is a generally known concept in western philosophy and is derived from two ancient Greek words: *episteme* meaning knowledge and *logos* meaning theory (Sykes 1976: 349). Its meaning has had different shades of nuance throughout western history because it refers to the whole field of 'knowledge' and how it can be experience or perpetuated by a culture. Questions the field of epistemology ask include the following: Is it at all possible to know anything? And if it is, what are the axioms for the realisation of that knowledge? Western philosophy has kept itself busy exploring the ultimate conditions for the 'truth' of this knowledge. Truth claims aren't, however, a major part of contemporary epistemology, especially post-modern philosophy which in fact negates the possibility of achieving truth. Foucault with his important work in this field has provided us with a new impetus for looking at knowledge and understanding the conditions in which knowledge is perpetuated, accepting as a given the fact that many different kinds of 'truths' can and do exist in human culture. The basic presumption of Foucault's writing is that we, as human beings born into a given environment, are provided with a certain *discourse*. Foucault is referring here to the conditions a culture provides individuals with which they can use to help them conceive of their environment. The whole issue of truth claims assumes that knowledge exists outside the context of discourse; Foucault, however, suggested that we can not get 'outside' of this discourse and gain access to anything beyond it. Foucault introduced a particularly interesting term to refer to that system of conditions and rules relating to the discourses specific to a particular age in history: the *episteme*. Foucault's meticulous demonstrations of different *epistemes* in western culture and how they have coloured our understanding have brought about a kind of crisis in western philosophy, one which questions the very environment in which we now live. We have no difficulty accepting the fact that people in the Middle Ages, for example, looked at their surroundings in a particularly different way than we do now, but sometimes we

underestimate how differently people think in other cultures. I would like to discuss music in the context of epistemology and demonstrate the important role music plays in perpetuating both our own and contemporary Balinese culture. At the same time, I hope to demonstrate both the problems and the advantages of a realisation that the way we understand the music of other cultures is coloured and nuanced by our own 'musical' *episteme.*

The first question to answer involves defining what type of 'knowledge' it is that is being communicated through such an *episteme*. I will attempt to present a notion of 'sensual knowledge' based on non-verbal parameters; dynamic information about the world which is communicated through our senses but which is not translatable into words. I ask the reader to accept the terms 'sensual knowledge' and 'musical knowledge' to refer to this non-verbal information received by the senses even though they may be potentially inappropriate according to some definitions of *knowledge*. As I will demonstrate this is still information which we both *process* and *apply* in our daily lives and so 'knowledge' has been used for want of a better term. As part of his major work on the way music is used in our culture to segregate art, Atalli states that the world is not 'for beholding' [*il ne se regarde pas*] in the sense that we can experience the world thanks to visual discourse alone. Atalli adds that the world is not only 'illegible' in the sense that it cannot be understood by visual discourse, but that it is to be experienced 'musically' by the senses (1985: 7). This implies that the data we receive through the senses, all of the senses, is a kind of knowledge which can't be explained in terms of written discourse. It is 'musical' because it is that level of experience which goes beyond speech. The way this sensual knowledge is experienced, or rather, the way this information signifies to an individual, depends primarily on a scheme of rules, habits, assumptions and understandings which individuals are provided with by their culture. It is this scheme for the interpretation of knowledge that I call a *musical episteme* as suggested above. In pointing out the cultural contrasts inherent in experiencing smell, for example, we view an age where odours were thought of as intrinsic 'essences' and revelatory of inner truth, in contrast to a present where such an 'olfactory consciousness' is "considered threatening to the social order" (Classen, Howes & Synnott 1983: 8-9). This demonstrates how the processes involved with the cognition of 'knowledge' are culturally inculcated.

Human language is obviously a major force in perpetuating culture, because it is primarily through language that cultural information is communicated from generation to generation. Whorf demonstrated the connection between linguistics and the means to perceive reality in his research into American Indian cultures. One of his major breakthroughs which has had repercussions in contemporary anthropology was his discussion of the tense systems which we use in standard European languages, noting that very specific epistemological implications derive from the way we perceive and express time in language. It is clear that language is a means for comprehension, an important part of our *episteme*. How does this, then, relate to music? I would like to propose that music also communicates vital information about spatiality and temporality which cannot be communicated in any other way. In the context of this discussion I will demonstrate the complexity of such 'sensual knowledge' involved with the communication of non-verbal information but which nonetheless plays an important role in defining who we are and how we interface with the world. As Attali proposes in his influential work *Noise*:

> "La musique est plus qu'objet d'étude : elle est un moyen de percevoir le monde. Un outil de connaissance."
> (Attali 1995: 8)

I hope to demonstrate that a *musical episteme* actually influences the way we filter 'sensual knowledge' and how this knowledge impacts the interactions we have with our environment. Further, the forms of performing arts which make use of 'arranged sound' for not only 'sensual' or 'aesthetic' purposes, but also for use in complex sociocultural situations involving interactions between musical institutions, the economy and any number of other social organisations, demonstrate clearly that a *musical episteme* is an incredibly complex sociocultural given. One of the most important, and perhaps most problematic, aspects of the *musical episteme*, however, remains the whole notion of 'musical knowledge'. What I will attempt to demonstrate in this study is that our experience of 'music' involves far more than just the input of 'sensual' or 'musical' *knowledge.* It is rather a dynamic epistemological system which provides us with a *way of knowing*, a method to interpret data which enters the body through the senses, i.e. *musicality* consists not only of 'knowledge', but an actual way of *knowing,* of interpreting data which enters the body through the senses. By studying a new *musical episteme* and by participating bodily in the active *process* of music-making (as an anthropologist or ethnomusicologist) one learns how much more one has to learn; how enormously complicated and interwoven music can be in the lives of its practitioners. I will attempt to demonstrate the scope of such an *episteme* by exploring its expression in both Balinese and Western European culture.

It doesn't seem difficult today to accept the fact that each culture is unique, and that because of this individual uniqueness, members of a culture have a contrasting apparatus with which they can interpret the reality surrounding them. External to the individual, a culture provides its members with a general framework they can use to comprehend reality. Cultures accept certain givens about their temporal, spatial and physical environment, many of which are shared so that people can recognise and place themselves in a larger context. Sometimes we

lose sight of this shared aspect because for many of us much contemporary western art remains inaccessible for social or individual reasons, for example artistic segregation brought about by social forces such as elitism or personal segregation such as a pure lack of interest. Music, dance and theatre are all art forms which can provide members of a culture with unique but mutually 'shareable' sensual information. Accepting that each culture has its own conceptions of knowledge and the way the world can be experienced, it seems logical to suppose that all cultures have their own ideas about the experience of musicBecker states in his article on text-building and epistemology in Javanese *Wayang Kulit* (Javanese shadow play) that musical systems are "but one way in which the people of a given culture conceptualise and make sense of their world" (1979: 234). Becker is suggesting in this statement that his experience of Javanese music has demonstrated that music is far more than its static *fixed* 'realisation'; it has, in fact, the potential ability to *colour* or *render unique* the way we relate to our environment. This is an aspect of the musical experience I believe to be particularly significant to this discussion.

The *musical episteme*, then, is a complex whole which can be viewed from two major perspectives: (i) as a filtering system for sensual knowledge within individuals which can influence the way they experience their temporal and spatial environment and (ii) as a vehicle which expresses, usually through the embodied participation of members of a culture, dynamic experiences realised in space and time which are usually based upon cultural information shared among members of a culture. This heterogeneous whole has to be confronted in any serious research on the different ways cultures have of expressing or perpetuating their *musical episteme*. It also has to be appreciated that musicality is never present as the *only* form of expression in any cultural vehicle, but forms a part of a heterogeneous whole to a greater or lesser degree. Generally within traditional western musicology, the tendency has been to assume that the meaning applied to sound is somehow connected with the qualities of the sound itself rather than to culturally specific arbitrary meanings. This is an essential part of our *musical episteme*, an almost imperial assumption about what is and what isn't music. We tend not to perceive that the significance of sound depends not only on its quality, but also on contextual and social meanings which are constantly in a process of change. Sound, or rather the way we perceive sound, is in no way static. Marshall refers also to another important assumption inherent in the western *musical episteme*: the notion of *Psychic Distance*, which is an acceptance of the possibility of appreciating an art object because of qualities it has of itself, external to its context, involved with the perception and exploration of 'pure form'. He describes the problematic epistemological assumptions inherent in this notion as follows:

> This notion of psychic distance rests on the assumption that there is such a thing as an object of thought whose features can be explored by the thinking subject; that there is an agency, the mind, which acts on objects that render them meaningful; and that experience of objects can be formal (as of musical sounds) or practical (as of everyday sounds). Clearly the concept of psychic distance requires these particular epistemological assumptions.
> (Marshall 1982: 165)

One of our *epistemes* is characterised by on the one hand a desire for eternal transcendent musical meaning—a state of stasis which is ultimately impossible to reach—and on the other a popular tradition which changes incredibly rapidly. The two are not at all reconciled with one another and are treated almost dichotomously in an Apollonian/Dionysian fashion. This does not reduce the importance of research that can be done from within our musicological discourse: without such a discoursal framework, music would make no sense at all. We have to realise, however, that our approach to music is nuanced by these epistemic contours. As Marshall states in his own writing, if the intention is to find out about how another culture communicates anything through its music, "we shall have to discover first how they experience thought in general" (1982: 166).

Attali, one of the most critical writers on the ways music is used in occidental (particularly French) culture defines three important levels of understanding the western *musical episteme*: it is used to make us *forget* ['faire oublier'] the true unspeakable violence inherent in our culture, *believe* ['faire croire'] in a sort of unquestioned universal harmony, and finally to *silence* us ['faire taire'] by filling the world with a meaningless hum of musical droll ('muzak'). In terms of the first analogy, music helps us *forget* the 'general violence' by exerting ritual power. In Attali's model, the longing for stasis is very much exemplified by the desire to forget. Although our *musical episteme* may play a role in helping us along a certain epistemological path, we as individuals make the choice to participate, at least to a certain degree. There are institutions within our culture which function to restrict the possibilities of participation in many different ways. The same force which provides this restriction is the one which is paring down art to a purely aesthetic expression, making it a pleasant sociocultural diversion. Certain schools of European musicology are perhaps extreme expressions of this force. Similarly, the way music helps us *believe* in the harmony of the world is an expression of the longing for stasis. Attali defines the type of power inherent in this part of the *musical episteme* as *representative* power. I assume here he is referring to the power music has of embodying certain understandings about time and space, representing in sound conceptions which are perpetuated in culture by being embedded in belief systems. Finally, Attali's image of the power of music to *silence* is deliberately frightening. Attali refers to this as 'bureaucratic power' in that it is created within a system for particular bureaucratic purposes, in this sense the most obvious model being that of the popular music market.

By inundating this market with certain types of musical material—often of the type which perpetuates also the *forgetting* and *believing* parts of the musical model—a world of money-makers forces a potentially dynamic world into silence, listening only to the pounding sounds embedded in certain types of contemporary western pop music. Attali describes this as mass-producing "une musique assourdissante et syncrétique" which tend to censor "le reste des bruits" (1977 : 39).

Musical epistemes inculcated within culture like Attali's model discussed above are not easy to forget; in order to escape their influence one has to undergo a long, complex and arduous process of 'un-learning' what is assumed to be true about human musicality. My personal experience learning Javanese music can be likened to a great conflict of wills: before I was able to acquire what I first saw as evident was an enormous struggle to understand how a different culture carved a totally contrasting musical world out of musical material which was for me at first incomprehensible. It took more than a year of hard practice before the 'repetitive sound' which was Javanese gamelan began to become a complex musical fabric, providing me with a unique insight into musical temporality which I didn't have according to the tenets of the occidental *musical episteme*. It became a procedure involved with the 'un-learning' mentioned above and a new process of musical inculcation, rather like working out the meanings of hieroglyphs and being provided with a totally unexpected system of meanings; solving a mystery hidden by time.

It is clear then that *musical epistemes* inculcate particular prejudices and biases, and within occidental culture many of these beliefs are instituted within 'musical' institutions such as conservatories; this reflects a *fixed* or structural approach to musicality deeply embedded within the western *musical episteme*. Accepting the possibility of the score as a true means of musical incarnation and perpetuation, the institutions in which our musical traditions perpetuate musical knowledge are expressing a desire for general acceptance of specific goals unique to our culture and emerging from the belief in the possibility of transcendent *a priori* knowledge. In other words, in terms of western formal music, it is generally believed that the power behind musical communication lies in a cultural meaning which was the same as when it was composed. Like the Ricœurian *Text* (discussed in more detail in Chapter Two), the author and the audience become divorced from the process of signification. Musical perfection is reached in our minds by existing firstly in a disembedded form; the performance is reduced of sensual meaning and becomes simply an imitation of the permanency inscribed on paper. It doesn't seem problematic to suggest that the way formal music is used in our culture plays an entirely different social role as it did when it was composed. One can feel 'joy', 'rapture' or any of the other states music can and has evoked in our culture, but the context in which those emotions are felt are totally and entirely new. The particular reasons for the evocation of certain musical works can never be reproduced: the naïve pomp of early romanticism, for example, can never be captured again in the same way. In parts of western society, however, it can be observed that certain individuals do their best to surround themselves with an aural environment they are familiar with or that is associated with the social class they either belong to or aspire to be a part of. This is a reflection of the longing for stasis I refer to above as I described the *fixed* cultural paradigm which reflects a western positivist agenda. Thus the score is seen as an acceptable form of musical perpetuation, and is perhaps an extreme expression of the belief our culture has in 'literacy', i.e. in transferring knowledge thanks to abstract mediation rather than between two (or more) individuals sharing a dynamic presence. Our acceptance of this form of musical signification is yet another expression of this belief in the truth of the power of inscribed meaning. Considered again in terms of 'folk-knowledge', we can observe the general acceptance of *true* musicians—at least those considering themselves to be able to play 'serious' music in the context of western formal music—as those who are able to *read* music. It is interesting to note that this 'hyper-literary' approach to the score doesn't ring true to the actual teaching of the music even in the most conservative institutions. 'Interpretation', a very vague term, is used to refer to all those extra elements which make the music dynamic and real in a given spatial/temporal context. Not surprisingly, many teachers who are involved in the practical task of music-teaching admit that a very large percentage of the way they teach is 'oral' rather than 'literate', in the sense that they teach their students how the body realises the music rather than passively how to play back the score. This means that they are passing on 'orally' a way of realising the disembedded text, a way which is embedded in a process of behaviour, of interacting bodily with music. The 'text' itself, mostly in the form of the score, actually gives only a small part of the realisation. At the opposite end of the musicological spectrum, however, we have the 'new complexity' movement in composition. The term *new complexity* refers to a movement in contemporary music which attempts to notate in absolute terms every possible sound, breath and movement the performer makes, turning the performer into a vehicle for the expression of the composer's goals and little more. In another movement compositional systems are worked out and entered into a computer so that 'auto-composition' is possible, making the interference of the composer and any subjective meaning this could bring into the musical process entirely unnecessary; the music, in effect, composes itself. This is based on a similar musical agenda which has as its underlying theme the conception that 'pure musical knowledge' can and does exist, and that it is this type of knowledge which composers should aim to create, and

listeners should be trained to enjoy. Such an agenda flourishes in a musicological world where there is little dialogue between 'theory' and 'practice'.

The belief in the existence of this knowledge suggests that occidental musicology is strongly aligned with the *fixed* theoretical paradigm; in the twentieth century this received its ultimate expression according to the tenets of the 'serial' method of composition. The *serial* or *twelve-tone* method was invented by Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951) who attempted to disembed music from the annoying subjectivity of tonal music by using all twelve tones of the octave in a non-tonally based manner, avoiding a central keynote and all relationships between them. The twelve-tones were placed in a row, and then developed in a manner which had not been anticipated by any other musical developments preceding it. The whole serial movement was taken further by the next generation, serialising not only the tones but also all other elements such as rhythm, volume and tone colour. It remains to be seen, however, how far these composers have been successful in achieving their epistemological goals (composers in this school include Messiaen, Boulez and Babbit). A system was invented to express in its most extreme process the western desire for transcendent musical meaning. This can be compared to the 'translation machine' Peirce longed for in his writings, a machine which could communicate its meaning directly and not via the restricting form of 'mediation', represented in music by such socially embedded factors as harmonic progression and melodic development. The decontextualisation or 'disembedding' of musical signification is so much more than simply a characteristic trait of western music such; it is actually a basic cultural force imperative to the perpetuation of our culture.

The common western view of music is as a primarily 'sonic phenomenon'; within musicology the primary purpose is to analyse musical sound. Nattiez is a theoretician considered to be at the forefront of contemporary music semiotics. Despite the fact that he has analysed the 'music' of other cultures and is aware that non-musical factors are extremely important in real-life embedded 'musicology' his approach is highly structural. He notes in his seminal work on the subject of musical semiotics "Il n'y a pas de limites au nombre et aux genres de variables qui peuvent intervenir dans définition du musical," recognising that often one 'becomes privileged', shouldering all the others aside. He uses as an example contemporary musical works which emphasise the non-'sound-based' element of the musical experience, including the work *Con Voce* by Mauricio Kagel, the German composer of Argentinean origin known for his radically experimental music-theatre pieces. Here, the feature which has been isolated—for example the movements required by an instrumentalist to produce music—are brought to the fore. This realisation is entirely unproblematic: it recognises that there are other factors than only sound that go into the creation of a musical whole. Nattiez, however, states that these 'special cases' demonstrate the fact that "on ne saurait parler de *musique* sans faire référence, *même de façon sous-entendue*, au sonore" (1987: 70). His ultimate conclusion is therefore that we can consider sound to be 'la condition minimale du fait musical' (ibid.). This approach assumes that although different cultures may enjoy as part of their definition of music quite different conceptions, if we cut away all the surrounding layers which add to the cultural signification in a performance setting (dance, movement, language, text, images, costumes, even hallucinatory drugs), then we end up with the pure state of sound in *all* cases, even if it is only 'implied'. This theoretical premise is highly problematic. In other works by Kagel, for example, 'sonority' isn't highlighted at all. Accepting sound as the minimal condition of musical experience is accepting a reduced or 'fixed' approach to musicality, and it is this reduction which I hope will be proved insufficient on its own in the analysis of embedded forms of performance.

The question involved with exactly why our culture attempts to provide theoretical credence to a world of musical perfection is indeed a complex one. It provides answers to some of the basic epistemological questions brought up at the beginning of this chapter as far as the perpetuation of a 'hyperliterary' scientific consciousness is concerned. Another level which also has to be considered is the disembodiment we can associate with twentieth century technology. The audio CD or the CD-ROM encapsulates completely the illusory possibility of reaching disembedded, pure knowledge, perhaps coming closer to the Lyotardian brain without a body, knowledge existing forever after being branded onto a compact disk. Even Nattiez recognises the importance of technological development bringing with it a 'monomedial' (as opposed to a multimedial) approach to music: he states that "nul doute que le disque et le magnétophone n'aient contribué, dans la foulée de l'esthétique hanslickienne, à réduire notre conception culturelle du musical à sa seule dimension sonore" (1987: 71). Bourdieu, however, provides us with the best explanation for the desire our culture has, at least in an academic sense, to reduce sound to its purely sound-based form. He, like Foucault, directs us to the process of the rationalisation which we can view in the history of western philosophy after writing made the process of objectification a conceivable one. The reduction which is implicit in a lot of contemporary theoretical work on 'music' is answering a specific western epistemological agenda. The very fact that the rigours of science determine that individuals can view only certain divisions of an embedded cultural phenomenon and then make claims about its broader signification is the root of this problem. It is beneath this very desire towards specificity that lies the true epistemological secret of contemporary musicology.

Developments in the field of ethnomusicology have been particularly useful in the questioning of this aspect of our *musical episteme*. Examples from Blacking and Nettl which discuss the essential multimedial nature of musical experience are included below:

> One of the first lessons that ethnomusicologists learn is that music is both a social fact and multi-media communication: there are many societies that have no word for 'music' and do not isolate it conceptually from dance, drama, ritual, or costume; and even when music is identified as a specific category of thought and action, there are many different ways in which it is defined and in which different characteristics are regarded as significant.
> (Blacking 1987: 3)

> …the Hausa of Nigeria have no term for music; there is a word, *musical* which is used for a very restricted body of music… The same seems to be true of many American Indian societies that have no word to tie together all musical activities. Each culture seems to have its own configuration of concepts.
> (Nettl 1983: 20)

This describes the confusing totality which Nattiez refers to as the *total musical fact* ['le fait musical total'] (1987: 70), an entirety which is simplified within musicology to its minimal condition. Strong messages from ethnomusicology and other fields involving interdisciplinary research are gradually chipping away at the edifice or bridging the epistemological moat which the field of musicology has created around itself. In the following chapter division I will try to demonstrate the epistemological importance of a multidisciplinary approach to human musicality made possible by accepting a 'multimedial' or 'multisensorial' approach to musical expression.

1.4 Multimediality and Multisensoriality

It is perhaps best to begin with a definition of the term which I have adopted to refer to the many different forms in which 'musicality' can be expressed. Etymology of the word multimediality can be easily traced back to the two terms taken up in it: *multi* referring to many and *media* to the forms such artistic events can take. While 'multimedial' refers to the *production* of the 'sensual knowledge', the term 'multisensorial' refers to its *reception*, i.e. we can also experience 'music' through the other senses. An important aspect here is the comparison between the concept of multisensorial musicality and the theoretical notion of monosensorial musicality. Monosensorial musicality is the generally accepted approach which believes in sound as the *minimal condition* of music. Multisensorial refers specifically to the active senses used by the individual in the process of musical signification. Accepting the monomedial musical paradigm assumes that we can only hear, making the whole process of musical signification a rather cerebral one. Unfortunately this is a general reflection of the way our culture perpetuates its formal or classical music in contemporary western culture. By sealing off the arts into monomedial experience modes academic discourses concerning music become restricted to an elite few who tend to interpret 'music' as an abstract whole: a collection of pretty, orderly sounds and not much more. A multimedial approach to musicality empowers all the parties involved in the creative process, attempting to transcend the sociocultural restrictions placed by the institutionalisation of musicality in our culture. Multisensorial musicality recognises that 'music' exists in the individual who processes multimedial data through his or her senses according to culturally taught but at the same individually realised data. In this respect, musicality can be seen in many different levels of human experience. In writing, for example, musical understanding is taken advantage of constantly, for example in rhyme or in the repetition of certain textual structures or events. Altman uses the term 'intratextual rewriting' (1979: 42) to refer to recurring elements in texts which involve the re-presentation of elements which are not meant to have a discursive function but that are intended to be experienced 'musically' by the reader who perceives and appreciates the pattern:

> The simple and most obvious example of intratextual rewriting is rhyme, which provides the mode for all other instances, in that it includes a dissimilar context along with the repeated material. … This type of relationship can exist at any level in an infinite number of ways: a character enters a room holding a bottle, then later enters holding a gun. (Altman 1979: 42)

Although western culture has the general habit of restricting musical experience to an aural one, ethnomusicology has demonstrated that other cultures understand music in many different ways. Many of these cultures lack a word which can conveniently translate our term music, and very often dance and other multimedial activities are included as part of the same definition. The absence of these terms does not in any way reflect a deficiency on the part of the language or the general perceptive powers of the culture in question, but rather a contrast which can't be solved linguistically thanks to different conceptions of what 'music' actually is.

It is significant now to view multisensorial musicality in a practical context, exploring direct applications of multimedial musicological theory. As mentioned above research in ethnomusicology dating back to its early days has continually demonstrated that other cultures oftendefine 'music' according to entirely different terms, often involving terminology which refers not only to sound but also to visual elements. Blacking demonstrated this in his study of the sociological application of 'music' in Venda culture, demonstrating clearly and unarguably the multi-levelled significative practice which was very much involved in the *doing* of the musical act and not the musical act itself, communicating something very tangible about people in relation to one another in a particular

dynamic environment, as well as among the individuals in a sociological sense. Schaareman demonstrates this in his discussion of Balinese musicality:

> Both ritual action and music are indicators or expressions of locally relevant values and representations, or to put it in more sociological terms are statements about the socioreligious order. In my opinion, ritual music and ritual action are equivalents or at least complementary: music without ritual action, and, conversely, ritual action without music is senseless. (Schaareman 1992: 188)

An important role is played by multisensorial musicality in the demarcation of ritual space in non-western ritual settings. The whole concept of the musical experience and ritual has been an important part of ritual studies within the field of anthropology, and it has been long recognised that 'musical' structures are directly involved with the way rituals are experienced. This means that musicality plays a role in both the general structure of a ritual, as well as the dynamic roles it plays in making a space communal and changing the way the 'audience' experiences the event, sometimes powerfully like in the trance states evoked in Balinese rituals. Kapferer demonstrates, for example, that in Sinhalese exorcism, the structure of Sinhalese music corresponds to the "fundamental body gestures and steps of the dance" and that "dance fills the time-structure of music and makes visible its movement and passage" (1986: 198). The essentially musical nature of ritual is confirmed by Parkin in his research on movement and space in ritual, stating that "ritual performances, essentially multimedial, involve a type of 'musical' cognition absent in discursive language use" (1992: 26). He defines multimedia as referring to words, music, noise, odours, objects and substances, as well as the relationship between ritual states and the 'psychic, social, natural and cosmic orders' which discursive language and the worldly affairs of everyday life pull apart or alienate. Ritual, therefore, is very often involved with making sense of certain aspects or stages of our everyday existence, creating potential order in an epistemological chaos.

In the performing arts it seems today difficult to avoid a confrontation with a multimedial sensibility. It is interesting to note, however, that avant-garde artists around the turn of the century were struggling to have recognised the 'multimedial' aspects of graphic arts such as painting. Kandinsky (1866-1904), a painter of Russian origin who revolutionised abstract art through both his painting and his writing, is a particularly interesting example in this regard. According to Kandinsky and his colleagues who together produced the avant-garde journal *Der Blaue Reiter*, a multimedial approach to artistic signification should include the active *process* of painting. Many of his theoretical writings involved the discussion of the motion inherent in colours (Hodge & Anson, 1999: 206) and in addition he also composed visual compositions involving colours and motion with actors on stage, his most well-known music-theatre work being *Der Gelbe Klang* ['The Yellow Sound']. Kandinsky's important work on abstract art almost certainly played an influential role in the abstract expressionist movement which was to follow. Abstract Expressionism took place around the middle of the twentieth century, and the painters were united not so much by a painting style as by similar artistic and theoretical precepts. Although its roots can be traced back to Kandinsky, the movement itself was based in New York and one of its most well-known head figures was Jackson Pollock (1912-1956). Pollock represented one of the two main tendencies within the Abstract Expression movement: *action painting* (ibid.: 306). Action painters were concerned primarily with the whole gestural expression adopted by the painter while in the process of painting, where the marks on the canvas were the end-points of gestures. Here, the essential movement inherent in painting is a clear indication of the necessity of a multimedial approach to understanding the way some artists attempt to communicate their vision, here the movements of the artist and the relationship between the movements and the gestures 'fixed' on the canvas can play an essential role in artistic semiosis. Many composers, as well, believed in the connection between music and the graphic arts, and some of them often painted as well as composed. There were even composers who believed in an intimate connection between sound and colour, such as Scriabin (1872-1915). Although in many of our forms of traditional or formal musical performance the whole process of olfaction is generally never considered to be an important part of the process of musical signification, it sometimes plays a role in other cultures. In Balinese ritual performance, for example, incense and other means of colouring the olfactory environment certainly plays a role in the significative process. Classen, Howes and Synnott's important work on this subject demonstrates how powerful this aspect of communication can be in colouring many sorts of significative acts (1994: 1-10). Similarly, Stoller demonstrates the important aspect of taste in understanding certain types of ethnographical information (1989: 3-11).

One of the major demands of multimedial theory is to empower the individual. The basic message inherent in multimedial theory is that all the parties involved in the creative process are 'artists' in the sense that every individual plays a role in providing signification to him or herself as it is read from given symbolic forms; the brain is 'creative' like an artist is creative, constantly testing and retesting theories to explain its ontological state. In this way, we as composers, performers, musicians and also simply listeners, are playing a creative role. Any meaning pertaining to symbolic forms such as music is not within the 'product' but within the people for whom it becomes significative. The experience is obviously very different for performer and audience member, although in truth for every individual the experience is different because no individual is identical, just as every environment

and every passing moment is different each time each new musical event is experienced. As a group, however, members of a culture share musical moments with others. It is the communal, shared aspect of performance which makes it so special, both in terms of utilisation of musical time and sacred space. Kapferer in his article on Sinhalese exorcism discusses this communal aspect of performance which accepts primarily that although each multimedial act signifies differently for each individual, the cultural context in which dance and musical behaviour is perpetuated allows only certain movements and sounds to be permitted, both in a ritual and secular context, so the shared experience will unite rather than alienate those involved in the performance (1986: 197-198). Kapferer notes that individuals use aesthetic form in a way which he refers to as being 'uniformly individuated': in other words although individuals make their own image of what they experience, their culture plays a role in teaching its participants how this experience should take place, meaning that they are *restricted to a certain extent from adopting external standpoints*, in other words misinterpreting what should be a primarily positive and constructive cultural event, as many rituals are.

Just as ritual and music have many points of convergence, so do music and dance. In order to make [non-electronic or recorded] music by playing a musical instrument, for example, we have to move our bodies in certain ways. In many cases a playing style is dependent on the performer's motions, i.e. the behaviour the performer adopts in relation to his/her instrument. A Balinese performance form known as *Kebyar Duduk* developed from a set of movements used by a performer to play one of the longest gamelan instruments (the *Trompong*) on his own. Because of the necessity of the dancer to move while on his knees in order to be low enough to have contact with the instrument, one of the words in the title ('duduk' [*sit*-Bahasa Indonesia]) refers to this sitting position.

There is one factor of dance which is not generally considered: while the performer is dancing he or she makes noise by making contact with the ground, skin moving against skin, or the rattling of clothes or ornaments on the dancer's clothes. In Indian dance, particularly the legendary form danced by temple-maidens now known as *Bharata Natyam*, the rhythmic sounds created when a performer slaps her feet against the ground determines the rhythm of the music, and the performer wears bells on her ankles to emphasise this rhythm. It has been suggested by contemporary research that our cognition of music is very much related to the whole phenomenon of movement which is evoked during musical performance. We can probably all relate to the feeling of being drawn into the dance at social events, usually by the familiarity of musical rhythms and melodies. Langer, a music philosopher, considers dance to "move in musical time" (1953: 143) whether or not there is 'music' present during the performance, suggesting a universal affinity between the two forms of performing arts. Baily, who adopts a more empirical approach to the study of the sensory motor apparatus in music, refers to the necessity of further exploration into the way in which 'musical patterns' may be represented cognitively by the performer as patterns of movement, in other words he discusses the importance of exploring "the extent to which the creation of musical structure is shaped by sensorimotor factors" (1985: 237). Most dance in the world is accompanied by music, perhaps the only exception being movements in contemporary dance which have been attempting to isolate dance as an independent phenomenon. As mentioned above, dance is often considered part of the same musical gesture, certainly in terms of Balinese music and dance.

Although there has been a small movement within our culture to isolate dance from other performance forms, moving forward in the quest to disembed all art forms from embedded contexts to reach a sense of transcendental meaning, it is still generally accepted that it is impossible to reduce dance in the way music has been. There have been, however, a few attempts made to create comprehensive dance notation systems. None of the forms of dance notation—such as the *Labanotation* system invented by Laban—have been very successful and therefore dance remains a problematic area in western theory. Despite its incredible popularity and the large degree to which every human culture adopts it in some way, it has been difficult to make an entirely independent field of study such as musicology and music semiotics. Dance theorists come and go, but the general trend is to have them taken up in other disciplines, such as anthropology or theatre studies. We are left with the question: why is dance irreducible in the way theorists are convinced music is, looking back to Nattiez's *minimal condition* for music? Why can't we invent a theoretical structure thanks to which all [western] dance can be classified and explained? There are two major, and obvious, reasons for this. Firstly, it is difficult to disembed a dance form from its context in the way we can with music. It is obviously visual, and can only be considered in terms of what the individual is performing in a given environment and at a given time. Although we can watch a performance on video, which involves a disembedding process of sorts, we are still left with the problem of being directed back to the context of performance: we often aren't expected to find signification in it unless we know something about the performer or the performance. In addition, it is not only impossible for the dance to be decontextualised visually, but it is also impossible for notation to really be able to relate us to the performance. The notation systems which do exist are sparse and, even those systems which have been developed do not in any way 'resemble' the performance and therefore cannot give us any idea about what sort of signification could be taking place in a live performance event. The only purpose of notation is for future use as a tool for memory. By using notation, one would have

difficulty convincing any potential 'reader' that it is the 'same' piece as was performed when the work was notated. Dance is an embedded phenomenon, deeply involved with particular cultural situations from rituals to partnership rites to discos and is therefore integrally multimedial. Hanna discusses this aspect of the dance experience:

> The dance medium has communicative efficacy as a multidimensional phenomenon codifying experience and directed toward the sensory modalities – the sight of performers moving in time and space, the sounds of physical movement, the smell of physical exertion, the feeling of physical exertion, the feeling of kinaesthetic activity or empathy, the touch of body to body or to performing area, and the proxemic sense – has the unique *potential* of going beyond many audio-visual media of persuasion. (Hanna 1979: 24)

It is impossible to reduce a dance to its parts and to give each level a different signification, primarily because to understand the dance is to do it yourself, to be embedded in the culture in which the dance is performed. My primary argument here is that if dance and music are so closely related, and it is simply difficult if not impossible to reduce dance in any way, how can we theoretically support musical reduction? Music and dance, terms which are difficult to clearly distinguish in Balinese performance, can be seen as tangible and cogent realisations of space and the environment embedded in the present. As I will demonstrate in coming chapters, the musical sign is embodied in the performer and the performance. In this sense we observe the sign as it emerges from the performer's physicality, and we recognise that it is in this embodiment, this sensual firstness, that the musical sign receives its 'meaning' or transmits its 'knowledge'. Dibia—a prominent Balinese choreographer—stated that it is fairly common for a dancer in Bali to play music, even though nowadays such mixed training is no longer as thorough (Vitale 1990: 16-22). As Sanger suggests, it is "indisputable that music and dance are closely intertwined, and any meaningful research into Balinese life must include some understanding of dance and dancers" (1989: 57). They are so closely related that the terminology used to refer to music is practically the same as the terminology used to refer to dance: the English terms for 'music' and 'dance' are insufficient on their own to refer to aspects of the Balinese performing arts. In Balinese musical performance there is the element of the tangible presence of the performers on stage or in a temple which cannot be ignored. The Balinese have developed a 'musical language' which they use to refer to both music and dance, and there are many dance forms—like *Kebyar Duduk*—which have arisen from musical performance rather than the other way around (which is more typical for western dance). According to Dibia, the terms 'choreographer' and 'composer' can often refer to the one person who is proficient in creating his (and sometimes today her) own dance-dramas.

The close relationship between Balinese music and dance is further fortified when looking at educational *processes* in the Balinese performing arts. Colin McPhee wrote about these processes during his presence in Bali around the turn of the twentieth century, and this can be related to the teaching methods used today at the STSI in Denpasar which are involved with an embedded process of musical inculcation through direct acquisition of musical behaviour as it is experienced by the dancer. The teacher literally moulds the supple bodies of young Balinese dancers into the positions of specific dances, rather than teaching them a general method of movement with drills and exercises as is common in the West. The teacher stands close to the student, humming the melody in the student's ear, and jerking the dancer's body into the position when certain musical changes take place. McPhee noted that the dance could only 'enter' the body after the dancer had mastered all the important musical aspects: rhythm, melody, and metric construction. The Balinese have a term for this type of dance acquisition: the dance becomes part of the physical structure of the dancer's body (*mendarah daging*: which literally means 'to become flesh').

Another interesting factor concerning Balinese traditional dance is the control that the dancer has over the musicians through the intermediation of the *kendang* [Balinese drum] player(s) who communicate messages from the dancer to the musicians. This is particularly noticeable in the well-known Balinese war dance, the *Baris*, which has the dancer moving about in a performance space, often surrounded by the instrumentalists. Certain musical climaxes are reached which are known both to the dancers and the musicians as *angsels.* These climactic stages are preceded by movement patterns which thanks to cues given by the dancer are realised musically at the same moment. As a result, no *Baris* dance is ever quite the same, in that the dancer himself can choose how many repetitions take place before or after certain *angsels.* This intimate relationship between dance and music in pre-twentieth century performance is taken to its extreme in works which came about in a period after the turn of the century in Bali. These works were composed for a new type of gamelan ensemble which had taken the island by storm, an ensemble known as the *Gong Kebyar*. *Kebyar* can actually be translated as the dynamic power involved in a rapid burst of energy, such as the energy needed by a match bursting into flame. The name 'Gong Kebyar' is quite appropriate for the music which began to be composed for this ensemble which was of a highly flamboyant nature with constant exciting changes and developments. This progressive style brought with it a new type of musical aesthetic, or perhaps better a Balinese aesthetic which found perfect form in the rapidly growing *Kebyar* movement, one which I refer to as *Balinese theatricality.*

Theatricality is a theme which occurs continually in anthropological discussion of the Balinese culture; the Balinese are often represented as being 'constantly on show' in that they always seem aware of their own presence and the presence of others in either a secular or a spiritual sense. Theatricality is represented as being a Balinese ontology, a constantly recurring theme that began with Geertz to Wikan who observes Balinese theatricality in a more contemporary setting. It is this sense of 'constantly being on display' to a seen and an unseen audience in relation both to visible Balinese people and invisible spirits and deities which has become a major theme in contemporary Balinese performance. Although the appearance of the performers (such as their costumes or positioning on stage) and other 'theatrical' factors are considered significant by all the contemporary composers I interviewed, the *theatricality* I refer to here is the flamboyance and extravagance exerted by the performers and often also the interaction between the musicians and the dancers on stage. This sort of interaction is greatly enjoyed by Balinese audiences, who play an active participatory role in performances (comparable to a pop concert). Vitale describes below this theatricality while discussing the performance of new *Kebyar* works in a festival setting, which is the primary medium in which new works have been presented in the twentieth century:

> If performed within the context of a festival, the display would find not only sonic but visual expression. The 'featured' musicians often augment their playing with elaborate, highly stylised body language, mostly exaggerated arm and hand gestures that arise in some way from the playing technique. These sometimes include the postures, eye movements and facial expressions found in dance. (Vitale 1996)

This was in all likelihood the very feature which drove the first audiences of *Gong Kebyar* performances wild in the North of Bali. One of the primary innovators of the twentieth century, I Wayan Beratha who was responsible for major developments within the *Kebyar* gamelan style, was also heavily influenced by this theatrical performance element. The flamboyant theatricality present at all yearly competition performances (which form part of the major yearly festival held in Denpasar known as the *Pesta Kesenian Bali* ['Bali Arts Festival']) demonstrates a contemporary Balinese tendency to fuse music and dance into the same multimedial theatrical gesture.

Multisensorial musicality is of course not something which restricts itself to Bali. In Europe as well we have had a strong basis in multisensoriality, even though it has expressed itself within other artistic disciplines and mostly as part of radical movements in avant-garde performance which changed the face of the arts in the twentieth century: *Futurism* in Italy demonstrated that music could be 'noise', *Dadaism* in Switzerland and France created musical compositions based on the 'sound' of language, movement, text and action, *Expressionism* in Germany saw painters abandoning the canvas for the stage and the *fluxus* movement in the United States saw musicians starting theatres and embracing aleatoricism. Although they are not often included in any type of western 'musical' education, they nonetheless add to our understanding of how human musicality works. They are also important because they changed the way contemporary composers outside purely academic circles embraced multisensorial musicality in contemporary performance.

In the preceding discussion I have attempted to extend our vision of musical experience by exploring some of the vital 'processes' involved with musical signification. The intention has been to demonstrate how important multimedial experience is in understanding human musicality as an *episteme*, a tool taught to us by our culture which we apply to help filter the large amount of information which enters our consciousness via the senses. I would like to end with a phrase taken from Blacking's work whose experience with ethnic cultures led him similarly to question the way music is perpetuated in our culture. He presents music as a type of 'intelligence' which the individual uses to comprehend things external to the musical event. This will form the basis for the discussion which will be continued further on:

> …it could be said that musical intelligence can be a modelling system for a variety of non-musical activities, just as it need not be the source of all 'music-like' sounds. Thus, culturally defined musical structures have been derived from patterns of body movement applied to instruments, and musical intelligence can be used to organise cultural phenomena that are not usually describe as 'musical', such as architecture, mathematics, rhetoric and poetry. (Blacking 1992: 243)

1.5 Empowering the Individual: *musical experience and cognition*

A multisensorial approach suggests that it is necessary to recognise the importance of all individuals involved in the process of musical realisation as either composers, performers or listeners. It is therefore necessary for us to consider the active processes individuals set in motion as they attempt to comprehend music, no matter what their involvement may be, rather than as the passive receiver of information.

Ritual-based activity, especially those forms involved with trance or possession often has its participants reaching states which are, for the participants at least, paranormal, metaphysical and often magical. Here musical structures come to bear which are largely unrelated to verbal discourse, but are nonetheless extremely important in providing the participants with information which helps them 'make sense' of their world. Ritual theory constantly demonstrates this through examining the function and application of this ritual or musical discourse in everyday life. It is naturally very difficult to define this type of sensual information and exactly what it can communicate. It

is only through describing examples of what music appears to *realise* in everyday life that we can gain an insight into what this 'musical knowledge' actually *does*. In the coming discussion I will be providing many examples from both Balinese and Western Europe to help us explore how a *musical episteme* is applied in our lives. Parkin suggests that the sort of information resulting from ritual-based experience is involved with reuniting "the psychic, social, natural and cosmic orders which language and the exigencies of life pull apart" (1992: 206). In this type of 'musicality', the music—be that a ritual or a performance of classical music—often provides its participants with a sense of structure or completion which is only obtainable in this way. The similarities connecting music and ritual suggest that this type of communication is most certainly *multisensorial*. In addition to interpreting these non-discursive 'musical' structures personally through the senses, music (and ritual) can also provide information about the social order. Schaareman considers both ritual and music to provide "indicators or expressions of locally relevant values and representations," (1992: 188) and that it is impossible to separate the music from the action: both form one and the same vehicle of multimedial communication.

The presence of musicality in rituals often plays a *reflexive* role, one where the ritual points indexically to itself, letting the participants know that the ritual has begun, that they are no longer experiencing 'normal' time, and that the space the ritual occurs on is no more simply 'space', but ritually ordained space (where a totally different set of activities can occur). Langer, herself a music philosopher, notes that the kind of information communicated in ritual has completely different goals than spoken language, being "transformation of experience in the human minds [cognition] that have quite different overt endings." She goes on to mention that although these cognitive states do not communicate 'messages' as one searches for in linguistics, they do carry important information which is 'effective and communal', equally important to the perpetuation of human culture (Langer 1980: 45). This *reflexive* function of musicality is not only a characteristic of ritual; it enters into many different levels of human existence. Advertising, for example, often makes use of the ability of human cognitive processes to point indexically to a particular product. Poetry, as well, with its rhymes and its rhythmic nature, points to "the structure of the linguistic sign," (Parmentier 1995: 129-130) and Parmentier considers great poetry to be about the *structure of language*. Music as we know it, as well, is often constantly sending signs within itself reflexively (such as 'this is the first theme', 'we are in the second movement' etc.), reminding the listener that they are listening to music, and not, for example, to the news. This sort of reflexive communication inherent in music is an essential part of the human condition, constantly reminding the participants of the sort of processes they are involved in. Parmentier refers to this element of ritual as 'hyperstructured social action', and goes on to say that "segmentation, hierarchy, and stereotypy are not just contingent aspects of performance but are the means for calling attention to the structuredness of social action" (1995: 130).

As I have mentioned, *multisensorial musicality* is more than just a part of cognition. It is not merely a way of filtering or understanding experience which is taken in via the senses, it is also a means of realisation, a way of bringing to life through the body—or through the manipulation of external objects by the body—cognitive structures which the participants involved in the process want to externalise. This emphasises the fact that *knowing* is not only about knowing *something*; it means that 'forms of knowing' or 'forms of understanding knowledge' result from active and dynamic realisation through the body. *Doing*, therefore, is *knowing* in this sense. This also implies that the very process of *conception* of given sensual data occurs thanks to the dynamism of interacting; by moving and feeling a given environment at a given space and time we provide ourselves with new data which we can use cognitively to test the theories we may form to make sense of our environment.

In this work I have already introduced a dynamic form of 'musical knowledge' which can only be communicated in performance. Whether or not we can call this type of musical information 'knowledge' is a matter for another discussion; perhaps a better term would be 'experience' as this includes in a sense a performative aspect. This type of human experience only truly 'signifies' when it is enacted; in the sense of an Austinian *speech-act*, it is only through its performance that one successfully realises the *illocutionary act*. Although we can very well 'talk' about the joy we experience when we listen to a piece of music, it is only through listening to it that it achieves this function. The same can be said of ritual activity; it is only through *performing* the actions in ritual that one can achieve its specific goals. In this sense *signification* is referring to the dynamic activity achieved by the realisation of a musical or a ritual sign; it is a physical expression which is learnt both by the mind *and* the body. I would first like to discuss the importance of *enaction* in cultural situations. Here again, we have to not only avoid generalising the signification of events to every member of a culture, but also to pay attention to what *happens* to the individual in a given cultural performance, be that a tooth-filing ceremony or a concert performance. Academically speaking, music is often a problematic area because of the tendency we have to consider its signification outside the context of its enaction.

Such *enactive signification* involves the physical and behavioural aspects which are produced in any type of performance, be they improvisational or rehearsed. As Bourdieu notes, "le corps croit en ce qu'il joue" (1980: 73). Bourdieu is referring to the type of 'bodily understanding' we achieve through the act of going through specific

types of ritualized activity. He notes further that it isn't a question of 'memorising the past': the body actually *re-enacts* it, 'bringing it back to life' [*il le revit* (ibid.)]. This kind of knowledge, therefore, is not knowledge we can write down or notate, because it has such a vital relation to the present moment. It is a potential which is always present in our bodies, again quoting Bourdieu: it is 'something that we are': *ce qui est appris par corps n'est pas quelque chose que l'on a, comme un savoir que l'on peut tenir devant soi, mais quelque chose que l'on est* (ibid.). It is only possible to bring this knowledge back into the world by performing it or possibly by seeing it performed. We can't read about it and expect that vital knowledge to be communicated to our physical selves. This is a bodily knowledge taken in by the senses and brought back through performance. Here we can see the importance of ritual: the necessary communication of vital information which is reincarnated into a form understood physically by the performers and often its audience. Outside the context of its *enaction* this knowledge is difficult to communicate.

The perfect example of the expression of non-discursive but nonetheless meaningful cognitive structures is the so-called 'abstract' movement of Balinese dance. In the example below McPhee discusses the active contents of the dance. Although the dance itself appears to have no 'translatable' meaning, there are many events and movements which involve the body interacting with its environment both physically and psychologically. In interviewing Balinese dancers one of the common characteristics was the enjoyment the Balinese women had when performing dances, especially those involved with inviting the gods to the performance space. Although they weren't able to describe *what* or *why* they attained such a level of happiness, it was clear that these movements provided them with an enormous amount of satisfaction. The example below is taken from McPhee's important article "Dance in Bali" and is referring to the dance known as the *Legong*:

> Yet in spite of this perfection of abstract form, the dance itself is filled with events. The circle is divided into inner sections which are marked by different systems of gong punctuation. The music itself is animated by the warm pulsation of drums which creates an inner rhythm that is tense and restless, filled with disturbances and sudden agitations. (McPhee 1970: 311)

It is interesting to note here that the externalisation of sensual data, whether it be through performing an instrument or playing a CD, is often an extension of an inner desire to make the environment understandable: by filling it with familiar sounds we are making it recognisable. This type of symbolic behaviour is also apparent in rituals. Often music and movement are used to demarcate a given space and time, making it at once unique to the ritual but familiar to those participating in it. On the subject of rituals and their expression of cognitive states, I'd like to bring in the thoughts of Parkin who states that ritual behaviour is very often the result of what he refers to as the resolution of 'tangled states' which are provided by everyday existence (1992: 23). This means that the multimedial ritual performance helps those involved in the experience to cognitively deal with certain events which are intangible and inexpressible in spoken language. Just as this type of multimedial musical experience is able to bring about resolution for individuals, ritual (and by extension music) also has the ability to confuse or disrupt human states.

1.6 Music as an epistemological tool

In the following discussion I'd like to present three major ways 'musicality' is adopted as a *process* to interface with certain aspects of our reality and one another. First we look at music as a filtering system, one which we use to comprehend incoming sensual data in a musical way which I suggest we use to make sense of our environment. I refer to this as *musical intelligence.* After this we discuss musicality as a vital tool which we use to actively participate in the world. Here, we use musical processes to externalise and experiment with sensual data which we have already processed. Music becomes the testing ground for our 'theories of the world' in the head as Smith would put it (1985: 199). I refer to this level of musical cognition as active *musical experimentation.* Lastly we take a look at the ways in which we use music to attain a sense of 'mutuality' with those surrounding us, a sort of common ground which we can share with others. I refer to this as *musical community*. I'd like to note here, however, that each of the three areas below are not in any sense intended to be complete or mutually exclusive. It involves identifying areas I consider important; they are merely starting points on which we can build a better understanding of the *musical episteme.*

1.61 MUSICAL INTELLIGENCE

This first level of music as an epistemological tool implies that we use 'musical' systems to understand some forms of sensory information which enter our body and our minds through active participation with the world. This 'musical intelligence' helps us to make sense of this information, to sort out what should be interpreted and what should be ignored. As we all know, our bodily system—especially the auditory side—is highly selective. There exists a fine line between what we experience as 'music' and what we experience as 'noise'. Here I would like to discuss the implications of understanding *musical intelligence* as an important force in the life of individuals. Blacking, the ethnomusicologist who termed the phrase, observes that 'music' is something a culture creates and teaches to its individuals (Blacking 1992: 210). As a first step towards this type of intelligence, he suggests that musicality is more than just a "part of an ideology of social life" but that it is the result of internal processes shared

by all human beings. The next step he takes is the natural acceptance that *musical intelligence* is not involved with the conceptualisation of knowledge which can be explained in verbal discourse. Its very nature makes this impossible. Instead, he says that we have to look at musical experience in terms of what individuals *do* with it, in other words how people apply this knowledge in daily life. Blacking concludes that the way people apply this knowledge in cultures around the world suggests that it is possible to discuss music as much more than its audible expression. He envisages, therefore, a theory of musical intelligence which can be used to explain a great deal of human behaviour, including architecture, mathematics and literature. The way this type of musical thinking is used to perpetuate culture through the application of its 'texts' is discussed in Chapter Two.

1.62 MUSICAL EXPERIMENTATION

Musical experimentation is made use of when we need musical data to help make sense of our environment; this is based on the logic that the vital interactive processes we go through getting to know our environment are an essential part of the process of world construction. Passive 'learning procedures' cannot provide us with enough information and we therefore have to interact with an environment in order to truly understand it. This is tangible experimentation which is used by individuals to a greater or lesser degree: some people can adapt quickly, whereas others may need more time before they have any conception of what it is like to *be* in the new environment. It is often a confrontational procedure, where we compare the existing knowledge we have of our world to the set of new information implicit in the new environment. This tangible and often physical level of human understanding is obviously not explainable using verbal systems: it is something we feel and know, and can only be learnt through constant input of sensual data, and this is of course only possible if interaction takes place. Composers (and other artists) often take advantage of using the new musical means which are available to create an understandable externalisation of their new environment. Through composing music it could be said that a composer communicates dynamic information about the world, information which externalises the process of learning, a mid-way point between the existing 'theories of reality' in the mind of the composer and the data provided by the alien environment. Often a dynamic liminal space is created which bridges between old theories and updated perspectives on reality, helping the composer to move forward on the constantly changing path which all people follow during their lives. Creating art, then, is an active process of interfacing and making sense of a changing world, which sometimes adds up to an externalisation of thoughts and ideas in an artistic form. Composers express these structures in a living spatial and temporal environment because these are the tools they use in their creative efforts. An example of this type of externalisation or experimentation is the habit many of us have today of bringing along a 'portable' sound environment. By filling a new space with familiar musical material, we make it easier to adapt to a new environment. Music in contemporary culture is becoming continually more portable in this fashion. The increased amount of travel possibilities has grown with the portability of music, demonstrated by the creation of the legendary 'walkman' and more recently tiny digital devices which store an enormous amount of MP3 files. The externalised expression of musicality provides the artist or composer with vital new information about his or her environment. After it has been released into the world, others can learn from it. Not only does *man make music*, according to Blacking, but *music can make man*. In discussing this level of musical experience he notes that music can play an active role external to the creative process in "releasing creative energy, expanding consciousness and influencing subsequent decision-making and cultural invention" (1979: 4).

1.63 MUSICAL COMMUNITY

Perhaps the largest insight provided by the application of phenomenological theory in the study of musical behaviour or experience is the discussion concerning the important way music is used within culture as a tool to help individuals experience, comprehend and ultimately accept their place as an individual ('I') among a mass of 'Others'. Schutz in his article on the social function of music demonstrates the direct influence of Sartre and existentialism through his application of 'looking at the Other and being looked at by the Other' in order to understand the contexts in which the individual expresses his or her social relationship to a given musical environment (Schutz 1977). This model recognises musicality as a tool for comprehending one's own role in the world by comparison to what the *Other* is, a dynamic part of the process of reflection involved in understanding one's environment. In this regard, musical experience of any kind, be it in a concert form or as part of a multimedial ritual, can have an enormous potential force. As has been mentioned, musical environments communicate dynamic information about familiar surroundings, and music helps us also in creating a sense of *community* which no other form is able to equal. In other words, because musical behaviour is something which is taught in a cultural context, it is shared knowledge which comes to represent recognisable environments and situations, be that a disco or a Balinese trance ritual. Schutz presents an interesting phenomenological incorporation of our dual model of musical experience—musical creation as performer/composer, musical creation as audience/participant—and the sense of shared time and space which is so integral to successful musical performance.

> We have therefore the following situation: two series of events in inner time, one belonging to the stream of consciousness of the composer, the other to the stream of consciousness of the beholder, are lived through in simultaneity. … It is the thesis of the present paper that this sharing of the other's flux of experiences in inner time, this living through a vivid present in common, constituted what we called in our introductory paragraphs the *mutual tuning-in relationships*, the experience of the 'we', which is at the foundation of all possible communication.
> (Schutz 1977: 108)

Although I am a little dubious as to whether these *mutual tuning-in* relationships represent the foundation of *all* communication, it is a clear example of the expression of the important influence of phenomenology to the understanding of the role of music in society. It plays an important role not only in recognising the 'I', but also changing the 'Other' into the 'We' so important in the shared experience of musical space and time. From an anthropological perspective, the influence is also clear in multimedial situations such as rituals where the musicality embedded in this culturally communicative vehicle has the ability to change that environment by 'acting' upon it in a way comparable to Austin's *speech-acts.* Here musicality has the added dimension of providing a sense of order to the individual which cannot be communicated in any other way. It must not be forgotten, however, that musicality is such a complex phenomenon that we can't sift through the evidence and pick out the communicative elements which we find most applicable. Musicality has the power to both unite *and* alienate the individual from his or her surroundings. It can equally as well destroy a sense of ritual order, providing instead an orgiastic sense of chaos, for example, or to send the listener to another dimension, as is typical of trance music.

1.7 Contrasting Musical Epistemes: *systems for the conception of music*

We move directly into a discussion of the importance of learning processes for the understanding of signification in the performing arts, standing in opposition to the prevailing *product*-based paradigm within musicology. Here the musical 'product' stands at the end of intertextual fabrics which are made up of complex layers of socially inculcated musical behaviour, influencing the way we think and feel about the world. This approach attempts to take the dynamic phenomenological processes which are involved with the performance of music into account. We begin firstly by looking at a notion which plays an important role in the Balinese approach to change: *Desa Kala Patra.* This old Balinese saying is thought to be based on a Sanskrit phrase referring to 'time, place and context', and this is basically how the term signifies to the Balinese: the meaning of a given event is influenced by *when* it is performed, *where* it is performed and *how* it is performed. Using this as a starting point, we move on to some other major cultural axioms that contrast the whole sense-making process for the Javanese and the Balinese by comparing them to some typically 'western' notions. We also discuss Javanese, Balinese and Western European forms of pedagogy and how contrasts in learning methods can affect the process of semiosis.

Herbst describes *Desa Kala Patra* as a complex web of significations which provide the Balinese with a clear vision of their place in the world. He sees it as "a way of putting human activity into the context of the world and nature; a way of interacting with forces greater than the human" (Herbst 1997: 1). Development upon tradition according to the tenets of *Desa Kala Patra* has formed a part of western commentary on Bali since its early days. When expressed in the context of social action, *Desa Kala Patra* encites or indeed requires bringing cultural symbols up-to-date so that they make sense to a contemporary audience. Covarrubias, for example, comments on the combination of Balinese traditional fears 'updated' to take into account the threat of more modern day developments (Covarrubias 1963). The notion of *Desa Kala Patra* is also a commentary upon the constant development of the Balinese arts. Dutch literature on Bali describes temples containing images of the Dutch colonial overlords, and the Balinese through the years have copied many designs from Dutch art. Typical decorative patterns known as "patra belanda" (literally: *Dutch patterning*) form a general part of Balinese temple layout; even today Dutch Delft plates are still embedded into the walls of their temples, situated happily next to more traditional designs.

In addition, the *Desa Kala Patra* ethic can be applied to the way music generally signifies to the Balinese people. In general, Balinese music is learnt off by heart, and is kept fresh in the minds of the performers by constant repetition. The Balinese do, however, have a way to retain a strong link to their musical traditions. A lot of the melodies on which they base their music, for example, can be traced back to forms of ancient Balinese music-theatre such as *Gambuh*. There are also a number of treatises which describe esoteric connections uniting their music with liturgical order and harmony—such as the *Prakempa* and the *Aji Ghurnita* texts which are recorded on palm-leaf manuscripts. There are few Balinese musicians who refer to this in practice because *realising* the performance is far more important than theorising about it. Innovative new techniques are often applied to ancient melodies; the combination of the old and the new is not a difficult notion to defend. This is truly *Desa Kala Patra* in action, the distant past brought back to life thanks to a complex matrix of decorations and variations built upon the core melodies, reminiscent of the *tenor* line from plainchant in embellished mediaeval motets from the *Ars*

Nova school in France: the original melody is inaudible in an environment of complex polyphonic development thanks to gradual innovation in musical styles.

What many visitors to Bali do not know is that the ensemble of instruments they generally hear in temples and accompanying tourist performances is relatively new. As will be described in more detail in Chapter Four, *Gong Kebyar* music-making became an enormous craze around the turn of the century causing the villagers to melt down the keys of the old and stately *Gong Gédé* instruments to create instruments of the *Kebyar* ensemble. Colin McPhee stated his distress in his major work *Music in Bali* concerning this new development as he felt that they were 'losing' their ancient traditions, even though the lore of *Desa Kala Patra* states that by revitalising the past in a new form, a stronger connection is made to tradition (McPhee 1966). If we compare the 'vital new music' being played in McPhee's time to the works being played now, an incredible amount of decoration and elaboration has taken place, and performers have developed a highly virtuosic instrumental playing technique. At the basis of many of these new creations one can often still find the ancient melodies, be they inaudible to the uneducated ear. Thanks to *Desa Kala Patra,* new circumstances bring about new developments, but because of their rudimentary system of notation, the Balinese maintain a clear and symbolically satisfactory connection to Balinese tradition. It is clear that *Desa Kala Patra* is more than the sum of its words. It is an attitude to life which has repercussions on the way the Balinese think and feel and how they ultimately understand the world they live in. It is not, however, something which can be in any way reduced. It is more than a set of rules: it is a way of living and has to be considered as part of the process of semiosis in Balinese music.

It is, of course, impossible to generalise the rules of *Desa Kala Patra* to include all Balinese people, or to suggest that it is applied all the time; their world is changing quickly, and I've met many who are sick of applying *Desa Kala Patra* to an environment which is losing its natural resources and selling up to tourism: for many the buck has become king and western materialism and tourism doesn't need Eastern philosophy to keep its head above water. In the field of music I've observed situations where Balinese people don't accept *Desa Kala Patra* as a good reason for showing up late or stealing part of a new composition. The ethic still forms an important part of Balinese semiosis, however, and is unlikely to change in the near future.

Desa Kala Patra is a good place to begin our exploration of significative contrasts within cultures with diverging *musical epistemes*. In the following discussion in order to compare cultures it was necessary to make a number of generalisations concerning the epistemic contours of mainly Western European, Javanese and Balinese culture. These contours may reflect to some degree levels of academic bias, but they most certainly filter down to the culture in question, functioning to influence the way people behave in relation to their world and to one another.

1.71 *Fixed meaning versus transitory meaning*

Since the classical era, as Foucault has demonstrated, European culture chose a path of signification where meaning became separated from the sound of the words which explained that meaning (1966: 54). Before this, sound itself was a very dynamic force, although the gradual and practically complete 'literalisation' of European countries led to an understanding of meaning which moved against any existing notions present in oral cultures, stating categorically that the word was an abstract structure which purely and arbitrarily evoked a specific image for a given listener. If we say the word 'chair', for example, we are referring to a chair and not a table or a dog, even though they all have four legs. The classical era saw the rather strict evolution of what De Saussure would call the *signifier* and the *signified*; the 'symbol' (word) and its evocation of a particular, rational meaning. The *Desa Kala Patra* ethic is not entirely in agreement with this accepted western understanding. Because time, space and context provided a degree of leeway, meanings can be transitory. This doesn't mean, of course, that the word the Balinese use for 'chair' will change from one day to the next, but it does mean that something which is accepted as being true today might not be so tomorrow, depending on the new context the changing winds of time may bring. This can be extremely frustrating for western theoreticians, where Balinese explanations may not remain consistent. If at a certain time and place a given explanation seems right, then it is right for that moment even if the speaker may have said something different the day before. Also, a variety of different interpretations for given phenomena are possible, be that from different people at the same time or from the same person at different times. Awareness of this immediate contrast can only assist a researcher in dealing with Balinese culture.

1.72 *Tendency to standardise versus transitory classification*

The tendency to view significative processes as permanent and reliable givens is part of our current *episteme*. We have a tendency to want to classify all experience and data in some way, both in the sciences and even the arts. The dream is to create an enormous all-encompassing compendium of knowledge; encyclopaedias, dictionaries and CD-ROMs are expressions of this goal (in spite of the illusory permanency of the CD). It is the sort of epistemological development Lyotard refers to with his notion of the 'disembodied' mind which is strived for in western culture (Lyotard 1988). In Bali, Java and many other places in Indonesia, the tendency to classify is not so strong, or rather a *transitory* approach to classification is adopted. A classification which may be applicable at a

given time is not necessarily treated as classified knowledge that will signify in the same way later. In Javanese music, even the numerical notation system only provides the basic classification around which temporal and spatial factors are free to induce change, as is the case with Indian ragas. Lentz in discussing Eastern philosophy notes that "absolute values, right or wrong, are at times questionable" (Lentz 1965: 13). Because it is cycles that regulate life, Lentz observes that "any positive rule of determinate meanings cannot be true at all times, because all determinate things are transitory" (ibid.). Classification of any kind, therefore, can only be considered in a transitory fashion: a classified series of facts which signify today will still exist tomorrow, but the way those 'facts' signify is something which can never be seen as static and permanent.

1.73 *Fixed performance texts versus adaptive performance texts*

If we went to see a performance of Hamlet, we would be very surprised if Macbeth was to become involved in the action. It is an accepted fact that if a stage director chooses to perform a certain play from the western repertoire, that he or she will at least as far as the text is concerned remain faithful to the text. Only in the context of parody or the avant-garde are changes to the text considered appropriate, and then only because it is considered to be questioning or fragmenting the text according to certain other performance-based forms of discourse which are acceptable in western theatres. Experimentation, in other words, is accepted, but only in the specific context that it is an experimentation and not a variation on the original. For the same or similar reasons it is only thanks to particular fringe movements which have emerged in the post-modern era that one can deviate from traditionally accepted musical texts. Balinese traditional performance texts are not quite like this: for example, in the Balinese (and Javanese) *Wayang Kulit*, the *dalang*—the person who works the puppets, reads the parts and provides cues for the instruments—chooses a specific kind of text to suit a particular circumstance for which he is required to give the performance. The higher caste characters—kings, gods and priests—speak classical texts in formalised language referred to generally as *kawi* by the Balinese. There are, however, two clown-like servants who translate the sacred texts from 'kawi' into Balinese dialects, improvising with possible translations, helping the texts signify for the listeners. The *dalang* is expected to make adaptations and translations which are significant to the given situation, if not he stands the risk of being ridiculed by the audience. The pressure is on the *dalang* to find the perfect combination of narrative-based elements to suit the situation and excite the audience. Radical adoption of traditional Hindu stories often takes place. This means, of course, that the stories are different every time they are performed: it would be like Othello having tea with Electra during an air-raid in the Second World War. Many contrasting situations and languages can form part of the same performance text, so long it makes sense to the audiences in a particular space and time. Another important factor in this regard is the Balinese notion *Taksu* which at one and the same time refers to the realisation of a tradition—a Balinese mask or mythical character—and also the special performance which is unique to the individual, and which the audience can relate to. Here we have both *tradition* and *innovation*. By being at one and the same time both *traditional* and *innovative*, the Balinese are able to constantly develop their 'traditional' performance texts so that the border between avant-garde, classical and new theatre, at least in Bali, is quite vague. As George notes: " …every dance, every play is always subtly expanding, changing, becoming more sophisticated: that is how and when the spectator can say 'ah, there is *Taksu*'" (George 1991: 11).

1.74 *Fixed pitch versus transitory pitch*

The contrast between fixed or standardised pitch and transitory pitch is another important area to discuss, especially in relation to music. The fact is simply this: in the West, we have an agreed upon pitch which we generally consider to be universal. It is based on scientific musical theories in the field of physics which have been a part of our culture for hundreds of years. In Bali and Java to this day, every new gamelan usually has a unique tuning. This means not only that the notes of every gamelan are tuned differently in relation to one another, but it means also that the notes within the scale are often different for every gamelan, i.e. a Balinese ensemble from Ubud may be tuned a quarter-tone sharper between *dong* and *deng* (the names of two of the notes of the Balinese scale) than an ensemble in Denpasar. In gamelan music, particularly Javanese gamelan, there are a totally different set of priorities, where other elements such as rhythm and a dynamic sense of community are prioritised above the specificities of the scale. It is even possible for tuning aberration—even blatant ones—to exist in the same gamelan ensemble: Lentz notes that in Javanese ensembles "even on instruments of the same gamelan are found different frequencies for tones that are supposed to be the same pitch" (1965: 15). The incredibly complex development in Balinese contemporary music is not necessarily based on specific melodic structures. Rather, complex systems of development and the way instruments relate to one another during the performance, in addition to complex rhythmic polyphony, form a stronger, but no less significant, part of Balinese musical development. Another fact which is interesting to note in relation to contrast in tuning is that the Balinese have always paired instruments, one male and one female. Each of these instruments are tuned up to a quarter tone apart so that when two notes are played one can hear the dynamic reverberation between the contrasting pulsations. All the instruments of an ensemble being tuned as closely as possible to the same pitch (the standard of music in the West) would not only

be experienced as abnormal, but as limp and lifeless. It is unlikely that complete standardisation of pitch will soon become endemic in Balinese culture.

1.75 *Fixed notation or free notation (or no notation)?*

The whole epistemological issue involving the institution of notation techniques is another influential factor. It is quite a serious issue and is a difficult one because it delves deeply into the epistemological nature of Javanese and Balinese culture. The Javanese developed a system of notation for the melody which is comparable to recording the chords for a well-known song in the West: everyone knows their place in the performance, and only the basic elements are recorded for everyone to be sure about which piece they will be performing. Outside of this, the complex and subtle interlocking patterns and rhythms are improvised based on current performance practice. This system is known as *Karawitan,* although this is basically the name for the collection of melodies itself which could equally as easily be a part of oral culture. The term *balungan* refers to the melodic framework that is punctuated by a series of gongs which always ends with the beginning note allowing the largest gong to sound, constantly bringing the melody back to the beginning. This creates what is known in the world of ethnomusicology as *colotomy*, referring specifically to the constantly repeating cycle of gongs. The Balinese have also developed quite recently a notation system. It is only ever used, however, in academic situations, i.e. students at the STSI have to record their works as notation—based on a system similar to the Javanese one—despite the fact they will never use it and few outside the academic situation would ever understand it or consider it useful. In other words it is used primarily for the assessment of students. Balinese 'traditional' melodies are well-known, and are changed and developed as much as the other accompanying elements are, at least as far as much contemporary *Gong Kebyar* music is concerned. This represents the ability of the Balinese to be able to adapt rapidly to change thanks to the openness of the iconic system which supports their music. Also, many Balinese people are not only able to 'listen to' and enjoy music, but also to perform it themselves which provides a large section of the population with access to the changing character of its music. In the old Balinese *lontar* there is a form of notation similar to Javanese *Karawitan* which is purely religious in application and is used in sacred rather than contemporary compositions. This system has never really had any application external to its existence in the form of *lontar* as few Balinese people consider it necessary to notate. A new generation of academics and composers, however, are beginning to question a tradition of improvising on iconic musical structures. Wardana, a Balinese composer living in Belgium, considers notation to have both advantages and disadvantages. Although regretting in some ways that he was unable to 'read' music, he did note that the advantage of not using notation is being able to see your audience and their reaction to your performance. He also noted that notation would mean that the performance would lose a certain amount of (theatrical) expression present in dynamic Balinese performances which according to the tenets of *Desa Kala Patra* adapt to each new environment and each new audience. Many of his compositions have been recorded in a notated form, because that was a necessary part of his exam projects. The general academic opinion for a greater extent in Bali (and to a lesser extent Java) is that their musical tradition is enriched by its improvisatory form lacking notation, and that notation in the western sense could provide great restrictions. There are a few people I spoke to at the STSI who thought that forms of notation like those used in the *lontar* would be useful to preserve existing melodies for further generations, although the remarkable Balinese memory for melodies suggests that they do not stand a great risk of losing them.

1.76 *The issue of cyclicality: to retain gong cycles or move to through-composition?*

Another highly sensitive issue is one involved specifically with 'colotomy' (described above) in Balinese gamelan: the repetitive nature of gong cycles which many ethnomusicologists consider to be a deeply important epistemological issue in Indonesian music. The cyclical nature of colotomy represents a way of thinking about and realising music. It plays a role in understanding how important temporality is in music: with repetitive gong cycles and a series of subtle tempo changes which lead to the entrance of delicate and complex melodic structures, audience members who are familiar with the Javanese *musical episteme* have the potential of attaining a state which provides them with an alternative way of experiencing their temporal environment. In Javanese music these processes of gradually changing tempos which lead to increasingly complex decorations on top of the slowing melodic structures, are known as *irama* changes. When the speed decreases (or increases) and different rhythmical and melodic patterns unfold as a natural development upon this tempo change, the perception of time by the (educated) listener changes accordingly. In actual fact, however, the Balinese *musical episteme* has evolved in a different way to the Javanese, especially in the twentieth century. The whole *Kreasi Baru* sensation which took place around the turn of the century seemed to divert radically away from the 'timelessness' of Javanese music: rather than adjusting the temporal modes of the listeners through gradual processes of change, the music is either speeding up so that the gong patterns are incredibly fast, or the gong patterns are slowed to such a minimal level that their presence is only functionally useful, not being audible in a cyclical sense. Academics I met at the STSI discussed colotomy on an academic level, especially as a part of Javanese music: the intellectual interest was there, but the engagement for its preservation was lacking. This seems relatively logical considering the changes that

have taken place on Bali in the twentieth century. Vitale even speaks of a new type of *Kreasi Baru* (new music composition) which has appeared in the last years and which involves long compositional segments where the colotomy has been so extended and the baroque elaboration around it so complex that there is only one repetition or no repeats at all. Vitale discusses this in the following passage:

> The issue of repetition also brings up intriguing questions, since it grows out of one of the essential features of Balinese music—its cyclic, periodic structure. In the sixties and seventies, the *genderan* and *pengecet* were short enough so that each could be repeated as many as four or five times, while the interior *bapang* would be heard two or three times. In more recent works … each of these sections has grown to such unprecedented lengths that the repetitions are taken only once. … According to Windha, when the section is very long, more than one repetition would make the piece unbalanced. But an interesting change happens on those rare occasions when *no* repeat is taken. The cyclic character of the section effectively disappears… (Vitale 1996: 15)

We can see here clearly that although the works still retain a basic structural framework, the necessity of the cyclical repetitions is becoming less and less necessary. Perhaps it began to lose its importance after the Balinese were tugged violently into the twentieth century by Dutch colonists and the fall of the feudal system, meaning that it could have been kept alive needlessly as a theoretical notion by ethnomusicology as a discipline, at least as far as Bali is concerned.

1.77 *Comparing Pedagogical Systems: the specified and the intuitive*

One of the major discussion points here involves educational processes which inculcate the act of listening: when we hear music from another culture, with which faculty are we to use to make sense of that music? Although this system is different for every individual, members of the same culture often have similar characteristics with other members making discussion of a musical discourse possible. If one listens to foreign music, it can give a highly alternative *esthesic* message to what the indigenous people may hear in a given 'musical' work. Through living with the Balinese during my field trips in 1997 and 1998, I learnt that the initial excitement and joy which I had undergone the first time I heard their music was a deeply personal experience and that it didn't necessarily reflect the way the Balinese experienced their own music. The performers are so laid back the music seemed for them to be an almost motionless, automatic experience, a cognitive expression of levels of varying intensity. I Wayan Dibia, an important Balinese choreographer, confirmed my suspicions, noting that western (Balinese) gamelan players sometimes get too involved in the excitement of the music, enjoying playing it "without looking at what the music is intended for" (Vitale 1990: 22). Reconciling what I had perceived as the 'Other' with what the 'Other' actually felt about itself told me much more about myself and the way I had of perceiving music than the Balinese. It is from this experience that I'm wary of any musicological theory that attempts to look at the 'product' and not the 'process' which goes into the inculcation of musical experience. There is no doubt that the manner in which music is taught reveals a great deal about the *musical episteme* of a given culture, and that is no less true for European culture. Herbst notes that "the learning process is, in many ways, the music" in his discussion of Balinese music and its methodology in Balinese culture: it is through the educational processes that the 'teacher' imparts to the 'student' "subtle and intuitive information necessary for musical knowledge and fluency," (1997: xviii) knowledge which is only possible to transfer through an *enactive* process.

Music, then, is much more than the *product* it produces, but is involved with the way our culture teaches us to *behave musically*. The question is understanding the 'ways of hearing' implicit in a given musical culture. Below I will be discussing Javanese and Balinese ways of learning music, and how this contrasts to the occidental method. The following example is based on a comparison between two learning systems which ultimately produce the same 'product', but go about producing this product in entirely different ways. I will demonstrate that the learning processes can change the way signification occurs. This is based on personal experience and the observation of others. When I learnt Javanese gamelan, for example, I learnt far more than simply a series of melodies; by learning a new pedagogical system it gradually dawned upon me that I had achieved in some respects an alternate way to relate to time and movement in space, an ontology based on rhythmic interweaving which fills out colotomic structures, allowing contrasting rhythms to exist freely and independently of each other simultaneously. The process of learning this contrasting system involved at the same time the 'unlearning' of accepted truths I had from a western musical upbringing. Although it was a personal journey, it is thanks to the processes of 'musical inculcation' that I had from my Javanese and Balinese teachers that I could begin this growth. I will demonstrate below an interesting comparison between a colleague who had learnt Javanese gamelan from Dutch teachers and Javanese teachers which most clearly shows how pedagogical systems can produce contrasting approaches to music and possible even one's physical and mental environment.

The intention is to demonstrate what I refer to as the 'specified' and 'intuitive' learning methods which are typical of Western European and Indonesian culture respectively. The example I will be using involves a specific contrast made by an individual regarding Dutch and Javanese methods for gamelan training. I am grateful to Simon Cook, a music teacher at Bandung International School in West-Java who was also involved in research in the Netherlands before his placing in Indonesia. While living in Amsterdam, he studied Javanese gamelan with Dutch

teachers, studies which he continued in Indonesia with Javanese teachers. He contrasted the two fields of learning by using the following three categories: (1) *arithmetic*, (2) *spelling it out*, and (3) *fear of wrong notes*. With the first category, Cook is referring to contrast in notation processes used in both cultures, the problematic issue being the fact that in the Netherlands he used a Javanese numeral notation system whereas in Java everything was learnt by heart, which invokes the whole orality/literacy problematic. The second category—*spelling it out*—is concerned with the fact that in the Netherlands the teaching method involves the structure of the music being more or less decided on the beforehand whereas in Java the musical structure changes for every performance. The last category—*fear of wrong notes*—involves the fear Dutch students have of their teachers because of the importance of correct playing, as is important in western classical music. In Java, mistakes are often considered as alternative variations rather than faults to be corrected. Below is a selection from Cook's text which will be followed by a discussion of the major epistemological contrasts which are present not through the audible 'product'—which could sound the same or at least very similar in both Java and the Netherlands—but through the processes individuals use to provide the music with signification, behavioural processes which have been inculcated by the teaching methods discussed:

> (1) ARITHMETIC: The exclusive use of cipher notation as a means of transmitting the music is fraught with peril. My own experience is that always having the numbers there actively prevents you learning the tunes. It makes it unnecessary to listen for internal cues and clues as to what to play, which are of course what make gamelan work, and what make it interesting as music.
>
> (2) SPELLING IT OUT: When I began learning gamelan I was always clearly told what to play: what piece, what transition, what *sekaran*, what *cengkok* etc. Everything was spelled out… But as everyone soon finds out when they come to play gamelan in Indonesia, in real life you are not always given the plot beforehand… Just as reading a *balungan* can actually prevent your remembering it or actively listening, so knowing what piece is about to be played can stop you recognising and reacting to the *buka*; being told in advance what transition to make means you don't really have to respond to *kendangan*…
>
> (3) FEAR OF WRONG NOTES: As a total beginner on gamelan, I was so anxious to play correctly that I became terrified of making mistakes. Wrong notes meant furrowed brows, and players hesitating or even drying up… It was refreshing when I began studying Sundanese music in Bandung, to have the question 'should it go like this [nang-ning-nong] or like this [neng-nang-nong]?' answered just with 'yes'. Or sometimes the answer would be 'yes, or you could play this [ning-nung-nong].

Here Cook highlights the fact that contrasting *musical epistemes* can and do affect the signification of given musical experiences, even if the *products* sound the same. The contrasting learning processes differ both mentally and physically. Using a *specified* methodology, for example, the music can be 'spelled-out' from beginning to end and the important spatial and temporal factors instilled in a Javanese methodology are reduced of significance, forcing one to listen to the music according to the tenets of a western *musical episteme*, in this case with a beginning, a transition at a certain time and place and then a nicely fit conclusion. In Javanese tradition the fact that the music doesn't have a fixed structure demonstrates the contrasting epistemological foundations of the tradition: within the confines of the music the performers are free to express given musical structures with contrasting rhythmic patterning, like an individual performing a solo performance among a structure in which many contrasting rhythms exist simultaneously; being different doesn't mean you don't form part of the whole. In the Dutch version, the performers and the listeners who have been brought up with this type of musical education have a tendency to listen in such a way that this contrast is not heard. Although it is difficult to explain in words to someone who hasn't studied both Javanese and European music, it can be explained as a European listener who listens at one moment to what is going on in the music, listening for cadences and climaxes, and in contrast the Javanese listener who hears the whole cyclical structure and the individual lines as part of that whole. It is a contrasting musicological and epistemological dynamic, even if that 'knowledge' is one which can only be communicated musically. I'd like to call on Herbst here who notes that although there are many types of group dynamics present in our culture, that we can still learn from "other kinds of group sensibilities including notions of fluidity within structure" (1997: 17). Although he is referring here to Balinese musical performance, I think this best explains the special kind of group aesthetic in Java in which many layers shift with a level of independence.

1.78 *Observing Balinese Methods*

In combination with my own experience as a student of Balinese gamelan with Balinese teachers in Belgium and the Netherlands, and the fieldwork completed in Bali in 1997 and 1998, you will find in the following paragraphs a description of some of the major factors embedded in the Balinese *musical episteme* relating to behaviour and concerning music and music education within Balinese culture. Herbst observes the following regarding the teaching process:

> Perhaps the best way to get into the various intuitive processes of Balinese artists is through the actual learning process. The manner in which music is taught reveals some of the deepest levels of the creative process.
> (Herbst 1997: xviii)

Herbst notes that one of the main factors we should pay attention to is the attitude the Balinese have to knowledge of any type, and this includes musical knowledge. Probably resulting from the strong sense of Hinduism still present in Balinese culture, knowledge is not considered to be a 'material' thing which can be restricted or

segregated. Information does not belong to any individual and cannot therefore be 'sold'; teaching is rather a process of sharing what essentially belongs to everyone. I Nyoman Kalkul, a master dancer, related the following about his teaching: "this is not my knowledge; it does not belong to me ... If it was (which is impossible), it would have to be of the pettiest significance, because nothing profound can be owned by an individual. So it must be continually passed from one to another" (1997: 17). This epistemological attitude contrasts sharply to certain generally accepted concepts in the West, especially as far as music is concerned. Access to many forms of musical education is still, unfortunately, restricted by certain elitist notions of class and/or ability. At the same time there are many teachers who sell their services, often at a very high price. In his book Herbst comments on the fact that there is also a tendency in Bali to find "feeling helpful to others" a negative issue because it assumes that the teacher is communicating something not available to the pupil, whereas "feeling helped" is seen in a more positive light because it "effects a sensitivity to one's environment" (ibid.).

The concept of Balinese cultural training, especially of music, is based primarily on group dynamics. Balinese children, for example often begin training when they are very young by sitting on their father's knee in the gamelan ensemble and even performing from a very young age. The whole notion of performance becomes connected to a group dynamic and communal identity, both in terms of their *banjar* structure and their gamelan. This has led to an aesthetic of learning which is perpetuated by a group of Balinese people together or a 'kinetic ensemble dynamic' as Herbst refers to it (1997: 112). He compares this to Euro-American performance training which is based on an "individual discipline and the personal attainment of skill" (ibid.) and which in turn demands a high level of individual skill. The taxing demands of performance asks a lot from the physical and mental capabilities of musical performers. As a result of this, very few people are able to choose this as a profession or in fact participate at all actively. More comparable to the western musical tradition, there is a tendency in Bali for the idolisation of extremely virtuosic performers. The fact remains that like in Javanese music, the performers foster a contrasting behavioural attitude to musical performance which is based on a communal aesthetic.

The Balinese also have a very practical approach to their music, one not based on theory. Musical experience is cultural practice which is not discussed a great deal in the way the constantly reinterpreted dynamic cultural 'texts' are. As discussed earlier, the *doing*—the 'process' of music-making—is essentially what the music is. Their practice of musical training is based on the teaching of completed musical 'works'. One hears and one learns: there are few 'methods' or 'exercises' which teach skills, and as a result one 'acquires' works in a more organic way from rehearsing or performing. The skill is based not on which level of technical skill an individual has achieved, rather the number of pieces he or she has played. I had the opportunity to exchange lessons with my Balinese *Gong Kebyar* teacher. He wanted to learn to play the piano and I wanted to learn to play the Balinese *Gender Wayang* instruments, and as a result we decided to trade lessons. I immediately began learning completed works, which I found difficult but at the same time a satisfying challenge. I offered him in exchange the western method of learning: both complete compositions and exercises on the correct techniques for piano, knowing that this type of knowledge was important for him not to damage his body in any way by using incorrect technique. This was totally unsuccessful: the only thing which would keep him occupied enough to learn was playing functional melodies. He didn't see the point of learning any music which he couldn't use in performance or which he couldn't perform for others. This demonstrated to me the Balinese practical approach to music pedagogy. Richter notes that the Balinese have a tendency not to discuss theoretical principles concerning musical practice, even though the 'theory' does exist on certain *lontar* (palm-leaf manuscripts). Balinese musical knowledge is achieved by practice and by experience, not by any form of theoretical—either philosophical or practical—study. Richter informs us that Balinese musical concepts are practical and comprehensible for the involved parties and are "not easily tied down by the form of words" (1992: 197).

It is sometimes possible to make broad generalisations about contrasts in culture based on the different ways *musical epistemes* find cultural expression. Such contrasts can highlight alternative ways of perceiving reality in terms of spatial and temporal dynamics. An example I would like to demonstrate here is a contrast between the European and Balinese flute traditions and what this means 'musically', in other words how the performance can bring about a musical affirmation of certain epistemological factors. In the West, the breathing technique is based on strong support from the diaphragm which gradually releases air blown evenly over the mouthpiece of the flute. This emphasises a western approach to melody which is structured in phrases, allowing only specific places for the flautist to breathe where the cadences within the melody are emphasised. In a broad sense, the aspect of the *musical episteme* being demonstrated here involves the beginning/middle/end concept of temporality which is at the basis of western (popular) thought. In Bali, however, they adopt the cyclical-breathing technique they refer to as 'Ngunyal-Angkihan'. Here the melody is not strictly demarcated by pauses for breathing, and the whole musical sense of phrasing and completion is removed; this music is based on repeating gong sequences tending towards a natural repetitive structure, reflecting and emphasising a contrasting *musical episteme*.

Elaine Barkin provided me with the following list of contrasts she had observed between American and Balinese approaches to their performing arts. Barkin, herself a composer, has been responsible for organising collaboratory projects betweens Balinese and American composers. The list below includes a summary of the major points contrasting Balinese and western rehearsal strategies and compositional processes. In the information passed on to me, she compares two specific projects completed with Balinese composers who gave composition workshops thanks to her mediation. Using my own experience as a given I have applied these instances to general tendencies contrasting Bali and Europe, and have added some of my own contrasts. There are six major areas worthy of mention:

1. In the West, the composition is usually already done or nearing completion when rehearsed, whereas in Balinese performance the composer doesn't usually know what the piece will become during the rehearsal process.
2. Western composers usually adopt some kind of notation for their musical creations, whereas in Bali the musicians are expected to learn the works by heart.
3. When notated the piece is usually fixed in the West, whereas Balinese composers often haven't finalised the work right up until the performance date - last-minute changes are always possible and common.
4. In Bali, composers are always open to advice from the musicians. This contrasts to the western 'need to be in control'.
5. In Europe, there is a clear distinction between 'classical' and 'traditional' music, whereas in Bali such distinctions are difficult to apply. It has always been very common for new compositions to be based on traditional melodies. In fact, the adoption of traditional structures in new works forms the basis of the dynamic Balinese new-music genre: *Kreasi Baru*.
6. Balinese creativity involves inclusion of the past. Composers borrow melodies from newly composed works created by musicians who are still alive. This contrasts highly with western composers who often find the idea of borrowing any part of a composition unacceptable. 'Borrowing' melodies also sometimes breaches international copyright laws.

Here we see that Balinese musicians approach their musical composition and performance in a highly contrasting way, but that this contrast is to some extent explainable in terms of behavioural tendencies brought about by their *musical episteme*. We can also conclude from the work of Barkin, Herbst and from my own experience that gaining a real understanding of the motivation behind such contrasting *musical epistemes* is only possible to cognise in any fruitful way by immersing oneself in the learning process. All of the investigation resulting in this discussion comes from such embedded experience, suggesting—as Herbst notes—that one of the best ways to come to understand the intuitive and non-verbal elements in a *musical episteme*, one has to "undergo a degree of training following traditional methods within the indigenous cultural context" (Herbst 1997: xviii).

1.79 *Comparative Conclusions*

The *musical episteme* influences the way members of a culture think about and relate to music. It also provides general tendencies in cultures to behave towards and around music, acting as a template for behaviour and a filter for thinking which is applied by individuals in living environments. It is highly difficult for individuals to comprehend how someone else's *musical episteme* works. As an example, we can compare two types of western polyphony, on the one hand the polyphony created in medieval Europe—such as the music of the Parisian *Notre-Dame* school of composition or the complex multi-levelled *Motets* of Machaut—and on the other the equally complex but epistemologically contrasting polyphony of the Baroque era—such as Bach's *Fugues*. Generally within our culture today people find music after the Middle-Ages increasingly more accessible, contrasting to the music dating back to the Mediaeval times which is for many relatively inaccessible. This may have something to do with the fact that the general *episteme* of western culture during the Renaissance set western thinking on a general path towards scientific enlightenment which we understand and recognise today. Looking back to the epistemological chaos preceding the enlightenment, it is difficult for us to conceive how people *listened* to *Motets* as the complex cultural processes which went into both the creation and the comprehension of this music had very little in common with our present day understanding of musical processes such as polyphony and musical development. In Bach's polyphony the individual melodies behave in a particular way so that each line provides a different contribution to the whole: the melodies cannot be listened to or considered as separate units. According to many scholars, this is quite different in music of the Middle-Ages. René Clemencic describes the following contrast between Bach and Machaut:

> The masterly polyphony of J. S. Bach himself does not bear comparison, because it was intended to attain different aims. No single voice of a Bach fugue may, when detached from its musical context, stand alone. In the medieval motet however, each voice is a unique, closed world which, when liberated from the polyphonic context, may exist alone as authentic religious or secular monody. In the motet, in a certain sense, the widely differing individual vocal identities often blend into a unity of a superior order… As for the planets, the single voices trace out their own orbits, without paying heed to the presence of, and without troubling the others: harmonic monads in a universal musical order. (Clemencic 1996: 8)

The *musical episteme* recognised in this excerpt resembles far more the Javanese concept of polyphony which accepts individual units acting at their own pace within the musical whole. As educated listeners, and only as educated listeners with years of experience, can we listen to and attempt to enjoy Bach's *Fugues* as his audience

may very well have done in Bach's time. If we listen to a medieval *Motet*, however, our *musical episteme* doesn't automatically prepare us for what we may well experience as a 'chaotic' realisation of polyphony. As a logical extension, the listening habit which results from our *musical episteme* doesn't automatically allow us to extend our *musical episteme* to include this type of music precisely because we can only apply the musical parameters we have already taken on, taught in a complex life-long process of social inculcation. Of course, in all cultures, and especially in our highly diverse and quickly developing one, many different *musical epistemes* exist at the same time. Contemporary composers are turning in an interculturally reflexive fashion towards other cultures for inspiration. The more successful attempt to gain a truly deep understanding of the other culture in an attempt to extend their *musical episteme*, actively picking up the behavioural processes through months or sometimes years of training (rather than just 'listening' to the music). This means they are learning to *listen* to the new musical form in a way which results in a contrasting form of 'musical' comprehension, gradually learning to extend their *musical episteme* through discovering new *processes* of realising human musicality.

1.8 Factors influencing the Balinese Musical Episteme

Balinese performance texts both in a sacred and a secular context have hundreds of opportunities for cultural expression, including competitions, shows, village events and temple festivals held the whole year round. The most popular of these events is the *Pesta Kesenian Bali* (the 'Balinese Arts Festival', abbreviated to *PKB*), a yearly competition of sorts which is held in the Balinese capital Denpasar. Here groups of Balinese performing artists can test their new musical ideas by comparing them and interacting with their competitors. Competition is harsh and the path is gruelling, but the musical results are indeed spectacular. The musical forms expressed here are intricate developments upon existing models both from Balinese traditional culture and from western influence. Perhaps thanks to the availability of these constant 'testing grounds' the Balinese have developed music forms which are accessible to practically all levels of Balinese society. Observing the contexts in which Balinese music is expressed as 'testing grounds' is an appropriate analogy, especially for the competitive environment which constantly acts to rejuvenate elements of traditional culture. Stimulating their culture in this way is something the Balinese are glad to do, and have always done with great pleasure; it is an important part of being Balinese. For Geertz, this was foundational in forming his notion of the Balinese 'Theatre-State' (Negara) in which its population depended on pomp to justify itself: their obsessive playful theatricality is according to Geertz a contrivance which has no instrumental role outside of the fact that it keeps its people occupied, busy producing cultural objects. As Geertz notes, the Balinese people are too busy practicing their culture to think about it (Geertz 1980: 1953). This simplification of the Balinese *process*-based ontology, however, produces a misplaced conception about the Balinese culture, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion.

In describing factors influencing the Balinese *musical episteme*, we begin with a description of parameters which help the Balinese identify themselves as 'Hindus' and how this affects their music-making. There are many, many different kinds of Hinduism spread throughout the world and its members seem to adopt an incredible array of contrasting *epistemes.* Bali accepted the religious doctrines of Hinduism which Javanese kings, scholars and artists had taken with them as they fled into Bali to escape Islamic domination in the Middle-Ages, although the brand of Hinduism unique to Bali is highly complex and has retained many ancient Balinese animistic practices. I refer to this regional set of beliefs and traditions as the 'Hindu-Balinese' religion, whereas I use the term 'Hinduism' to refer to Indian Hinduism or Hinduism in general, i.e. beliefs which are common to both forms.

The Hindu-Balinese religion requires gamelan ensembles for the successful completion of most of the tens of thousands of ceremonies undertaken yearly. Possibly as a reflection of the importance of reincarnation in Hindu belief, it is accurate to classify musical time as cyclical or regenerative: "the music normally returns repeatedly to the same 'point', like a planet in orbit or the hands of a clock" (Tenzer 1991: 41). Balinese Hinduism, most importantly, recognises an essential collaboration between nature and the human inhabitants of the natural world. The Balinese believe in cyclical time, or *Kali Yuga*: at the end of each *Kali Yuga*, the universe is destroyed by fire and flood, and a new golden age begins. Human life, too, is cyclic: after death, the soul leaves the body and is reborn in the following generation. Hinduism and Buddhism spread down to Bali as part of a gradual process which took several centuries. It wasn't, however, until the rising influence of the Islamic religion on Java and the sudden and forced transferal of the Majapahit Hindu-Buddhist empire that Bali became truly Hindu. The pre-colonial Balinese kings, who had forebears in Java, based their rule on a number of principles taken from Hinduism, and some of which are unique to Bali. Very many of these parameters are still important today in contemporary Balinese culture. Important principles include the *sekala-niskala* and *kaja-kelod* relationships. *Sekala-niskala* refers to the a distinction between 'macrocosm' and 'microcosm respectively; 'macrocosm' refers to the spiritual or invisible world, whereas 'microcosm' refers in opposition to the physical or material world we live in. The *kaja-kelod* distinction refers to distance and is a deep spatial and religious metaphor based on one's physical placement in relation to a single geographical point: the *Gunung Agung* (the momentous mountain towering at 3142 metres halfway between North and South Bali). At this central point the mountain is from where

all directions are taken and is considered sacred because its peak is closer to the gods. Parameters such as these, among many others, were used (and to some extent still are used) by individuals to orient their life and explain why certain events took place, in other words axioms significant to a Balinese *episteme*. Perhaps the most pervasive set of Balinese principles is the *triloka* which is based on the concept of 'threeness'. The *triloka* is applied to practically everything in Balinese life, from musical instruments to deep religious concepts such as the Hindu *trimurti* which refers to the Hindu-Balinese Trinity of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa which combine to form the single godhead. The world itself is divided into three parts: the *svahloka* (the spiritual world of the Gods), the *bhvahloka* (the middle world of men), and the *bhurloka*, (the lower world of demons). The Balinese believe that it is thanks to these principles that they are able to maintain a sense of order; these are the basic principles on which their reality is structured. These vectors have more than simply spatial connotations; they also have complex ritual significance which transcends any notion of physical space as we understand it, dictating, for example, where in a room a person will sleep, in which part of the house offerings will be made, the way buildings will be built and ultimately the structure of the village itself. In general, a *kalangan*—Balinese performance space—should be positioned so that it is faced towards the sacred mountain *Gunung Agung*, although Herbst admits that some flexibility is allowed for secular performances (1997: 131-2). These vectors represent a basic spatially orientated understanding of the spiritual self.

Perhaps the most famous expressions of both Balinese and Indian Hinduism are the great literary works called the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana.* Indian and Indonesian artists have been creating dramas based on these stories since the early days of Hinduism. Other important texts are of course the Vedas. These texts are considered 'revealed canon', in other words that individuals cannot change or update them. The body of work which contains the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* is known as the *smrti*. There is no religious law saying that these texts cannot be questioned and rewritten, but certainly in terms of the Balinese context, an important part of reading these texts is finding dynamic new ways for the texts to signify. This 'signification' always takes place at the moment of the text's 'enactment' (recital) through the process of vocalising or reciting the text. This aspect of Balinese *textuality* is developed upon in Chapter Two. The *Mahabharata* tells of the war between the Pandawa brothers and their evil cousins the Kauravas. The *Ramayana* tells of the journey of Rama to recapture his wife Sita after she is kidnapped by the demon Rawana. Incorporated in this rich literature is a complex cosmology: Hindus believe that the universe is a great, enclosed sphere, a cosmic egg, within which are numerous concentric heavens, hells, oceans, and continents (Nivendita & Coomaraswamy 1985: 6).

Perhaps the most unique cultural expression of the Balinese belief in cyclical reincarnation is the naming tradition which truly embodies the return of the individual to the same family. The Balinese have a series of four names which are applied in a specific order to children of a certain mother. These names are: Wayan, Nyoman, Made and Ketut. Sometimes these two syllable titles are made unique with another name, such as Agus (to become 'Made Agus' or 'Ketut Agus'), largely to distinguish them from the previous Made or other members of the family; this is clearly a circular succession of events and is described by Geertz as "an endless four-stage replication of an imperishable form" where "the *dramatis personae* remain eternally the same as new Wayans and Ketuts emerge from the timeless world of the gods" (1973: 372). Another unique tradition also involves the cyclical image of time. Cyclicality, in effect, speaks literally 'up' the generations. When a father has a child, he is renamed as 'the father of…' where each new generation sees the return of ancestors awaiting rebirth. Here the complex Balinese calendar also plays an important role in providing structure to this tradition.

As Ramstedt notes in his work describing the pre-colonial Balinese kings, there were a range of observable relationships within the Hindu religion as it had been passed on to them and on which they based their power. Ramstedt describes the 'sanga mandala' or 'manik ring cucupu', which represents the overall cosmic order. The next two terms are uniquely Balinese and are most likely leftovers from the animistic religion which came before Hinduism filtered down from Java. These distinctions are on the one hand the *kaja-kelod* axes and on the other the *kanging-kauh* axes. These geographical axes are unique because they are flexible in relation to the direction which faces the imposing *Gunung Agung*, a central spiritual point for all Balinese people. The position one has in relation to the mountain is very important for a Balinese sense of well-being; Balinese people can become disorientated both physically and mentally if they do not know where they are in relation to the central mountain (sometimes even leading to an inability to perform). This leads directly to the whole Balinese notion of 'high' as opposed to 'low': things which are higher are considered more holy, whereas lowness is connected to the ground under which the Balinese demons reside. This high/low relationship should not be taken lightly. Feet are taboo and one should never step over something sacred, such as a musical instrument, for the obvious reason that feet constantly touch the ground and are therefore the 'dirtiest' part of the human body. Related directly to this is an important bodily-inculcated behavioural rule: one should lower oneself in front of someone from a higher caste. People belonging to the higher castes, such as priests and aristocrats, are considered to be much more closely related to the mountain Agung's sacred nature than common Balinese folk, and attempting to place oneself higher is therefore a type of

physical blasphemy that can lead to negative consequences. During my research trips to Bali I encountered ex-patriots who considered the laws of Balinese tradition something not to be treated lightly.

The term *catur wangsa* is used to define the Balinese belief that some people are born to lead in some way, whereas others are destined to remain commoners. This term helps to form the hierarchy of the four 'castes' which correspond to the accepted religious dogma. The Balinese share this understanding in a similar fashion to their Hindu neighbours in India, although the division between the castes in Bali do contrast: the lowest caste in the island is taken up by more than 90% of the Balinese population, making the top three castes extremely elite. It must be remembered, however, that in non-religious contexts contemporary Balinese people are becoming increasingly less interested in the caste distinctions. A factor which assists this process is sometimes referred to as the 'Indonesianisation' of Bali: rather than adopting the extremely complex Balinese language—which has an entirely different vocabulary for every caste—many people turn preferably to Indonesian which remains a neutral classless language.

Another important set of cultural or religious contrasts is the necessity in Balinese culture to have polar aspects of any given cultural event or understanding, such as man/woman, sun/moon and others like them. This helps us understand the foot/head, high/low duality, although in Balinese culture it goes far further than that. In music, for example, there are two tunings of instruments, and two styles of playing, which when united form a musical whole: without the combination of the two levels, the realisation of a musical narrative is simply impossible. They are usually interpreted as forming both sides to the male/female duality which are essential to Balinese existence (although gender distinctions are less strict in Bali than in occidental culture). In the tuning system, on the metallophone instruments such as *pemade* or *kantilan*, the female instrument in a pair is tuned slightly lower and is known as *pangumbang*, whereas the male—tuned slightly higher—is known as *pangisep*. As mentioned, the Balinese consider a sound produced with only one of the two instruments to be lifeless; with the dynamism of the ringing tones of both instruments, a full sound is created. DeVale describes the importance of gender in understanding Balinese gamelan in the following passage:

> In Balinese *gamelan …*male and female pairs of instruments exist side-by-side, while in their musical functions they are alternating, interlocking, or simultaneous. These shared musical functions are manifestations of Balinese concepts of cosmic, divine and human gender… Male and female, as a simultaneous manifestation, exists in all aspects of Balinese culture; thus they are also similarly symbolized as such in other Balinese arts including dance, *kriss* (sacred daggers), and dance props. (DeVale 1991: 41)

The *triloka* is a famous Balinese metaphor which is applied to practically all levels of social and religious life. It is a perception of reality which divides all Balinese activity into three parts. There are many terms adopted by the Balinese to refer to this numerological given. In terms of the Hindu religion, the analogy is clear: we can refer directly to the *Trimurti* which is the Hindu-Balinese term for the Hindu trinity: *Brahma*, *Wisnu* and *Siwa*. It is also expressed in an incredible variety of other fashions including Balinese architecture, rituals and conceptions of the human body. Another significant level of 'three'-ness which is particularly Balinese is of course the relationship between the sea, the land and the mountains, the lower directed towards debasement and the higher directed towards transcendence. DeVale provides the following terminology:

> The *triloka* is seen as having three worlds, vertically ordered: the upper world of the gods, the *svahloka;* the middle world of man, the *bhvahloka;* and the lower world of the spirits, the *bhurloka.* (DeVale 1991: 8)

Herbst consider the *triloka* in terms of an almost Peircian approach to semiosis: the importance of the notion of oneness, twoness and threeness, which he refers to as a 'phenomenological concern' (1997: 91). The number one suggests unity, the complete sun deity known as 'Sang Hyang Widi' which can be translated as an 'all-encompassing deity'. The second level of *triloka* could be described as 'twoness', which like in Peircian terminology refers to dual relationships. The Balinese dual notion refers to the duality discussed above, symbolically expressing the nature of existence in twos: man/woman, night/day, mountain/sea, sickness/health and so forth (Herbst 1997: 92). Threeness or as the Balinese refer to it *triangga*, is intimately connected to the basic understanding of Hindu belief, although Herbst points to other relationships such as *Desa Kala Patra* which is considered by the Balinese to refer to place, time and context. The numerological concern with reality in terms of the Balinese conception of their universe is far too complex to describe here, although an awareness of the significance and all pervading application of these numerological metaphors (influencing forms as diverse as architecture and the arts) is an important step to understanding how the Balinese relate to their world.

The concept of the *triloka* plays a role in the semiosis of gamelan music and other types of performance, communicating both to the Balinese macrocosm and the Balinese microcosm. Firstly, it is performed for Balinese people who exist on the *bhvahloka* plane who perform it and most importantly enjoy it. Here it is embodied in a real-time environment for pleasure or for ritual functions (or most often for both). Secondly, it is performed for deities who exist on the *svahloka* plane who are invited by the Balinese into their temples. Sometimes music is used to summon deities to accept an elaborate array of Balinese offerings. Thirdly, performances can and often do perform functions to appease demons who exist on the *bhurloka* plane who could always be listening and awaiting

a chance to influence middle-world activity. Balinese instruments are also often named according to the *triloka,* particularly gongs which means both large gongs hanging vertically and those which sit horizontally suspended on instruments such as the *reong, trompong* or *kempli/kajar*. The central 'hub' of a gong is referred to as the *moncol*. The flat surface surrounding the *moncol* is called the *lambe,* which again has bodily significance: *lambe* can be literally translated as 'lip'. The side of the gong is known as the *batis gong* which refers bodily to the 'foot' of the gong. According to DeVale, all these instruments can be again seen metaphorically as a representation of the human body, referring anthropomorphically to the head, body and foot (1991: 9). In addition the structure of musical compositions are based on the *triloka,* particularly *Kreasi Baru* compositions, meaning that they have to be divisible into three sections; an opening, a central section and a conclusion. The terminology used is based on analogies directed towards the human body. The term for the first second and third sections of compositions does vary among districts, although listed below are the most commonly known ones. The term *pengawit,* which means 'head', refers to the first movement. The second movement is commonly known as the *pengawak,* which also means the body. The third movement is commonly referred to as *pengecet* which implies 'feet' (human) or 'tail' (animal) (Bandem 1981: 72).

The Balinese *episteme* can be better understood by observing two polar terms: *sekala* and *niskala.* The former term refers to the "material/physical world or microcosm" and the latter to the "spiritual/ transcendental/invisible world or macrocosm" (Ramstedt 1993: 77). This forms one of the major understandings of their religion and is something [Balinese] Hinduism shares with all other religions. In actual fact, Balinese life revolves around one's actions in the microcosm in relation to supernatural events which take place beyond one's direct perception of the larger shape of the macrocosm. This is another of the basic understandings shared by all Hindus, although the important point here is that the existence of *niskala* is an unspoken given in the life of every Balinese person. *Sekala* and *niskala* are also used in a musical context: a clear example is that the Balinese primarily play music or 'perform' their culture for the purpose of the broader context of *niskala.* It also arises as an ontological given in terms of the major Balinese 'lontar' entitled *Prakempa* and *Aji Ghurnita.* These documents primarily involve the religious purpose of music and examples are provided of the relationship between the concepts of *sekala* and *niskala,* which Ramstedt translates as the "eternal transcendental cosmic order" (Ramstedt 1993: 82).

The *kakayonan* is an all-pervasive Balinese symbol which extends into many aspects of the Balinese *episteme*. It appears as a ritual-like figure at the beginning of a *Wayang Kulit* performance, although its presence is felt in other areas of Balinese life as well. DeVale describes the purpose and function of the *kakayonan* as follows: "The cosmic tree, with its composite male and female elements, grows at the centre of the universe, it is that source from which all life arises and to which it all returns" (1991: 46). This symbol is important firstly because it provides the sense of polarity which is necessary in Balinese belief, and secondly because it allows one to have an access to the world of the gods. It is an appropriate symbol, and a very strong one, primarily because it relates to the necessity of balancing 'positive' and 'negative' forces essential to Balinese belief. This 'holy tree' also provides an appropriate expression of the *triloka* in that it evokes all three major 'worlds' that exist for the Balinese culture: its branches reaching towards the heavens, its roots spreading into the world of the nether regions of the underworld and the trunk representing man on his perilous quest to 'remain in balance' in both a musical and a physical sense.

In the context of *Wayang Kulit,* as mentioned above, the *kakayonan* is a major symbol which is evoked by the *dalang*. This form of theatre is considered to be the most sacred of all performance forms, so the *kakayonan* evocation is an important part of the sacralisation the *dalang* realises during the performance. Through this incantation, the Balinese consider the gods to descend into the body of the *dalang* and to provide the audience with useful and relevant information, even though the 'gods' or other royal characters of a higher caste exist on a different existential plane to the Balinese people of its audience (speaking in languages they don't usually understand). According to DeVale, the *kakayonan* is an integral metaphor for the musical instruments of the Balinese gamelan, which she describes as follows:

> Explored as a metaphor, *gamelan* music … can be seen to continuously recreate the tree: the gongs are the roots of the tree; the *Kajar,* its multi-petalled lotus flower, the *Kendang,* its rhythmic lotus leaves, the *pokok* instruments its trunk, the melody and rhythm instruments, its large and small branches, and its bronze bars and gongs are its 'flowers' and 'leaves'. (1991: 46)

In a *Wayang Kulit* performance, the way it is swayed to and fro in front of the flickering screen behind which the *dalang* sits "highlights the contrast between the serene and the turbulent" (Hobart 1987: 181). This symbol functions to demonstrate the harmony that can emerge through interaction between two contrasting poles

The set of Balinese principles referred to as the *Nawasanga* can also provide an alternative insight into the Balinese *episteme*. More than a symbol, it could be defined as a guiding principle that helps the Balinese people think and 'work' both in religious and secular contexts. Zürbuchen ascribes this sort of symbolism to oral and partially-literate cultures (1987: 50-51) who use large-scale symbolic structures such as the *Nawasanga* to help them remember and pass on information. The *Nawasanga,* in other words, acts as a mnemonic tool and is still used by many Balinese people. Basically, this important 'virtual' design is a sort of symbolic map which points towards

the cardinal directions (North, South, East and West) and the four directions which sit between these points (NW, SW, NE, SW), including a central hub from where all the lines direct outwards. The history of its title comes from Sanskrit and Old Javanese (and Balinese): *Nawa* is Sanskrit for the number 9, as is *Sanga* which is Old Javanese. A corresponding structure in existence in Chinese cosmology suggests a similar cultural source. Zürbuchen describes this symbolic creation as follows:

> The role of the *Nawasanga* as a holistic organising principle in Balinese thought involves the assignment of different values to the direction points, each of which is associated with a particular deity, a colour, a material element, a body part, a weapon, a written or sounded syllable, and so forth. (Zürbuchen 1987: 50-51)

This symbol has a great deal of meaning firstly to Balinese religious life in the fact that it is used by knowledgeable priests for ceremonies and meditation. Balinese people belonging to the lowest caste use it for less esoteric purposes. It is mostly adopted as a general guiding principle, being relied upon in terms of sickness, emotions, feelings, dance movements, and other Balinese activities. Zürbuchen directs us also to the fact that every day is devoted to one the deities residing over each of the directions (ibid.) and that within all verbal activity is an "inherent order that echoes the dimensions of the *Nawasanga*" (1987: 59). In a general sense it can be compared to astrology or Tarot-card reading, which in the contemporary western world is not really taken seriously by a large percentage of the population. Balinese people, however, use this as a set of guiding principles for events and activities that take place at certain times and certain places, like for the four season divisions and other temporal markers (which we do take very seriously). For embedded Balinese cultural activity, the primary message communicated is involved with the fact that direction and spatiality play an important role in the semiosis of Balinese symbolic activity. The *Nawasanga* itself is not directly related to musical performance as such, but it does influence the structure of certain compositions and sociocultural factors involved with where and when music is played.

Another important element of Balinese social life which communicates strong secular social information to the participants. Lansing refers to the word '*kaîket*' which the Balinese apply to their internal relationships (1974: 1). Basically, *kaîket* refers to a state of 'connectedness' to which Balinese people aspire, connected to one another in the context of the Balinese *banjar* system. Being 'connected' in this way is not simply a social classification, it is an important sense of being, an ontology which the Balinese value highly. One of the most feared punishments a *banjar* can dish out is banishment from the connected family environment present in the *banjar* lifestyle. This is a very good reason for members of a *banjar* to keep up their ritual obligations and be generally 'law-abiding' citizens in a Balinese context. Although *kaîket* is not a Hindu term, it is of a great deal of significance to the Balinese realisation of their own environment and their conception of the role they as individuals play in it. It is a notion of ontological significance which extends beyond the level of the purely social; one can refer to the importance of 'connectedness' in the intricate technique of melodic interlocking known as *kotekan* which is dependent on this fusion.

Sound in Bali is considered to be a very powerful medium just as it is important in an iconic sense to most Hindus: not only does it communicate information to others, it also has the ability to influence its environment both in natural and supernatural contexts. For a typical Balinese Hindu, the complete sense of the godhead is maintained in the magical sound 'om' and as such all prayers sung or recited in praise of a deity are preceded by this syllable (Hooykaas 1964: 16). According to Hooykaas this all-empowering sound is considered to consist of the *triaksara*, three syllables: "*a* for Brahma, *u* for Vishnu and *m* for Siva… often they are pronounced and written *an-un-man*" (ibid.). Here the very basis of Hindu belief is encompassed in an aural world, so it is not surprising that vocal recitation (very often considered as 'singing') is so highly regarded and considered as a sacred vehicle of communication. This also helps to explain the sacred nature of much Balinese musical performance in general.

Balinese notions of health are directly involved with maintaining balance within the body. Jensen comments on what the dangers are when one of the two forces reigns over the other, noting that "lack of balance can cause illness or problems for the individual community" (1992: 31). Traditional Balinese healers—referred to as *balian*—often function to restore to balance forces out of alignment in their patients. We can compare this to the essential spiritual balance maintained by being aware of both the positive and negative forces of existence, duality which is expressed both by pleasing gods (from the mountains) or placating demons (from the under-world), or through rituals and performances which pitch 'good' and 'evil' against one another. In such performances the general overriding theme is not about good winning against evil, rather in maintaining or restoring balance. The most popular of these is the *Barong* dance which sets a friendly sort of lion against an evil (female) *leyak* known as *Rangda*. This ritual is still considered very important and often highly sacred because of the unique way it evokes the battle fought in everyday Balinese existence. It can happen that performers or members of the audience fall into trance and move onto the stage to fight the *leyak* dancer, resulting in priests being ushered in and administering holy water (*tirta*) to help them out of the trance. The performers are armed with Balinese knives known as 'kriss', and inevitably they end up turning it on themselves while trying to attack *Rangda*. This is

representative of the archetypal Hindu battle of good against evil which can never resolve in one of the parties gaining complete conquest over the other; maintaining a sense of balance becomes the central issue.

Some aspects of the Balinese *musical episteme* are also based on the attainment of this sense of balance. Schumacher discusses this element of Balinese musicality in terms of their vocal experience of music. He refers to a particular type of Balinese performance which is not quite music and not quite poetry. Like many other Balinese vocal performances, *kakawin* is basically a musical rendering of ancient Javanese and Balinese poetry, and the words can only signify in the context of their performance. The aim of these 'melodies' is to form a closed melodic contour, demonstrating the importance of sound as a dynamic expression of the Balinese quest for balance. Schumacher demonstrates this in the following passage:

> The basis and content of Balinese life are shaped by the necessity to keep conflicting physical and metaphysical forces in balance. This maxim is expressed in musical terms in an oral performance of *kakawin* by means of a cyclically closed form of melodic contour. The direction of melodic movement does not aim at dynamic development but rather as a well-balanced 'swinging' with a clear cut frame. (Schumacher 1994: 14)

In terms of the Balinese notion of *triloka*, the very function of music is to maintain balance by sounding itself on the three levels of existence. Firstly, referring to the middle level in which the Balinese live, they use performances for their own pleasure in the form of concerts, events organised for young people, social functions and so forth. This earthly aspect of Balinese musicality is unproblematic. Music, however, stretches from the deepest pits of hell to the highest mountain peaks where the gods reside. The Balinese believe that music is performed because of the ever-present nature of evil: one never knows which *leyak* or deities are present to bring chaos into the Balinese world. Music is also played for temple festivals, or *odalan*, where the Balinese invite the gods to descend from the heavens to attend performances. It is not assumed, however, that the gods will always want to hear the same music. This results in Bali's unique ability to constantly update its traditional culture in certain circumstances.

In the structure of musical compositions, this sense of balance is also important. Gamelan compositions involve periods of expressive dynamism and sudden passion to more reflective and held back melodies, teetering at all times between these two extremes. Dance also conforms to this performative dynamic: the whole expression of many performances depends on the movement between periods of relatively peaceful stasis and dramatic *angel* which function as a physically and musically embodied cadence. Like all gamelan music, the works are cyclical and repetitive, and involve in their own way the expression of the Balinese quest for the maintenance of balance.

A set of cosmological principles based on a sort of spatial map similar to the *Nawasanga* are to be found in the *Prakempa* and the *Aji Ghurnita* lontar mentioned above. They contain information about the two scales adopted by the Balinese: *slendro* and *pelog*. The information in these works is highly esoteric and is not known to most Balinese people who see music more in terms of its practical function. The Balinese religion, perpetuated by priests who have attained this knowledge, depends on this kind of information for the realisation of vocal mantras in the performance of rituals. Ramstedt provides us with a complete description of the sounds of the Balinese scales which consist of the words *dang, ding, deng, dung,* and *dong* and their significance to Balinese spatiality:

> They formed two scales: *pelog* or Sang Hyang Akasa (Sky-father) or Sang Hyang Semara (god of male sexual energy), its tones (*dang, ding, deng, dung, dong*) relating to Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa, Wisnu, Siwa-guardians of east south, west, north and centre; *slendro* or *Sang Huang Pertiwi* (*Earth-Mother*) or *Sang Huang Ratih* (goddess of female sexual energy), its tones (female mentioned deities: Mahadewi, Saraswati, Gayatri, Sri, Yma—guardians of south-east, south-west, north-west, north-east and centre. The united sound of *pelog* and *slendro,* called Sang Hyang Dewi Warna ('God Two Colours'), connects the heart (*slendro,* female) and mind (*pelog*, male) of the listener. (Ramstedt 1993: 82)

According to Ramstedt, the unity of the male and the female scales brings about "(spiritual) fertility, the inherent potential (bliss) of the ordered cosmos" (1993: 83). There are no gamelan ensembles which combine both *slendro* and *pelog* scales to produce this state, although it is not uncommon during *odalan* for ensembles with both scales, such as *Gender Wayang* and *Gong Kebyar*, to play at the same time. This suggests that sound and music play an important role in the embodiment of basic religious understandings.

The names of the notes of both the *slendro* and *pelog* scales are based on vowel sounds. Most compositions are memorised by learning a set of vowels sequenced in groups of four. Because only the basic melodic lines are stored, new innovations present in contemporary composition involving instrumental polyphony and melodic decoration can be applied in performance. Colin McPhee, a composer *cum* ethnomusicologist who wrote intensively about all the forms of Balinese gamelan music, commented as follows on the notation system he witnessed:

> Notation is a simple mnemonic device for the music specialist, a musical code to be consulted should memory fail, its first use being to save from oblivion the melodic outline of ancient chants and ceremonial music so important to religious ritual. In preserving the basic melodic tones and the main punctuation which defines the metric structure of the composition this bare notation actually supplies all the necessary information. For the Balinese musician the rest is implicit. Polyphony, drumming, figuration and the various methods of

> orchestral organisation—these have survived entirely through oral tradition, undergoing constant modifications and stylistic changes through revision by successive generations of musicians. (McPhee 1966: 56)

For the Balinese, sound and music are essential concepts that form an important part of their ontology from the cradle to the grave. It infuses itself in a wide variety of fashions in their secular and sacred activities.

Slendro is considered to be the holiest of all musical tunings at the disposal of the Balinese. According to Gold, *slendro* tuning "is considered to be an aural means of communication with the spirit world, the world of the ancestors, and the world of the past" (1992: 248). *Slendro* is pentatonic, and produces sounds broadly comparable to the black keys on the piano. Two major gamelan orchestras use this scale—*Gong Angklung* and *Gender Wayang*—and they are mostly used for religious purposes. The *Gender Wayang* orchestra is mainly used for *Wayang Kulit*, a form of shadow-puppet theatre. *Dalang*, the *Wayang Kulit* puppet masters, are considered to have significant religious power and are able to make holy water (known as *tirta*). They are often invited to perform for the purpose of confronting evil forces or celebrating a major event. *Gong Angklung* are often used during processions held for religious purposes. Most gamelan orchestras played today, however, are tuned to the *pelog* scale which is used for more mundane purposes, being directed towards the everyday life of the Balinese on the one hand and the realm of the demons below on the other. Both *pelog* and *slendro* originally derive from Javanese gamelan scales.

To move from specifically technical aspects of the Balinese *musical episteme*, it is also important to discuss the notion of *ramai*, a preferred 'temporary' ontology for the Balinese involving the whole dynamic of losing oneself in the crowd; becoming engulfed in a group incensed by competition or music-making. This is a state of mind where the individual becomes lost in a sea of people. I think the major reason for its popularity is because the Balinese live in small communities (*banjar*) where an individual's actions are always considered in terms of the community. In other words, whatever you do or say could be used against you, and everyone tends to hear everything because many people live together on very small pieces of land, especially in and around Denpasar. In reaction to this crowded, clammy and for some claustrophobic environment, the Balinese enjoy escaping from their regimented lifestyle by losing themselves in a mass of people. This can also be compared to the crowded vitality at rock concerts, playing fields or discos in the West, something the young people of today evidently need.

Vitale has an additional insight into the implications of 'ramai' for Balinese existence. Basically, he associates this Balinese aesthetic with an artistic sense of 'crowdedness' in other art forms, where the Balinese enjoy filling all available space with designs. Vitale, who also sees this type of being as a 'highly desirable condition' among the Balinese, describes *ramai* as follows:

> This tendency towards saturation of the finest units of detail is found in other traditional Balinese art forms as well, such as painting and sculpture. In all these forms, the artistic space is rarely blank or only in plain outline, but rather is filled with highly ornate detail to the outer boundary limits of the piece. (Vitale 1990: 14)

This extends of course to the intricate musical decorations developed to an incredible complexity in contemporary *Gong Kebyar* music.

Although many Balinese people are aware of the existence of the mystical *lontar* which contain information significant to music the importance of the content of these documents is disputable. It has been demonstrated that on Bali practice is far more significant than theory. It must be mentioned here that this type of musical-religious meaning becomes gradually more important as Balinese males get older, when they have more time to ponder the deeper significance of life and their role in its production and perpetuation.

According to Richter "the structure of tones and scales is integrated into a complex plan of interrelationships within Balinese cosmology: tones correspond with gods, colours, syllables and numerical symbols" (1992: 198). As mentioned above, the major musical *lontar* are known as *Prakempa* and *Aji Ghurnita. Prakempa* is divided into three major sections; the first of these is involved with the sound of the voice, the second with the religious significance of the two major scales used in Balinese music (*slendro* and *pelog*), and the third with important ancient ensembles such as the *Gambuh* or *Semar Pegulingan*. One of the main themes in these works is involved with the relationships between the material world (*bhawana alit*) which is inhabited by human beings, and the larger cosmological structure of the universe (*bhawana agung*) which is inhabited by the gods. This demonstrates the importance Balinese people consider 'music' to have as far as communication between these two planes of existence is concerned.

The complex calendars the Balinese adopt to structure their secular and sacred life has extensions that cross over into the world of performance. These calendars function to make constant connections between ritual-based and practical activities. One of the reasons explaining why the Balinese system is so complicated is because it recognises three different calendars simultaneously. The first is the Indonesian calendar which is practically the same as the western calendar used in Indonesia since the inception of Dutch colonial administration. The second calendar is the Balinese lunar-solar calendar which comes from the Balinese-Hindu heritage. The most complex of the three, however, is the calendar of ancient Balinese origin which contains only 210 days. It is so complex

because it is essentially made up of a number of different weeks each of a different length (for example a one day week, a two day week, a three day week and so on), which all run concurrently and are connected together in an extremely complex fashion. When the first days of two or a number of weeks fall concurrently, it is very often considered to be auspicious for *odalan* or a ritual of some kind. Considering the number of weeks, and the logical result of first days falling concurrently, it is obvious that temple celebrations occur very often. The system is in fact so complicated that the Balinese often have to consult with a priest to see which day would be the most auspicious to perform certain rituals. Geertz refers to this system as the 'permutational' calendar, and he defines the days which are concurrent as follows: "The conjunctions that each of these four periodicities, sub-cycles as it were … are considered not only to be socially significant but to reflect, in one fashion or another, the very structure of reality" (1973: 392). A highly interesting factor inherent in this calendar is the fact that the Balinese do not 'count' the years as they pass by: a given year is not differentiated from one that has already passed. The Balinese lunar-solar calendar, although it is constructed differently to the permutational calendar, embodies similarly the conception of cyclical time which is essential to the 210 day Balinese calendar described above. This calendar, however, is useful in the way it is connected to a natural structure and does not 'permutate' around the seasons like the calendar described above. This makes it more useful for agricultural purposes, meaning that transposed as it is upon the Balinese calendar, activities such as rice planting and weeding which depend upon this type of regularity can be planned and brought to successful fruition. According to Geertz, some temples have a type of "symbolic connection with agriculture or fertility" (1973: 396) which celebrate the visiting of gods who are connected with agricultural activities such as rice production. Such periodic repetition present in the lunar calendar for functional ends are thought to be the primary reason for the cyclical structure of gamelan music with its repeating gong sequences. This sequence of repeating musical signs is referred to by ethnomusicologists as *colotomy* as described in 1.75 and 1.76.

As suggested above melodies present in the ancient *Gong Gambuh* gamelan repertoire have provided and still are providing contemporary composers with material they can use in new works. Also, by being aware of the modes and the cyclical nature of gamelan, the whole perception of cyclical repetition enhances the way composers treat their musical material. It is believed that it is thanks to this archetypal connection between *sekala* and *niskala*, between the inner and the outer world, that Balinese music communicates. Despite the incredible amount of change that has taken place on Bali during the twentieth century in the field of music, composition is still an important method of retaining a link to their ancient heritage. A clear example of this is the complex decorations they now design in order to simply elaborate a melody or a mode taken from the *Gong Gambuh* repertoire. Here both the importance of the sanctity of sacred belief and the inevitable process of time and change play a role; by holding onto the core melodies, they retain a link to the past, but at the same time by developing and decorating the melodic and rhythmic lines above according to other developmental processes more in tune with temporal factors, they allow for dynamic change which constantly revitalises the tradition.

As mentioned in 1.81, the Balinese belief system involves a dichotomous distinction between the parameters of 'malehood' and 'femalehood'. This is explained by considering some of the major belief principles present in Hinduism. Dibia explains that "*Siwa*, the Supreme God whose three aspects are *Brahma* (creator), *Wisnu* (preserver) and *Siwa* (destroyer), is androgynous, or better, *Siwa* is simultaneously male and female, and each of his male aspects has a female counterpart" (DeVale 1991: 40). In most if not all of the processes involved with (contemporary) Balinese music, there are two divisions, one which is considered male and the other female, and musical creation is only possible thanks to a combination of the two. The Balinese make use of these gender distinctions for specific states of being, however, rather than characteristics separating genders as expressed in individuals who adopt specific behavioural patterns. In other words, being male or female is an ontological quality rather than a physical distinction. Although this is not true in every case, one of the main outcomes is that men can and often do both teach and perform dances traditionally danced by women. In addition, gender distinctions are applicable to far more things than simply human behaviour or physical attributes, being applied in many different ways to other aspects of Balinese performance. As mentioned, one of the most famous of these characteristics is the duality inherent in the musical structure known as *kotekan* which involves the interlocking of two melodies (described in more detail below).

Kotekan is basically the name for a type of rhythmic patterning in Balinese music which has its roots in a Javanese melodic form known as 'imbal'. It is comparable to the mediaeval *hocket* technique which has the melody divided between two performers, each playing a consecutive note. In *imbal* it is only thanks to the union of the two that a single melody is formed. Interlocking melodic techniques of this kind can be found all over Southeast Asia and has its origins in the rhythms of cooperative work: "the pounding of bamboo tubes for rice husking." *Kotekan*, the Balinese style, encompasses more than the Javanese 'imbal': this term can also refer to a type of melodic division which comes about by having interlocking rhythmic groups which function to create incredibly quick melodic passages. This racy, exciting Balinese musical style is very much a part of the *Gong Kebyar* tradition and its

Kreasi Baru musical form. *Kotekan* does more, however, than simply provide the performers and audience members with an exciting melody or a strong sense of social union. It is sometimes suggested that its insistent clamour creates a musical environment which helps to evoke unique temporal and spatial moments in the production of music or ritual such as trance states and *Taksu.*

As will be developed upon in more detail in Chapter Four, gamelan instruments also play a symbolic role in Balinese society. Sets of gamelan instruments are usually owned and maintained by the *banjar,* the smallest Balinese societal division which has been in place since the 4th century. The *banjar* calls on its citizenry to fill places in the ensemble. Every instrument in the gamelan, like every person in Bali's structurally complex society, has a crucial role to play. Balinese musicians learn an art of technical rigour and aesthetic power, designed to aid in fulfilling the ritual needs of a community totally dependent on the proper placation if its deities. They play a vital role in civic life but almost never earn any substantial income from music, at least in terms of the gamelan which is connected to Balinese traditional life. This close coordination between music and society is represented in the structure of the music itself. Many academics examining Balinese society comment on the iconic function of roles within the gamelan orchestra and their active involvement in the *banjar*'s social calendar. In Balinese traditional music used for ritual purposes there is little if any room for most individuals to express themselves in gamelan performances; instead the ideal is the cultivation of absolute coordination and the channelling of each members' artistic personality into a unified musical expression. The close coordination between the gamelan's melodic parts demands intense interaction between the players during rehearsals that is analogous to the larger structure of their society. The music requires a collective memory and a group instinct that is a natural outgrowth of the musicians' proximity to each other in daily life. Here a situation is created where individual members of a *banjar* are trained to become active members of society by participating in the general development of the *banjar* as performing artists. They become essential to gamelan performances; individuals become as dependent on the *banjar* as the *banjar* does on their ability as performers. For many, Balinese gamelan and by extension its society seems to represent an ideal, although a little more knowledge of the whole picture puts one in a better position to comment on to how great an extent Bali can be considered an Utopia. Becoming a member of a *banjar* means that your participation is a necessary and constant element of daily life; the *banjar* has many expectations which individuals are obliged to fulfil, amounting to an array of ritual-based and practical tasks for the benefit of the *banjar* and its members. For many in the West this impingement on personal time for one's community would be intolerable.

This aspect of social structure can be traced back to organisations dependent on rice-plantation. In such societies it was necessary for groups to work together, allowing certain individuals to perform certain activities to attain the highest possible yield. In Balinese gamelan groups one person tends to master the one instrument and remains playing that instrument to help the group achieve as a larger ensemble higher goals. The Balinese musical function of *kotekan* also promotes this 'interactive co-operative' model, especially considering that the whole nature of the musical activity involves close interlocking and togetherness. As noted above, an individual's essential participation in the *kotekan*-creating activity is also very much about being bound to a community, a sense of being together with others which the Balinese refer to as 'kaîket' (Lansing 1974: 1). This is essential to the health of individuals and is represented in a general sense within the structure of Balinese musical compositions.

The linguistic terms the Balinese use to entitle their creative artists reflects a level of the Balinese *musical episteme* in that it shows the general function played by composers in Balinese society. Three major terms are used to refer to the figure of the artist: *pencipta, penusun* and *pengarang*. The first two terms are the most well known and are often used by composers to refer to themselves or others who work in the field. *Pencipta* can be translated as 'creator' and is most similar to our own image of the composer who creates individual works and uses his or her own style. This word derives from the Indonesian root word 'cipta' which means creative force or creative power (Echols 1982: 118). A *penusun*, in comparison, is a composer who uses already existing material to create new works, and could be translated into our language most correctly as 'arranger'. As in any culture, the two labels can be applied to the same person as he or she performs different functions, i.e. someone is rarely always a *pencipta.* Artists in Bali can even perform the same role in the same composition, in other words be partially 'innovative' with totally new material and partially 'traditional' by using existing material in different sections of the same work. The contrast, however, comes in the nuances in signification these words possess. Both types of creativity are considered equally 'creative' in Bali. This is not the case in occidental culture where an arranger is generally seen as a non-mediating party who performs a relatively static function. I Nyoman Wenten, a Balinese composer/choreographer who teaches at CalArts in California, told me that a third term should also be considered: *pengarang*. According to Wenten, the *pengarang* is like the *penusun* in that he reworks existing material, but the material he uses is based on the choreography or other creative project for which the music will be used. Wenten used I Wayan Beratha as a perfect example of the figure of the *pengarang* in Balinese musical history. He was the

creator of the Balinese version of the *Ramayana*, and the *Jayaprana* dance versions, and has played a very important role in the shaping of contemporary arts in Bali.

Elaine Barkin, composer and scholar based in Los Angeles, has worked a number of times on collaborative intercultural projects with I Nyoman Wenten, and has noticed some contrasts in the 'conceptual models' for musical creation which they adopt while composing. Firstly, Elaine sees musical composition as a 'struggle to discover' her voice as an individual. Many artists experience art as a way to discover their individuality in a complex world which offers so many choices. Balinese composers, however, are quite restricted in the choices they can make when composing. Barkin also discusses the fact that for her the compositional process is one which involves a great deal of forethought: "I made sketches, did lots of so-called pre-compositional planning, devised schemas to follow, and occasionally thought about ideal listeners." In contrast, it has been my observation that Balinese artists are much less fuelled in this way. They come to the composition with a basic structure, sometimes very vague, and the gamelan group works together with the composer to come to a satisfactory composition. The *pencipta/penusun* in Bali plays a significantly different role to the 'composer' in the West, although we have to be aware that the terminology refers to certain artistic processes differently. The Balinese would consider many more people to be involved in the problems of musical composition or choreography than we generally would in the West.

In the preceding discussion we've had the chance to view a series of factors which have influenced and continue to influence the Balinese *musical episteme.* As a foundation we began with specific areas relating musical experience to basic notions important to Balinese Hinduism such as their unique experience of spatial parameters and important symbols such as the *Kakayonan* and the *Nawasanga*. From here we explored the important role sound and music play in the life of the Balinese, concluding with a more detailed discussion of specific symbolic systems in musical terms, including the *triloka.* It is clear that musical parameters play a vital role in defining certain aspects of Balinese life. Using this extended vision of musical experience to define the way a culture makes sense of its reality as a foundation we move onto the final stage of our exploration of music as an episteme.

1.9 The Musical Episteme: *towards a model*

Our discussion of the Balinese *musical episteme* demonstrates the potential complexity of such a given. In exploring this area a wide variety of differing sociocultural and existential factors about Balinese existence have been explored, factors that influence the way they experience not only their performing arts but also life in general. It has been suggested, in other words, that Balinese 'music' isn't only influenced by their culture, but that their method of interfacing with reality is in fact influenced by their 'music'. Before exploring the specificities of Balinese music some conclusions about important facets of the *musical episteme* were made which are in some way involved with the process of 'filtering' or 'comprehending' different kinds of what we have vaguely defined as 'musical knowledge'. Many theoretical doors have been opened. This has included exploring music as a way of behaving and interacting with our environment. Many different types of potentially 'musically epistemic' activity have also been looked at. The intention in the following discussion is to come to some conclusions about what the most important parameters of a *musical episteme* actually are. The innovative ethnomusicologist John Blacking considered music making to be "symbolically ordered sounds, social institutions, and a selection of the available cognitive and sensorimotor capabilities of the human body" (1992: 204). With this as a guide and based on the explorations in this chapter we can present a model consisting of three major parts: (1.91) *Musical Experience as a Tool of Memory* [in that it communicates information about itself, referring to agreed upon sensations and experiences that the members of a culture have shared in the past but need to be relived in the present], (1.92) *Musical Experience as a Tool to Comprehend our Temporal and Spatial World* [within the parameters of the possibility for it to be experienced by the body], and (1.93) *Musical Experience as Social Filter* [in that it is an object of social connection and segregation]. The first of the aforementioned ways of classifying musicality encompasses music when it is used as a medium to reintegrate the past into the present. Here music is a tool of *recontextualising the past.* The second of the three levels involves that part of musical experience which through its performance communicates dynamic information about the spatial and temporal environment. The third and last level is applied when music communicates information about the social status of the parties involved in the musical experience. Here, the *sociocultural* nature of music is explored. These three levels refer to the source material used in the second, third and fourth chapters respectively.

1.91 MUSICAL EXPERIENCE AS A TOOL OF MEMORY:
music and the past discovered in the present

[Musical experience becomes a tool which gives us the means to reunderstand elements of our culture in a new context]

On hearing certain specific types of music we are often led to reflect on the past. Music and dance, which exist as memories in conscious and unconscious minds, are even stronger tools when we hear them live, bringing with them the potential of the past, a unique evocation in which both the past and the dynamism of the present are united. It is unfortunately impossible to define exactly when the past finishes and the recontextualisation starts, or

how much of the past is recontextualised at a given moment. Although the past may be evoked in the performance of music, there is always a little bit of the present, and repeated listening of course changes the structure: music becomes representative of a new time, or a number of different periods. The human mind and memory work in mysterious—and sometimes quite exasperating—ways. Heidegger's notion *Dasein* relates to an individual's understanding of his/her perception of being:

> *Dasein* involves itself in all kinds of projects and plans for the future. In a sense it is always ahead of itself. At the same time it must come to terms with certain matters over which it has no control, an element that looms behind it, as it were, appurtenances of the past out of which *Dasein* is projected or 'thrown'. (Krell 1978: 24)

Our sense of presence, then, is a result of the past. Although every new moment we experience may be indeed new, we understand it of course only through our previous experience. And music is very powerful in this regard: it 'throws' us into the past, and yet at the same time provides us with a sense of understanding about the here and now. Joe Cocker communicates this ability of musical experience to reunite us with our past quite eloquently in his song *N'oubliez Jamais* (never forget). In this song, Cocker asks why his father still listens to the same music, which leads to the chorus: never forget the music that came to define your generation ('every generation has its day'). In other words Cocker implies that one connects to the past highly powerful significance, which should not be ignored or forgotten.

The Balinese are particular experts at recycling the past for rediscovery in the present, as their culture constantly demonstrates in many different ways. Music is most certainly considered to retain such a level of power: contemporary Balinese music, even the newest work composed within the last ten years, is based on melodies taken from older gamelan forms such as the ancient *Gambuh* drama (the melodies of which are considered to have great spiritual power). In contemporary constructions, these melodies are very well hidden, sitting at the base of complex, baroque and ornamented musical constructions, but their presence is certainly acknowledged by participants, at least in a symbolic sense. Not only music is recycled in Bali, of course: motifs are repeated and developed in all the arts from woodcarving to painting. Recycling—only in an artistic sense at this stage unfortunately—is a trademark of the Balinese culture. *Gong Kebyar*, the contemporary gamelan ensemble on which most contemporary compositions are written, was created in a period following the turn of the century. The stately old *Gong Gédé* ensembles were simply melted down and reused in the new ensemble as its popularity spread. This level of Balinese experience shouldn't really surprise us a great deal: because of the Hindu conception of time which is essentially cyclical, Balinese performers don't consider the past to be in any way 'dead' or 'finished'. The past represents a potential basis for the future, so by revitalising the past one is continuing the natural flow of time, not abusing it. In the following chapter we discuss in more detail the dynamics of this type of 'textual' realisation in cultural performances.

1.92 MUSICAL EXPERIENCE AS A TOOL TO COMPREHEND OUR TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL WORLD: *music and its presence*

[Music and dance teach us how to experience space and time as it is realised in the present, becoming a phenomenological tool for understanding a particular dynamic environment]

Both music and dance act to 'teach' individuals. But what is it precisely that music teaches us? In the following discussion I would like to explore the different ways we can look at this side of musical communication. One of the problems with fixed *product*-based forms of analysis is that many theoreticians only consider objects worthy of analysis that exist outside the context of their performance. Just as the composers are dead and cannot give us a description of why such works were composed, and in being transcribed in a form of musical notation, the spatial aspects of its composition is in many circles considered insignificant to a transcendent form of meaning above the music. Music composed today is more problematic because the composers are still alive and the work is conceptualised in an embedded context. The *process*-based element of our earlier discussions demonstrates the importance of the signification which occurs thanks to the fact that it is embedded in a living context. Music fills space and time with sound and motion. It makes the present real to its experiencers; it has the power to change the way its participants relate to or perceive their environment at given moments of musical realisation. When music fills a space we can no longer experience that space in the same way as before the music began, be that in a Balinese temple, a supermarket, a French restaurant or a disco. The presence of music makes a given moment unique. Musical experience is thus a phenomenological force we allow to influence the way we perceive our environment. It also functions to make a space *communal*, somewhere where a group can share these unique moments.

The Balinese youth of today are particularly sensitive to the environment around them which is changing quickly. As a result they mix freely new western popular music with more traditional forms; they embrace and enjoy this innovation. As I shall demonstrate in Chapter Two, this sort of innovation is a dynamic kind of 'problem-solving' exercise. This particular talent has helped the Balinese culture to 'keep-up' with its changing environment in that

their ‘traditional’ music can still teach them something vital about their environment, even if that is combined with western popular forms.

Here I would like to comment on the fact that music plays an ‘indexical’ role in some significative functions: it points at itself and guides the listener to the type of situation involved in the *musical event* in question. Sometimes this ‘reflexive’ information is contextual, so the main message of music in a disco is ‘now you can dance’ rather than ‘listen to me’. Culture plays a big role in educating us about how these signs signify; this is therefore part of the *structural* and *behavioural* aspect of music and its pedagogy. Music often plays a more specific role, however, when it is embodied in a non-musical context. A typical example is in poetry: when we read a line of text which rhymes, we know that there is another structure which we have to make sense of through our musical perception skills as human beings. This kind of musical sign is also highly enactive; we may know that a poem rhymes, but it is only when we *read* the poem and experience the rhyme that it ‘signifies’ in any real way. The initial pointing function of music to itself is a simple but no less important signalling act of musical processes in action.

There is no question that music communicates *something* to those who experience it, but the continuing problem of what *is* communicated remains a difficult point of discussion. Music is difficult to theorise about because it is involved with the communication of information which is inexpressible in language. Although we are able to ‘verbalise’ about language, we are unable to ‘musicise’ about musical experience. We can, however, describe the dynamic contexts in which the information is communicated to gain a greater insight into what the music is communicating, and the intention of this discussion is to try to conceive of the parameters of this somewhat difficult task.

Music and dance function to accentuate a given phenomenological moment of experience, making a spatial and temporal environment immediate and tangible as discussed. Javanese gamelan for example, can involve its listeners in gradually transforming temporal processes, providing them with a unique experience of temporality. Through subtle processes of musical change, where the tempo is gradually adjusted and delicate rhythmical and melodic elements are added, Javanese musical form slows (or accelerates) motion and then builds onto that adjusted tempo a rhythmic level which fills out the time in a whole new way. Dance performance is involved with space and time as well, filling it with movement on the one hand and providing the participants with a unique insight into their bodies in given spatial environments on the other. In *Bharata Natyam* and other forms of Indian temple dance, a sense of motion outwards and a continual return to a central position is achieved, providing the dancer or embedded participants with a unique sense of balance. Moreover, through the vital combination of an individual’s involvement in a dynamically charged moment of musical experience as a participant, knowledge can be communicated about one’s body and the relationship that body has existentially with its environment. Blacking notes that this often leads to climactic moments, of ‘personal ecstasy’ or ‘peak experiences’: having reached such a state, the involved parties “can become exceptionally aware of inner-self, others and natural environment” (1992: 66). As discussed at various places in this chapter, the Balinese have two major ways of reaching such states: *trance* and *Taksu.*

Perhaps the most tangible process in musical signification is its ability to turn a given space into a communal area. This is most certainly one of the functions of music within ritual, but there are many other situations which make use of this characteristic including the phenomenon of the disco in the West. Here music and dance combine to form a very powerful message. In many ways, this function of music and dance to direct the listeners towards the phenomenological ‘we’ through its communal aspects is also made use of in certain social processes. Music, for example, is an essential part of social gatherings such as parties. This aspect is also exploited by advertising to put us in the mood to buy; *muzak* is designed to fulfil this function. It has been proven that when potential customers find themselves in an agreeable atmosphere, one which is shared with other potential buyers, they have a much greater tendency to buy. The advertising industry realised long ago that this aspect of music could be used for commercial ends.

As we have demonstrated particularly in relation to Balinese dance narratives, the structural elements of ‘abstract’ musical form create their own logical environments. A musical narrative in the abstract sense cannot, like in programme music, be told to the listeners on the beforehand; the story only has significance while it is being told. Although one could ‘describe how the narrative works’, without the live musical embodiment the narrative cannot signify. What is the narrative about? Here culture plays a role. In Balinese music it seems to often concern the relationship between spatial and temporal aspects on the one hand and on the relationship between the body and its environment on the other. It concerns points of stress, climax, release and their interactions. In dance the spatial/corporeal aspects are more accented, whereas in music it is usually the temporal aspect. What *exactly* is communicated to individual members of the audience is impossible to say as the signification is so contextual. Abstract narrative of this type is also strongly present in ritual, representing symbolic information in a musical way, directed towards certain movements and processes. The ritual is indeed a ‘journey’, in some cultures the most important journey people can make (for example in *rites of passage* rituals). Here the narrative may be ‘from a boy

to a man' or 'an unmarried to a married women', although just by stating the names gives little insight into what happens on these important ritual occasions. The attention of the audience and participants are socially directed to various acts which combine to form the ritual, becoming often a complex hierarchy of choreographed sound and movement. Parkin describes this sort of symbolic narrative as being "concerned with directionality" which combines with other systems of music and sound to form a "journey or passage undertaken and/or marked by participants standing in spatial relationships to one another" (Parkin 1992: 16). He goes on to suggest that it is perhaps "only through ritual that humans will collude collectively in their own movement, transformation, dispersion, and partition" (Parkin 1992: 23). Ritual and other occasions involving musical communication can very often be a means to make sense of human events in a musical way, as Parkin says to 'untangle' what he refers to as *tangled states* which are created in everyday life (ibid.). Parkin is essentially suggesting that this abstract narrative plays an important role here, providing the embedded participants with a means to revitalise cognitive and corporeal experience. This helps explain why such great satisfaction is gained from listening to music and observing dance performances, especially when the audience is very familiar with that performance. Many different Balinese people I interviewed related the fact that performing their own dance and music left them with a great feeling of joy, satisfaction and completion. One can't help but noting the importance of this happiness which musical processes can achieve. For this reason it is only through the narration of this 'abstract' story-telling that participants can fulfil their 'musical' needs.

Our aural environment plays a role in determining what we are; familiar sensual information of any kind helps define our surroundings, and sound alone is a powerful means of communication. Portable audio equipment has made available a remarkable tool; thanks to devices such as *walkmans* and other portable audio devices, we have at our fingertips and at the push of a button an instantly familiar aural world, filled with sounds which we recognise from our home environment. As Ong covers in his important work on *Orality and Literacy*, the sound environment is more powerful than we think: what we hear around us certainly affects the way we relate to an environment. In a world of quick and violent change, if we get exhausted by the continual impact of visual images, we can close our eyes and pretend it's not happening and in this way search for peace and relaxation. Turning off the sound is, however, not so easy: sound always surrounds us, sound can mean impending danger and can wake us even when we are sleeping. It is positive in the sense that it can be used as a tool to fight alienation when confronted with new places we find difficult to adapt to; it is often an easy cure for culture-shock or homesickness. Attali suggests that we block out all other sounds to make us untouchable to a living environment. Another familiar French fear is that their aural environment is becoming more and more familiar as the international flavour of Anglo-American rock becomes the *status quo* for contemporary pop music. This means that increasingly more young people are surrounding themselves in an aural environment which is the same as every other young person, putting lots of money into the music industry but at the same time exploiting its listeners by driving away smaller-scale music which has a different story to tell. This is very much what Attali refers to in terms of the *silencing* power of music in society: silencing those who stand against a dull and magnified musical drone.

Composers, however, work actively with music as a creative tool to adapt to a changing environment; here it is not so much an oppressive tool but instead a 'sensual' way for us to experiment with new data, a kind of research tool which can't be described by language in any way. It is a dynamic form of interculturality which is becoming increasingly important in a rapidly changing world. In Bali, *Taksu* is a realisation of the importance of musical processes in providing members of a culture with dynamic means of creative expression which simultaneously provide the participants both with access to their traditional culture, and with pleasurable sensual activities which connect them to the here and now. This phenomenon can probably be found in any culture, most certainly the many variants within our own borders, although in Bali the emphasis on sensual pleasure on the moment of performance sets the culture apart. The message here is clear: one of the main reasons for performing rituals is because of the recycling of cultural information in a form which can be understood by the participants in the performance event. This vitality is very important, and explains why rituals often bring tears, laughter, joy, mad gesticulation or other extreme *taksu*-like states within our own culture: thanks to the dynamic experience of ritualised events, we are provided with cultural information in a form which makes us most open to this new information. A clear example is the sorrow which is felt at funerals or the joy which is felt at weddings, ritualised cultural acts which are important just because they are performed.

It is difficult to make final conclusions about *specific* ways the human musical experience influences our behaviour and our perception of the world. All the same, overwhelming evidence from observing music in action and from interviewing both musicians and laymen about how they experience musicality, it is clear that it strongly influences dynamically certain interactions. Music plays a role in defining who we are and it has the power to remind us of the joy to be alive. The embodied aspect of musical signs from a phenomenological perspective is developed further in Chapter Three.

1.93 MUSICAL EXPERIENCE AS A SOCIAL FILTER: *music and the other*

[The sociocultural nature of music]

Music is used within culture to create social divisions: what one listens to can affect the way one is looked upon. As we have determined earlier on in this work, the whole process of the 'music' phenomenon is recognised to different degrees in different cultures. Rather than making it more difficult to analyse music in a sociocultural context, alternative forms of 'musical' signification help us to determine ways in which music is adopted for specific social situations. The word 'work', for example, is probably universal, even though in every culture it is interpreted differently. Our society has made distinctions between those who 'work' (fulfilling the material needs of the society) and those who 'perform' (fulfilling the artistic needs of society). Unlike the protestant work ethic which is endemic in much non-Catholic western culture, most Hindus consider under the word 'work' both ritual and practical tasks. In Bali this means that almost all the members of the culture can perform in cultural activities such as theatre or dance as well as the profession they have which earns their livelihood. They need to be able to 'perform' art as well in some way in order to bring to life the enormous amount of rituals which are necessary in everyday Balinese existence. In contrast, we believe in the context of our culture, especially in terms of our formal or classical music, that only people who are specially trained can perform certain music and dance traditions. Furthermore, in the West we make a distinction between 'work' and 'play', where the *work* side of the coin is seen as tiresome, something which people have to do so they can, rest (or play) at another time. There is also the conception that artists have to suffer to attain 'inspiration' or to create. In Bali, the whole notion of *work* which includes rituals and performance is generally considered to be a pleasurable activity.

The contrast between the definitions of *noise* and *music* are also important sociocultural factors which are inculcated through educational processes in society, both in formal and informal situations. Western European culture inculcates specific notions of what distinguishes music from noise. Many westerners find it difficult to experience Javanese gamelan as 'music' when they hear it for the first time. This is comparable to the process of learning the phonemes of a new language. The language learner often finds it initially difficult to differentiate two phonemes because the sounds are not implicit in the person's native language. This is a dynamic phenomenon: because the language-learner cannot produce the sounds him/herself, it is almost impossible to hear the difference. Only training at listening and producing the contrasting sounds can result in the user recognising and understanding the sounds when adopted within words. If a western listener hears Javanese music according to a western *musical episteme*, he or she wouldn't necessarily know which signs to look for; where they should apply meaning. For example, the subtle contrasts in colotomic development and *irama* transfer would most likely be missed; this is only logical and is no reflection on the listener. Sometimes Javanese people similarly experience western orchestral music as 'noise': it is far too loud and there are too many instruments. This doesn't mean, of course, that those individuals couldn't *learn* to experience the music of the *Other*. The filter which defines what we hear as sound and what we hear as noise often communicates information about the culture we belong to.

Participation as an audience member or a performer of a musical performance can communicate information about one's position in society. In its extreme sense, one participates in a musical event not as an audience member to watch the performance, but rather to be seen and recognised as having reached the hierarchical level implied by the sort of music which is being listened to. Within Western Europe there most certainly exists a 'hierarchy of musical audiences' of sorts. Music does not only segregate people from one another, of course; it can also unite them. This is particularly well typified in the Balinese gamelan ensemble: the different instruments are often used to create an analogy of Balinese societal roles, forming part of a shared whole which works harmoniously thanks to the whole being more than the sum of its parts.

From another angle, music can be adopted on a social level to exert power over its listeners. Attali makes this very clear in his approach to musical signification:

> Avec la musique est né la pouvoir et son contraire : la subversion. Dans le bruit se lisent les codes de la vie, les rapports entre les hommes. Clameurs, Mélodie, Dissonance, Harmonie; lorsqu'il est façonné par l'homme avec des outils spécifiques, lorsqu'il envahit le temps des hommes, lorsqu'il est son, le bruit devient source de projet et de puissance, de rêve : Musique. (Attali 1977: 13)

Attali has a specific vision of music as a form of societal manipulation, as mentioned in the opening part of the chapter. Let's recall the three ways he typifies music as a tool of power in society. According to Attali, music is used to make people *forget* [*faire* oublier] any violence which may be present in a given society, to make them *believe* [*faire* croire] in the harmony of the world, and (iii) to *silence* [*faire* taire] (1977: 39) its participants. There is no doubt that music is used as a tool to influence people. The first level, involving ritual power, is used in situations where it can be in some way influential. *Muzak* and other forms of ambient sound which are designed to calm people or to make them more receptive for some other purpose designated by society are examples of this use. It is also referring to the way music is used by culture to remind itself of the 'good old days' in some way. According to Attali this helps people *forget* the violence inherent in their culture. The second form of power [*faire* croire] is referring to the fact that *musical epistemes* preach 'truths'; a belief in a fantasy. It is the power of the

silencing effect of much new popular music such as *House* which is made up of an almost deafening wave of continuous pulsation reminiscent of Balinese trance music. Although Attali may fear music which is being used by society as a tool of domination, forcing a hierarchy of musical values and large-scale marketing onto an unsuspecting populace, many forms of cultural expression are feared by society if they elevate in some way minority groups. A typical example is the dynamic and liberating exuberance of jazz when it went through its most dynamic and frenzied development between the twenties and the forties in North America. It is not by chance that its origins are in West African (negro) folk music which developed on its own course in North America, mixing in style with western musical scales and popular music forms. Merriam observes that the jazz of this period was stigmatised by the press and that "a substantial segment of American society were supposed to affect the society as a whole" (1964: 241). As will be demonstrated with the Balinese adaptation of western pop, music is a hybrid many-faced beast and the mind-numbing 'silencing' of one cultural group can become the liberator of another.

The intention in this part of Chapter One has been to demonstrate the necessity for looking at the art of music in terms of the way an individual experiences it, and to achieve this we have gone through contemporary developments in theory which use this given as a foundation, based primarily on developments in post-structural theory and phenomenology. The message was to demonstrate clearly that an analytical form departing from the individual has to be based on a movement from '*product*-based' analysis to '*process*-based' analysis because of the fact that artistic communication—especially for the performing arts—is based on the processes which individuals go through to use art as a tool for understanding reality, to answer questions about the world which can be communicated in no other way. I have attempted to demonstrate this by discussing European, Javanese and Balinese teaching methods which influence the way our *musical epistemes* develop; a *musical episteme* does not exist *in and of itself*, but has to be taught to the members of a culture through complex *processes* of social inculcation involved with both verbal and behavioural teaching methods. Learning how to 'listen' is indeed a type of artistic practice and a type of creation in itself: music can only signify because it has listeners who have been taught to understand it. If we accept the dynamism of *Dasein*, the 'meaning' that music does have is in a process of constant change, which means that our culture has the tendency to assume that music—if it is played in the same way as it was composed—will have *per se* the same signification in new environments. Cultural templates, however, no matter how conservative its institutions of musical segregation and power may be, are in a constant process of change and adaptation to a new environment. The Balinese have always been aware of this level of change in musical performance, and they have a word which implies it: *Taksu.* Thanks to its connection with both the past and the present, this uniquely Balinese concept implies that cultural templates are not things which are perpetuated constantly in the same form. Instead, *Taksu* demonstrates that the performer gains an insight through performance which is both unique for the moment and ancient. Here we see tradition and innovation becoming one. Music, then, provides meaning through its enaction: as Bourdieu says, the body plays at what it believes. It is by experiencing music in a given temporal spatial environment that individuals literally 'enact' musical meaning.

Within our culture the most commonly accepted form of musicality is often sound-based, but I have attempted to demonstrate that sound is not the single primordial element to which 'music' should be reduced: musicality is a journey rather than simply the contents of its parts. Ethnomusicological research constantly demonstrates the problematic nature of this assumption which separates music from other disciplines, although an elitist approach inherent in contemporary musicology—one which sets itself apart from ethnomusicology—makes this sort of reduction acceptable. The musical sign, however, can only exist because we make it exist, even though we may not at all times be aware of the fact that we are 'experiencing' incoming sensual data in a musical fashion. The dynamic context of realisation should become the major parameter for musical signification, and in the following three chapters I attempt to build a theoretical environment which can confront musicality without reducing it. The intention is to understand the dynamism of 'musical knowledge'. Musicality can be moulded into a powerful tool: it has the potential to affect the way we experience reality. It can conform or divert sociocultural structures, it can affect the way we experience time and space and how we re-experience the past: in short it is musicality which borders our general aesthetic understanding of the way things are. Musicality is not something which only unique individuals have access to; it is a general form of human intelligence. Restriction of access to 'musical knowledge' is a result of artistic segregation within the context of cultural activities. Our culture is a prime example of this segregation. Any person who has the ability to enjoy music, to be moved, to be irritated, to in any way interact with music, has a certain level of musical ability. In other words, we *all* have the potential; those that believe they do not have generally been culturally inculcated in a negative way about their own skills and in a positive way towards the superior knowledge of an elite few. This is interesting from an anthropological or sociological perspective in that it demonstrates the perpetuation of an elitist and positivist musical aesthetic by cultural institutions such as schools, universities and conservatories that have a personal interest in building around themselves an ivory tower. This moulding of musical understanding, however, is an implicit given in our culture, one which has worked for hundreds of years. It is not necessarily a 'bad' thing; it is just something we have to

recognise in our own music if we can see it in other cultures. These issues and more involving the sociocultural aspect of musical realisation are developed upon in Chapter Four.

1.10 Conclusion

I have attempted in this chapter to demonstrate the possibility musicality offers us to understand human behaviour, and to describe unique aspects of the Balinese *musical episteme* which can help us better understand the way we use music to interface with our environment. The ultimate intention of this has been to provide us with the means to understand 'musicality' as a way humans interact with 'musical' knowledge, a complex whole encompassing both temporality and spatiality. Music is at one and the same time an enjoyable past-time, a sensual realisation of a temporal and spatial environment, a socially inculcated form of behaviour and a way to interact with the world. Musicality functions not merely as a way to reflect states of mind or general cultural information, but is rather a tool we use to understand and even change our environment. Music is, therefore, a dynamic cultural force embedded deeply in all cultures, stretching across a whole range of perceptual and cultural areas. In the following three chapters the intention is to explore different ways of approaching musicality. I attempt to demonstrate how some of the broad statements I've made in the first chapter relating to the Balinese *musical episteme* are realised in real life Balinese situations. In Chapter Two we concentrate more on music as *text*, in other words an agreed upon phenomenon within culture which is perpetuated by cultural institutions. Chapter Three takes us closer to music as an *embedded* sign; one which is realised in a dynamic environment and one which is volatile and constantly in a process of change. In Chapter Four, the final chapter of this work, the musical sign is explored as a *sociocultural* tool in terms of the desires of individuals and the needs of society. This rounds off our discussion of Balinese musicality, at once a complex and breathtaking phenomenon.

Chapter Two: **The Musical Text**

> Therefore, every minute of the day, they were all, male and female alike, engrossed in weaving and embroidering the rich fabric of the very world in which they lived and, like so many Penelopes, their work was never finished. The whole point of their activity was that it was endless, for they unravelled their work at the end of the year and they, with the return of the sun after the shortest day, began on it again.
> (Carter 1982: 183)

Contemporary anthropology seems to have transcended the structuralist notion of culture viewed as something existing outside or above the dynamic force of individuals. The ability a culture has to change, the factors that enable a culture to bring about that change, and the multivarious forms in which that development is expressed can provide the theorist with important material that gives a real insight into how a culture works. This stands opposed to the prevailing traditional approach in musicology which is relatively *product*-based and static. The goal of Chapter Two is primarily to present a model for the 'musical text' which will demonstrate the unique potential 'music-based' communication has in both reflecting and sometimes even influencing cultural change.

In order to develop towards this complex type of musical textuality, a theoretical journey has to be made and our 'textual' horizons have to be extended. To help us in this regard I've included the work of Austin, Wittgenstein, Barthes, de Saussure, Ricœur, Benveniste, Lotman and Halliday (among others) as major source material. The idea is to present a strong theoretical background for cultural texts which can play an active role in both cultural perpetuation and cultural innovation. Texts, in other words, can be so much more than simply reflections of given artistic environments. They are latent and potent cultural vehicles which can be used for an incredibly wide range of significative aims; they can be reused and revitalised in many ways, and at the same time they can be totally usurped of any meaning and become empty significative vehicles. Some of the other important steps taken in the theoretical opening discussion involve the definition of musical textuality, artistic texts and performance texts. How do they differ and how are they similar? What is the difference between a written text and a musical text? Is a performance text a type of artistic text or is an artistic text a type of performance text? These, among many other questions, will be answered in this chapter.

Such 'artistic texts' or 'cultural blueprints' often have the tendency to retain their shape and function, perpetuating a generally accepted cultural given. Peacock notes, however, that some dynamic forms of cultural performance have the potential ability of displaying characteristics that actively function to bring about cultural change. These types of dynamic 'artistic (or *cultural*) texts' also form an important part of the analysis in this chapter. I have developed an approach to musicality and cultural change based on Peacock's notion of *Rites of Modernisation*. Peacock was referring in his work sharing the same title to a particularly dynamic form of contemporary performance text in Java (particularly Surabaya) called *Ludruk* which actually functioned to encourage a specific set of beliefs which led towards modernisation both culturally and technologically, noting that its textual universe

imbues the process of modernisation with meaning and legitimacy (1968: 8). Although Bali does not have an exact parallel to the Javanese *Ludruk*, I will be demonstrating such 'musical' texts which are performing a similar function of encouraging processes of modernisation. Certain musical givens in Bali reflect an encouragement or promotion of processes of modernisation, being related to functions only communicable in a musical fashion. Here cultural texts are referred to which have the tendency to encourage or promote cultural change, leading towards a new set of musical metaphors that can provide individuals with meaning in a rapidly changing world. Here the keyword is culture and the shared set of signs that are added to as a culture progresses. The reader is provided with perspectives taken from these types of performance texts in both Western Europe and Bali. We also take a look at forms of intercultural musical textuality and the dynamic roles these texts can play in cultural change are particularly focussed upon. There are, of course, forms of musical textuality which are deliberately intended to *slow* modernisation, at least a little. Types of Balinese musical textuality will also be explored that encourage slow development, regression or conservatism, factors that cannot be completely ignored in the Balinese situation.

As suggested in Chapter One, the way participants perceive temporality and spatiality can be influenced by the performance of or participation in music and dance. Musical experience, therefore, plays into a phenomenal world, filling time and one's environment, providing the individual with a unique experience of the present moment, perhaps an entirely new one, or a new realisation of familiar textual material which revitalises a space or gives special meaning to a given moment. The intention is to examine heterogeneous performance texts and the role these texts play in perpetuating or changing Balinese culture. In order to conceive of Balinese musical texts, an understanding of the Balinese musical *episteme* is an asset. It is these cultural axioms on which the Balinese base their sense of 'textuality'. The term 'textuality' in the context of this discussion refers to the general apparatus cultures provide their members with in order to make sense of their texts; it is a tool or a method rather than an object or an item.

2.1 Existing approaches to *Texts*

De Saussure, followed by the *Tel Quel* group in Paris (represented by Kristeva, Barthes and their colleagues), in addition to Ricœur and Lotman, have involved themselves in theorising about the whole notion of *text* and *textuality*. Contrasting theories have been put forward to define exactly what 'texts' are, how their parameters can be defined and more particularly what kind of information they communicate. The intention here is to explore existing theories for texts, advantages and problems involved with these different theoretical perspectives and also to present a new vision for viewing 'musical textuality' in terms of texts which are brought to life in a living context. In the first chapter, the major subject was exploring music as an *episteme*, a way of understanding 'musical' knowledge and the importance of musical information in communicating very specific cultural information, deeply involved with an individual's sense of being within a given culture at a specific time and place. The whole concept of 'musical knowledge' and the way such sensual information becomes 'shared' was looked into, helping us to find the 'I' among the 'Other'. In this chapter, the intention is to take this discussion further by exploring the forms in which this 'shared' knowledge is communicated, and to what extent realisations of musicality can be seen as 'texts'. By exploring musical 'textuality', the dynamic way individuals make *texts* real by embodying them in an environment, I hope to present an alternative to existing approaches to the text which are based on very western forms of 'literariness'.

The traditional western approach to texts is based on the *Langue/Parole* model presented by de Saussure where the text becomes the object 'bearing' the knowledge in an almost abstract sense, and the reader the 'passive learning party' who plucks the text out of an almost mythical, amorphous textual space and contextualises it in her or her life. Texts are generally experienced as abstract vehicles. Lansing demonstrates that a "progressive distancing of author, and the reader" (1983: 91) from a text is still a major part of certain movements within the post-structuralist theoretical world. In terms of literature it is naturally possible to interpret books without considering the context in which they were 'composed' seeing that we don't have to know the authors personally to be able to understand what is happening in their work. This contextual understanding is assumed to exist in the mind of the reader, even though for every individual this knowledge will exist in a different way meaning the signification will change for every different culture and every different individual: these are examples of 'individual contextualisations'. Thanks to the uniting function of language, literature crosses many cultural boundaries and borders. In terms of music, however, the contextual knowledge is not as easily transportable. In spite of this, many western musicologists generally consider the signification of music to exist outside such 'contextualisation'; individuals are assumed to have the same possibility for contextualising the work because the music is considered to have universal value. In a similar fashion it is often thought that music is possible to analyse outside the context of its performance, i.e. as a score or a recording. The notated score has become 'disembedded' from its context and its performance thanks to the institutions which perpetuate this musical notation system.

In this introductory section, a foundation is made by discussing existing approaches to the text, which includes insights provided by Benveniste, Lotman and other theorists who have been working in this field. The second

major topic is the Work/Text distinction set-up by Ricœur and dismantled by Barthes, a distinction which presents a static and structurally 'fixed' approach to realising textuality. With assistance from Barthes and his *flexible* Text, performance itself is viewed as another alternative expression of textuality. This leads naturally to the next topic involving the Text as a tool which can be used to both perpetuate culture and to change it. This is significant as it is these types of 'texts' which will play a role in explaining cultural change on Bali. Chapter Two is concluded by discussing the non-closed 'musical' text and the popularity of multimedial performance texts.

I'd like to present some terminology at this point so that there will be no confusion when the matters are brought into discussion. An important distinction is made between a *Work* and a *Text.* Here the *Text* is seen as a non-closed, dynamic communicative vehicle whereas a *Work* is the paternal, closed, complete volume (or book) about whose knowledge there is no ambiguity. When I refer to *texts*, I am usually referring to dynamic communicative vehicles rather than static ones. There are many different types of 'texts', the most significant to this discussion being the *transcendent text,* the *artistic* or *cultural text,* the *musical text* and the *performance text.* The *transcendent* text is an idealised vehicle of knowledge; it is a piece of wishful thinking behind traditional western approaches to textual knowledge. It believes in a *Langue*-like existence of knowledge which doesn't have to be 'contextualised' to exist; this knowledge is therefore 'transcendent' of any temporal, spatial or historical context. An *artistic text* (or a *cultural* text) is a very general term used for all vehicles which can contain culturally significant knowledge; in some ways it is the very opposite of the *transcendent* text. *Artistic texts* include books, paintings and performances. *Musical texts* and *performance texts* are both types of artistic texts. These terms will be made clearer as the reader works through the chapter. I also refer to *textuality*, for example *musical textuality.* Here I'm referring to the ability individuals have to make use of or 'apply' specific artistic texts in given real-life situations. This element is particularly significant to performance texts of any type where the *textuality* is based on performative parameters; without the 'performative' aspect such texts cannot exist. *Texts*, then, are cultural vehicles, whereas *textualities* are dynamic potentials existing in individuals.

Discussing musical performance as 'text' seems at first to be a contradiction in its own terms because of the verbally-based signification mostly connected with the notion of a 'text' or of something 'textual'. If, however, we observe the etymology of *text* which can be traced back to the Latin word 'textus', we are provided with an image of a complex weave of elements, combining to provide the *text*ure in which a set of culturally determined events occur. The way we look at 'texts' has to be extended in such a way that it is possible for the 'text' to exist in a Ricœurian sense on paper (or in the case of ancient Balinese texts, on palm leaves which are widely referred to as *lontar*), but also in such a way that we are able to encompass the dynamism of performance, a 'meaning' which continually changes depending on the needs of the individuals involved and the circumstances in which the *text* is performed.

In this chapter, the intention is to explore the ways the *artistic* (or 'cultural') texts specific to a given culture are continually reinscribed into the present, and at the same time to examine the means which are used to realise these texts in the experience of both observers and participants. Balinese musical texts weave their way in and out of the lives of the Balinese, simultaneously creating and perpetuating Balinese culture. These 'musical' texts are indeed cultural texts that are inextricably intertwined with the life of the Balinese, involved in such a way that it is impossible to disentangle them from their social and ritual context. By taking a journey through different ways of approaching text and textuality, I hope to present a model for understanding the text which can encompass the complexity of Balinese performance.

The way we educate our population to view 'texts' is based on a very 'literary' approach to the notion of textuality or text creation where the role of 'writer', 'textual content' and 'reader' are processes strongly abstracted from one another. Our 'texts' are little more than frozen instances of discourse, divorced at least theoretically from the context of their creation. This notion of the *Text*, finding perhaps its ultimate expression in the work of Ricœur, is based on a form of hermeneutics which sees the text strongly linked to a process of *interpretation* rather than to a *creative* one. This approach to hermeneutics has had an inevitable impact on other disciplines such as anthropology and musicology; our static form of textual analysis is perhaps best exemplified by the way the musical texts of other cultures are treated within our culture: they are often wrapped in neat parcels for passive consumption. In these situations musicians are often stripped of their individuality, becoming mere tools for the interpretation of abstract musical goals. Furthermore, the interpretation is considered to be inherent within the musical work and sometimes the performer; music semiotics tends to view the potential of the 'creative audience' negatively. In an age which still reflects a 'hyper-literary' approach to inscription, it is not surprising that musical texts, such as scores, are considered possible to be used as the basis for analytical research. It seems remarkable that the inscribed form of music can be considered as a valid means for recording information about music in its own right, considering musical processes can only occur in spatial and temporal environments, and can only 'signify' thanks to their *Dasein*. Monelle mentions this hyper-literary approach to musical notation in his volume on semiotics and linguistics in music:

> Western analysts always work with the score; but it has been objected that the graphic elements of the musical sign is not music, not even its reflection, but only an *aide-memoire.* Music only exists in the state of sonorous manifestation. If the 'state of sonorous manifestation' means performance then analysts have a difficult problem, for all performances are different. (Monelle 1992: 214)

Further in this discussion I hope to create an approach to musical textuality which will use the performative environment as the basis for musical analysis. In many cultures, this adds up to reinterpreting existing texts in a new way, which is clearly represented in both Tamil and Balinese recontextualisations of their 'texts'. Within our culture, one type of text has predominated the theoretical world: the book, in the form of inscribed and permanent knowledge. This has led us, as Zürbuchen suggests, to misunderstanding the multimedial nature of performance texts, like reading a play and assuming that it would never be performed (1987: 25). Kristeva also makes a clear statement against what she refers to as the "*flat* object that linguistics . . . proposes as the text" (1975: 203). The model she presents is directed on the one hand towards "the signifying system from which it [the text] has arisen", but also towards "the social process in which, as discourse, it participates (ibid.). Here she is viewing the realisation of the western text, which Ricœur attempted to demonstrate was an objectified process totally abstracted from the context of its writing. For Kristeva, text is not considered as frozen discourse, but as a dynamic means to discursive ends. Through discussing the work of Ricœur and the field of hermeneutics, we will demonstrate the problematic nature of the 'transcendent' text in this field of western research. To encompass 'texts' in oral and partially literate cultures we require a far broader conceptual basis, one which includes the phenomenological realisation of the text as it is realised in a living environment. As Barthes notes, Text is indeed a 'social space' to which individuals involved in the process give new and immediate life.

We can thank Benveniste for a major development in linguistic theory which provides a first step towards an embedded approach to the text. He was the first to consider discourse on a plane apart from language, or rather he considered the linguistics of language on a different plane to the linguistics of discourse: the 'word' was the irreducible unit of language, whereas the 'sentence' was the irreducible unit of discourse. For Benveniste, discourse is based on 'events' which he interpreted as 'instances of discourse'. These *events* are embedded in temporal and spatial environments, i.e. somewhere at some time referring to something. This was undoubtedly influential to Austin, the philosopher who developed an approach to textuality where sentences are considered to be irreducible *speech acts* which realise particular functions in the world, and also to Ricœur who expanded considerably upon existing approaches to text and textuality within the field of hermeneutics. Unfortunately, as I will demonstrate, Ricœur's theory of the text attempted to nullify the contextual aspects of 'texts', considering again the language realised as text transcendent of its context. When the writer lifts his (or her) pen, the text becomes divorced from its creator and is 'free to enter into relation with all the other texts which come to take place of the circumstantial reality referred to by living speech' [*chaque texte est libre d'entrer en rapport avec tous les autres textes qui viennent prendre la place de la réalité circonstancielle montrée par la parole vivante*] (1986: 158). According to Ricœur, the text becomes a dialogical process where the act of writing and reading text are strictly and completely divorced: "…le livre sépare plutôt en deux versants l'acte d'écrire et l'acte l'écriture" (1986: 155). After the writer has figuratively launched his or her text into space, the reader, when reading the text, takes it from its *Langue*-like state suspended above material reality, retaining no sensual connection with the author or the act of its writing. The ultimate goal of Ricœur's approach to the text represents an application of the western *episteme* which involves the longing for permanence and completion, communicating a desire for the *transcendent text*, one which exists outside of the environment in which it is created or read, for example in a library or as part of an encyclopaedia or CD-ROM where the knowledge exists on its own. Speech, then, is physically present in the world—it occurs as an event in space and time—while text hangs in an unworldly suspension, awaiting a reader who may draw it into his or her world through the act of reading. Texts, according to Ricœur, become timeless and completely detached from the world. By inscribing discourse in this way, Ricœur realised text as a Saussurian *Langue*, whereas the dangerously unreliable realisation of discourse became *Parole* in the performative sense, an unreliable realisation of textuality.

Lotman provided a contrasting approach to the text. He didn't define himself as a *hermeneut* and ascribed many more functions to the notion of text than Ricœur. He considered that everything recognised as being culturally meaningful could be called a 'text', whether that complex cultural object be made up of signs from the repertory of verbal language, or other types of artistic communication such as drawings, behavioural sequences and music. One of his main arguments was that each culture has its own *mechanisms* for creating and comprehending texts which are acceptable inside the culture, which he compared to the 'non-texts' of other cultures which were essentially incomprehensible. He discusses the possibility, or indeed the necessity, of creating *subversive* texts which function to counter-act some of the other mechanisms which are at work within a culture. In opposition to a structural approach which saw texts as static objects with a set of permanent meanings, the mechanisms within Lotman's texts created contexts for their own subversion, and stood against the notion of the *transcendent text*. Also,

Lotman's theory recognised that art was a process which involved *interaction* with the world rather than a static *representation* of a given time and place.

The next major theoretical development I'd like to discuss briefly doesn't involve in so many words the issue of text, rather of *speech*. We use the term *speech* to refer to language in action or the dynamic vocal realisation of discourse comparable to de Saussure's *Parole*. Philosophical developments within the field of language philosophy were to provide alternative insights into the interpretation of *speech*. Here I am referring to the philosophy of Wittgenstein (1889-1951), and Austin (1911-1960). The later Wittgenstein and Austin attempted to demonstrate that *speech* was much more than the words used in the action of speaking. They demonstrated that individuals were performing specific tasks which were entirely independent of the words spoken, questioning once and for all the *Langue/Parole – Language/Speech* hierarchy which had dominated philosophy and hermeneutics. In one of his important later works, *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein demonstrated the importance of looking at how language is used in particular situations rather than as an abstract system or grammar which followed set rules. He interpreted words as tools, realising that different linguistic expressions could be used to express many different functions. Speech, therefore, became a *vehicle* which could be used to transmit meaning. His most important achievement, which was to be taken on and developed further by Austin, was that the meaning of given linguistic expressions could only be understood within the rules of the [language] games we are playing, realising that in every different situation we are involved in particular types of communicative situations based on discourse with its own set of sounds and processes. The things we might say while in a debate or while bartering in a market are both examples of contrasting language games. The communicative act is but a vehicle designed to streamline communication of this type, and therefore *discourse* itself became its own type of dynamic *textuality*. He realised that language is not so much a system as a way of interacting with the world, a notion which was to have major implications for his followers.

Austin is best remembered for his *speech-act* theory which was to develop considerably on ideas realised by Wittgenstein. This theory arose from his realisation that many things we say are not merely a description of reality, but perform an action, i.e. we can promise, curse or forgive merely by uttering a sound. His theories were a practical tool used to understand what went on in dynamic linguistic communicative events he referred to as *speech-acts*, dynamic tasks whose signification is dependent on contextual factors. He managed to demonstrate that there was really no point in attempting to create an all-encompassing theory for language, because every speech situation demands a new interpretation of a given utterance: traditional approaches to linguistic signification were simply not sufficient to encompass the myriad array of interpretations which could be placed on one word. This was perhaps the strongest blow ever to the traditional structural approach to signification embedded in the philosophical quest for truth claims: saying whether something was true or not didn't actually achieve anything more than a 'locutionary' (intended meaning) realisation of a given *speech-event*. Austin directed the attention of philosophy to language as a real occurrence rather than language as an ideal. This has led to a new movement in linguistics. Halliday and his *systemic-functional* approach to language is a clear example of this general development. The question is, what sort of information does this provide us with which can help us to broaden the traditional interpretation of *text* and *textuality*? The lesson here is that language is more than the words which it is made up of, more than the sum of its parts. This questions structural linguistics and represents another expression of a new paradigm which emphasises the importance of understanding enaction in a dynamic environment rather than the glib expression of a larger structure.

I have attempted to demonstrate that our literary heritage has greatly influenced the way we view *textuality*, and that it is only through questioning these approaches that we can move forward and view text under a new light. In the following discussion I will be attempting to demonstrate that the 'text' is a positive way to approach the realisation of musical experience in an embedded environment. As mentioned, however, existing approaches to the text will have to be questioned, particularly that of Ricœur. For Ricœur, any 'Text' *is* a *Work* meaning that it is not possible to consider its signification by reducing it to its individual sentences; for Ricœur the *Work* is a representation of the wholeness of the *Text*. His attempt to define the *Work* is based on three basic understandings. Firstly it has to be longer than a sentence, meaning that it has to be in the realm of discourse and out of the realm of linguistics. Secondly, Ricœur notes that the *Work* in some way obeys particular rules of structure to turn it into a recognisable type of *Text*, in other words, a literary genre; it is due to a series of agreed upon conventions which make given *Works* comprehensible. Ricœur describes the system of codification which transforms discourse into some kind of literature as *Texts*, and the *product* of this system as the *Works* (1988: 153-169). Thirdly and lastly, the *Work* is text which is styled in such a way that its readers will recognise the author. These three ways of seeing the *Work* as an expression of *Text*, *Text* as discourse, discourse as literary genre and the unique style which a *Work*'s writer develops, seem to represent fairly standard ways of looking at literature. These ideas, however, have also seeped across into other disciplines and are in many ways inappropriate for 'texts' which are *performed* rather than read. Roland Barthes, the semiotician from the *Tel Quel* school in Paris, rethought the notion of *Work* and

Text in a way which questions the flat security of Ricœur's hermeneutics. Barthes developed a sociopolitical approach almost deliberately opposed to Ricœur's which functions to question the static literary condition which produces its *Works*. Barthes posited that the prevailing approach to the *Work* gives priority to the figure of the author, and involves exploration of 'liberated' text in its own context and by its own internal means. The approach to music perpetuated in our culture primarily through musical institutions is deeply embedded in the paradigm of the *Work*, where the score is believed to hold any useful 'musical knowledge' in the way that books are considered to. The application of the *Work* in the real-life of its readers is rarely the subject of hermeneutics, even though it is this type of information which cultural anthropology uses as its basic research material: living texts performed in cultural situations.

Barthes sees the *Work* paradigm as a static one, which we find in the language of his article: "l'œuvre [*Work*] est un fragment de substance, elle occupe une portion de l'espace des livres (par exemples dans une bibliothèque)…" (1984: 72-73). He goes on further to describe the figure of the author, which he sees in a patriarchal sense, one in which the author's copyright is accepted as a given, one which attributes total control to the figure of the author. He describes the *Author* as follows: "L'auteur est répute le père et le propriétaire de son œuvre; la science littéraire apprend doc *à respecter* le manuscrit les intentions déclarées de l'auteur, et la société postule une égalité du rapport de l'auteur à son œuvre..." (Barthes 1984 : 76). This approach to *Text* as *Work* is inculcated continually—from learning how to read in school to the study of literature at university—and affects to a great deal the way we approach cultural material produced by other cultures. The very fact that the *Work* is considered as a completed event in its own right becomes immediately problematic when you see the improvisation involved in the realisation of performance texts; in Balinese *Wayang Kulit*, for example, the performers adapt their 'Works' to a particular social and spatial environment. Barthes saw text as a complex meaning-bearing unit that could not be seen in terms of its 'closure', in other words it cannot be accorded with a range of meanings which are representative of a general truth; *Text* became a dynamic field of signification which involved interaction between the environment and the textual material. As he saw it, the text could be experienced "only in an activity of production, not as a static unity" (Silverman, 1983: 250). What Barthes is perhaps best remembered for is the fact that he took textuality far beyond just a series of sentences applicable to certain rules, but a range of possible non-closed systems which are expressed in contrasting systemic structures, such as 'French fashion design'. Here we see the emphasis being taken off the writer and onto the reader who 'constructs' the *Text* dynamically. In comparison to the *Work*, Barthes describes his text as follows:

> Le texte, lui, est un champ méthodologique. . . l'œuvre se voit (chez les librairies, dans les fichiers, dans les programmes d'examen), le texte se démontre . . . l'œuvre se tient dans la main, le texte se tient dans le langage : il n'existe que pris dans un discours . . . *le Texte ne s'éprouve que dans un travail, une production.* (Barthes 1984 : 73)

Text, then, is seen not to be the product which the individual reads or in some way interprets, but as a *process* which individuals undergo when they are confronted with any cultural material, be that a 'Work' in the Ricœurian sense or any other significative system we share with others. Here the *Text* becomes more than its product, but a way of interpreting that product, and the significance of this approach will become clearer when we get closer to other contrasting (non-western) textual systems. Also, Barthes recognises that *Works* can be *Texts* in certain circumstances, but that the *Work* should not be the basis for the interpretation of the *Text*, having already demonstrated that the *Text* is itself in some way subversive or incomplete. The Work receives signification because of its textual aspects meaning an individual can provide dynamic signification; *Works* in themselves have no meaning until they are realised by an individual. Like Saussurian linguistics, the traditional approach to the *Work* longs for finite and complete conclusions about an author's intentions. Any culturally symbolic object such as a Work in the sense intended by Barthes is applied to Textual systems of understanding which are not closed and static, which change on every new reading: these are the dynamic *textualities* individuals use to understand texts.

This *Text/Work* analogy can be applied to certain types of western musical texts, especially in western musicology which uses the static 'work' as a basis for musical understanding. Western European musicologists have the tendency to analyse their 'texts' in a *disembedded* format such as in the form of scores or compact disks, changing them from Barthesian *Texts* into the 'fixed' or 'closed' Ricœurian *Work*. This creates a closed edifice where musical pedagogy is based on the analysis of existing 'Works' by composers long dead, viewing music in a step-ladder fashion beginning with embedded oral traditions in medieval church music and leading ever upwards towards the serial movement in the twentieth-century (perhaps music at its most 'disembedded'). The process of 'disembedding' our musical *Texts* has been a long and complex one. The intention here is to demonstrate some of the ways in which assumptions from our epistemological environment as it has developed over the last century have significantly altered the way we view the process of musical semiosis. From our epistemological base, the disembedded musical text is very often a basic given, an underlying unquestioned truth, at least in terms of traditional western musicology and the education of formal western music. Merriam mentions six major assumptions or basic givens about music which are often entirely inapplicable to other cultures: that the composer

or listener separates music from its context through a process of 'psychic distance'; that form is manipulated for its own sake; that the evaluation of music is strongly connected to standards of beauty; that the sound itself as music is what communicates or produces emotion; that music is a product of purposeful 'aesthetic' intent; and that it is possible and indeed necessary to verbalise ideas and theories about music and the experience of music (Marshall 1982: 162). Theory, in a sense, assists more in perpetuating its own episteme rather than providing an insight into 'music' and within our musical institutions the dialogue between theory and practice remains relatively small. Music in the occident is still to a large extent, for both those performing it and those theorising about it, 'innocent of its own ideology' (McClarey 1985: 153). Abstracted from its environment thanks to pedagogical processes, music becomes nothing more than neat, orderly sound; as McClarey notes, music is "sealed and stockpiled, prevented from speaking its narrative of violence and disorder" (ibid.). The implication here is that through inculcating certain processes perpetuated by institutions within our society, music is freed from any potentially questioning function, the essential role the avant-garde within the arts has always played. Music has been paralysed from the neck down, simplified to little more than the sound it makes. To demonstrate this, McClarey discusses the Schenkerian system of musical analysis which has become a generally accepted form of musical analysis in the United States and other parts of the English-speaking world. Schenker was an Austrian Jew who developed a neo-Hegelian theoretical approach to music. He attempted to demonstrate the factors which connected all 'great' music, which we can only consider to be European music of the romantic era because the possibility for him to hear much else was not really an option at that time. The work containing his analytical system originally contained sections on "mysticism and German supremacy" although it was only accepted into general circulation after it had been stripped of all ideological trappings and elevated as a general method for viewing all music. Considering the motivation of Schenker's writing and the actual historical outcome of some of the epistemologies supporting his work, the process of disembedding has to be recognised as a misleading and potentially dangerous one.

Molino provided an interesting theory for artistic creation which was to be very influential to the development of musical semiotics. He developed upon work initiated by Paul Valery who was the first to confront the dynamic processes undergone in the realisation of art, seeing the experience of the participants to consist of two contrasting processes. Molino developed upon this, and threw three major terms into the theoretical arena. These terms were to provide a means to understand art, the objects of which he referred to as 'symbolic forms', and which he defined as "un signe ou un ensemble de signes auquel est rattaché un complexe infini d'interprétants" (Nattiez 1987: 8). *Poietic* and *esthesic* processes are intended to refer to creative processes in art. *Poietic* processes are those which actively result in the creation of symbolic forms. *Esthesic* processes are those undergone by individuals who are confronted by a symbolic form, processes which may result in significations of an entirely different symbolic entity to those intended by the artist. This duality was an interesting addition to a theoretical world of semiotics still grappling with the static image of the sender/receiver model. Here at least was the possibility for dynamic interaction transcending the passive sender/receiver model; one doesn't simply 'receive' a message, but actively *constructs* the meaning. Molino, however, was to introduce on top of these two modalities a level of analysis which takes its inspiration from the perplexing dilemma facing most theoreticians in the twentieth century: is reality objectifiable? And if it is objectifiable can it be understood with the limited human apparatus we are provided with? He referred to this third level as the *niveau nître*, or neutral level. This views the object as a work of art, objectified from the processes of creation or interpretation. It assumes that the symbolic form is analysable as an object *in itself*, and was pounced upon by Nattiez who adopted it as *the trace* in his major thesis on musical semiotics (1987: 34). Outside the process of musical creation (in composition) and interpretation (by a musician in performance) [in terms of the *poietic* dimension], and individual interpretation (by the audience) [in terms of the *esthesic* dimension], there exists an audible *trace* which can be analysed as an aural, scientific and entirely objectifiable object. The problematic dimension and the clear evocation of ever-present scientific fears are clearly present in Nattiez's model.

> *La trace :* la forme symbolique se manifeste physiquement et matériellement sous l'aspect d'une *trace* accessible aux sens. Une trace, puisque le processus poïétique n'est pas immédiatement lisible en elle, puisque le processus esthétique, s'il est en partie détermine par elle, doit beaucoup au vécu du récepteur. Pour cette trace, Molino propose le terme de « niveau nître » ou de « niveau matériel ». Il est possible de proposer de ce niveau nître une description objective, c'est-à-dire une analyse de ses propriétés et de ses configurations immanentes et récurrentes. On l'appellera ici « analyse du niveau nître » (Nattiez 1987: 34)

Nattiez has been criticised for his structural tendencies and ethnomusicologists are continuing to propose methods for viewing musical understanding in terms of embedded rather than 'neutral' forms of analysis. Blacking, an ethnomusicologist who adopted self-reflexive techniques in his research, stated categorically that "in the analysis of oral traditions the *musical product* cannot be isolated as a *niveau nître*" (1979: 189). Here the *poietic* dimension (the making) and the *esthesic* dimensions (the perception) reign supreme. Nattiez as such has been labelled both an empiricist and a positivist (Monelle 1992: 29), although his work has continued to form the paradigmatic basis for practically all new developments within the field of musical semiotics.

The structural basis for musicology is not an innocent ideology; it is part of a specific institutional agenda involved with protecting a central core within an ivory tower from any cross-disciplinary threats to an ideal and impossible musical purity. Our culture has created a specific set of myths concerning musical knowledge, talent and ability through many of our officially accepted musical institutions such as conservatories. Musical creativity has become for many an idealised, almost divinified process only available to a select few within our society. The very existence of music as an autonomous category remains a historical product of western culture: in favour of greater productivity and efficiency, specialisation was necessary and so a greater number of individual art forms were created. A class of specialists came into existence who could only work in one single medium in which they obtained a high-level of technique. This resulted in an emphasis on technique and individual talent, which received its ultimate expression in the glorification of the individual artist. Barthes discusses this issue by noting how the schism between amateur and professional musicianship came about. He mentions a time when "practicing amateurs were numerous… and 'playing' and 'listening' formed a scarcely differentiated activity" in comparison to the contemporary experience of music which saw the amateur as merely the passive 'listener' who could not play, and the 'interpreter' "celui de l'interprète auquel le public bourgeois … déléguait son jeu" (1972: 78). As music in the classical sense—what was seen as dignified, free of its ideologies—became more and more a cultural entity available only to an elite few, the general acceptance of music as an elite and transcendent form of communication became more widely spread, and thus philosophers began to regard musical experience as something which was beyond their abilities to criticise as they weren't able to reach the rapidly increasing levels of virtuosity required by either a composer or a performer. This restriction led to an accepted belief in the natural superiority and universal applicability of western music, rather than as an epistemological expression of very particular ways of thinking about time and space. Not being able to question this because of the belief that it was only the selected few who could participate in music, a Eurocentric approach to musical behaviour began to spread to all disciplines, something still hard to shake out of a musicology which still believes in the ideology it perpetuates. Langer, a philosopher who attempted to write about music, notes as a mere aside that in Europe "music has certainly had its fullest development" (1953: 143). Such a statement insinuates very suspect assumptions by western musicological discourse.

A phenomenological approach to the role of the individual in musical processes should include the following three perspectives: (i) the creative role of the composer, (ii) creative role of the performer, and (iii) the creative role of the listener. Such an approach does not involve an elitist subordination of one level above the other: all are considered to be an essential and inevitable part of the creative act. If a listener or participant in a musical event is able to use the tools provided to him or her via formal education or subtle and continuing processes of social inculcation then a significant artistic event has taken place, one involved with 'aesthetic' or 'sensual' signification. Music is a complex cultural entity connected epistemologically to how we experience time and space, although we may not be aware of it. We are left, then, with two major approaches to musical creation in a phenomenological fashion. On the one hand we are involved with the creative process which is taken on by individuals to comprehend musical experience, be they the composers, performers or listeners/participants. Each individual provides their own unique insight into 'symbolic forms' such as music, although as explored members of the same culture often make use of similar tools for the comprehension of this musical experience. We have referred to these tools as 'musical textualities'. In this way the dynamic phenomenological way music perpetuates vital cultural information is demonstrated, particularly in the way it channels our range of thought, and also the in way it frees us in experiencing the world in new ways. This has led to a general movement in ethnomusicology where music of another culture is only explored to the extent that the theoretician can compare the new music to works they have related to existentially or phenomenologically as a part of their own cultural upbringing. A primary example of this expression can be found in the work of the ethnomusicologist Blacking when writing about Venda music. Using this culture, with its contrasts and ambiguities, Blacking attempted to communicate information about the social basis of human musicality by comparing it to his own vital experience of musicality and its fragile human aspects.

I have attempted to demonstrate that all the parties who participate in a 'textual' activity play an important role in the function of signification. In other words, even in terms of western texts, any meaning inherent in the 'work' being read is not passively taken on by an individual according to a system of significative rules. Rather individuals are involved in an active process of interaction with the text in some way, relating it to their environment and the situation they find themselves in. Kristeva, moving against the Saussurian school from which the *Tel Quel* group emerged, demonstrated the importance of enactment or 'production' in describing her semanalysis system which "sets out to reveal the existence of a combinatory process which constitutes an operation, a form of *production*, rather than simply to *describe* a structure" (Feral 1980: 278). Here the whole Balinese concept of 'Desa Kala Patra' is evoked which was discussed in the first chapter in relation to the Balinese *musical episteme*: the enactive text signifies depending on spatial, temporal and contextual processes.

We can thank Barthes, also originally a *Tel Quel* member, for another major theoretical development significant to this work involving the individual and the dynamic process of textual enactment. He referred to a process entitled *jouissance* to empower the role of the individual in the experience of a text, suggesting that textual processes involve one's access to an existential 'state of realisation' at given moments. Discussing the 'grain' of the voice, Barthes made a similar analogy to the musical experience as an active and dynamic one, directly involved with an individual's sensual contact with music, what he refers to as an 'aesthetics' of musical pleasure. The whole notion of *jouissance* in textual enactment is certainly significant to Balinese culture. Herbst comments on the fact that the this sense of pleasure is "very basic to [Balinese] performance," and that it is almost impossible to not notice it, which he describes as "joy in the physical sensations of resonance and rhythm as well as the kinaesthetic feeling of ensemble" (1997: 114). It is interesting to note that the Balinese also have a term to refer to this type of dynamic interaction with given cultural texts, the formidable experience of *Taksu*. Actually similar to Barthes' *jouissance*, *Taksu* is involved with an individual's pleasure in experiencing the sensual aspect of the 'performance', in other words the realisation of the text. It is also a direct contact with Balinese spiritual life, being at one and the same time a fragment of history and a dynamically realised piece of the present which signifies to all the participants. This is also not only restricted to 'traditional' texts, in other words general stories which are taken from Balinese myth and are recited and elaborated in the context of performance. I have witnessed works of contemporary Balinese performance, avant-garde in nature, in which the performer achieves *Taksu.* In an interview with Made Agus Wardana—the composer/performer involved in the event—he used the Indonesian term 'meminding' to refer to this state which can be literally translated as meaning 'feeling eerie': here *jouissance* involves another level of physical expression. The enactment of texts is obviously of vital importance in understanding how texts can communicate their meanings. In other words, there is more to a text than a sum of its parts.

In Chapter One we discussed the notion of multimedial musicality, extending the boundaries of what could be described as 'musical experience'. Pure and objective 'musicality' was rendered an impossible fantasy of western musicology. Including a multimedial approach to music opens a whole range of new ways to look at how musical 'texts' refer to things outside the musical experience, to which I have assigned the term *musical intertextuality*. Beginning with sound-based musical expression, intertextual means are evoked in many different ways. It can direct the listener, for example, to relate the musical text with another form of music, a form of recognition and identification. This of course refers to genre and style of playing, such as baroque or romantic music on the one hand, and reggae or techno music on the other. This sort of intertextual level of musical understanding is extremely important and can communicate many different types of information, from the listener's religious beliefs to his or her social status, or even phenomenological information concerning their current ontological situation. In a multimedial sense music has a wide range of deictical possibilities. In Balinese music, the intertextual experience is a basic source of Balinese musical understanding. One of their music's prime functions is to direct the attention of the gods to the performance. Balinese 'theatricality' (a particularly type of dynamic *stage presence* or 'gaya' directs the listeners to other levels of experiencing music involving unique types of interaction between members of the orchestra. The musical performance text is of the utmost importance to dance, providing the dancers with a complex set of deictical tools which they use as cues for certain movements.

There is also another level of musical *textuality* which I have defined as 'musical intratextuality'. This refers to the fact that musical structures can be defined simply to point to themselves, to demonstrate certain musical elements. A clear example is western musical forms such as the recurring themes in a symphony: all that is being communicated is the fact that there is a pattern and logic to the musical structure in question. In other words, it directs the listeners to the fact that they are listening to a symphony. In terms of multimedial musicality this is extended to a certain degree. A primary example is rhyme in poetry. Generally—but not always—poetry has a language-based message to communicate. The rhyme, however, directs one's attention to the way the 'message' is spread out on the page and the way it is dynamically experienced when read (either live or when read silently). Rhyme may have originally functioned as a tool for pre-literate people to remember and pass on enormously long mythical tales. Today, however, rhyme generally plays a 'deictical' role; as introduced in 1.4 Altman presents the notion of 'intratextual rewriting' (1979: 42) to refer to this non-verbal recurring element inherent in certain forms of textuality. This involves elements in texts which are not meant to have a (literally) discursive function: they point purely towards the form itself.

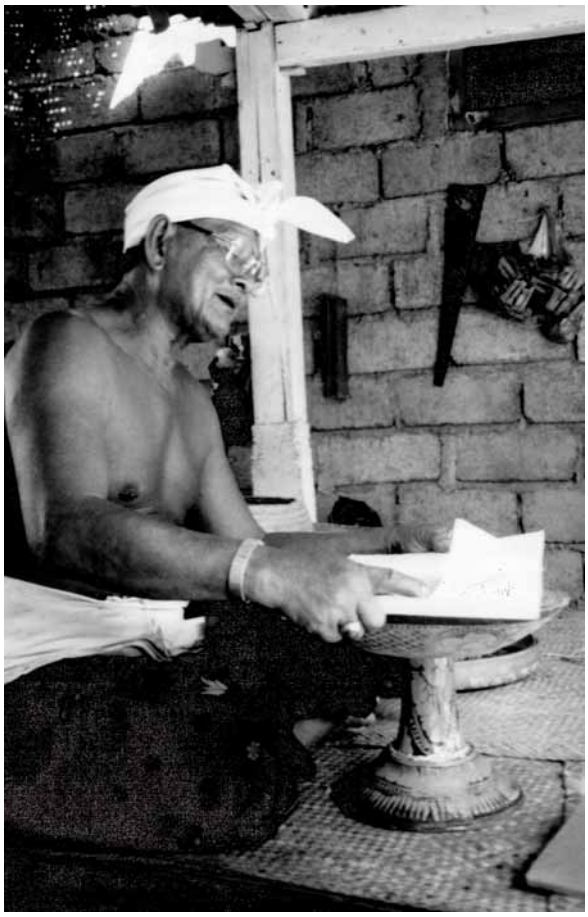
In the previous discussion the intention has been to examine existing approach to both *texts* and the notion of *textuality*. We have compared Barthes' dynamic approach to Ricœur's closed model and explored aspects involving the dynamic realisation of 'texts' in the context of *processes*, comparing the silent act of 'reading' texts to the dynamic aspects of discourse being realised in given spaces and at a given times as *enacted discourse* or *speech.* The ultimate intention has been to compare the epistemological mould which has shaped our 'hyper-literary' approach to the *disembedded* musical text to a far more *flexible* approach to text as a dynamic, non-closed realisation by individuals of *textualities*, methods for the comprehension of a culture's texts as analysed by

individuals *somewhere* and at *sometime.* The following discussion involves a more complex analysis of *text* in terms of its performance in such environments.

2.2 Text as Performance

In the conservatories of today, students are taught to respect notation. What some people today don't realise is that many instrumental parts were only foundations around which performers were permitted to improvise. In other words, the act of reading the music plays a different role today than it did when it was originally composed. Students are taught the 'laws' of western harmony and often that it has no meaning outside of its harmonic structure. Musical textuality is often considered as an 'inscribed' object in the permanent form of digital video and audio media. This is based on very specific ideas about what music is and the role it plays within our society; it is not necessarily representative of non-western music or forms of western musical experience such as pop or jazz. In many of these forms, specific musical 'events' are recognised and some aspects remain the same, for example the text, melody and a basic harmonic structure, i.e. pop groups can play 'covers'. The way the performers bring their 'texts' to life, however, is dependent on contextual factors, adjusting to an audience or applying new additions because of the particular ability of performers. It is generally accepted, especially on an amateur level, that no performance is exactly the same, and individual developments on the spur of the moment can lead to new and exciting extemporisations. In terms of classical formal music within our culture, although there is obviously some form of interaction between environment and playing style, adding a new melodic lick to a piece of *inscribed* musical text, for example, or a third violin part to a string quartet, would simply not be acceptable: the music which exists on paper has become frozen in certain social and formal contexts. This is a reflection of the general western approach to texts: we are taught to believe in the security of recorded (inscribed) knowledge. A general folk understanding in our culture is that you are in many cases not considered a 'real' musician if you can't *read* music. In our culture, 'oral' forms of musical realisation such as pop and jazz are generally considered less significant because they are improvised as opposed to the permanent form of the score which retains the knowledge for a future *ad infinitum.* Musical textuality has to be seen as the dynamic potential that living musical texts realise in spatial and temporal contexts. A musical text is *not* its static reproduction using a (somewhat) simplistic notation system using height/tone metaphors where the higher the dot is placed on an artificial axis, the higher the tone, assuming in the western fashion that one 'starts' from the beginning on the left and ends on the right (and that one reads from the top to the bottom of a page). The assumptions that are made by many of our musicologists propose very many ethical problems to an intercultural theorist. The

major point I would like to make is that it was the whole process of *reading* music in a score that made it difficult for me to enter into a Javanese musical world. Polansky, an American composer, has suggested that the notation of music makes the whole musical experience more 'democratic' (Diamond, 1990: 16). Through personal experience, precisely the opposite was demonstrated, that musical notation segregates music in cultural and economic ways: Who teaches this music? Where is it taught? Is it not more democratic to naturally acquire knowledge of music through the environment than artificially learning it in controlled environments? Notation in our culture in many cases restricts the access of members of our culture to 'higher' musical knowledge, and allows those who do have access to it to maintain a *status quo* on what is considered to be truly musical. This reflects a 'hyper-literary' approach to textual signification, and in the context of this discussion I will be demonstrating how problematic some of these assumptions are, especially in terms of coming to an understanding of the way other cultures experience their texts.



Even within the context of 'hyper-literary' culture, theatre is something we want to *see* and not to *read.* Our performance texts are generally seen as being poor excuses for the real thing: most of us prefer to see theatre scripts enacted in real time on stage rather than reading them on our own at home. Still we have developed a commitment to the potential of the 'disembedded' *Text*, especially when it comes to music. Very often we base our analysis of a culture on our understanding of their 'texts'. As Kapferer observes, however, "the way a text reaches its audience is no less an important dimension of the structure" (1986: 192). He considers that 'performance' constitutes a unity of text and enactment, neither being reducible to the other. In this discussion, we explore the power of text in terms of its enactment, an important example being speech as performative action, which is extended to include music. The overall intention is to demonstrate how important the live and performative aspect is in understanding even Balinese 'literary' texts, which are very often considered in a musical fashion, and are only considered to have signification while they are being performed. Before we start this discussion, I'd like to repeat a few clear distinctions and definitions to help avoid any ambiguities regarding the theory. With the term *artistic* (or alternatively *cultural*) *text*, I'm referring to a Lotmanian vehicle in which cultural information can be communicated but whose signification is highly contextual. How the texts *themselves* can bring about the change is also an important issue, and we'll be presenting information about the way Balinese *artistic texts* have been able to do this. I refer to the terms *performance text* and *musical text* to specify the quality of an *artistic text*

In our culture, the primary method of realising 'textual knowledge' is possible thanks to the process of reading. In other cultures, different methods of knowledge transferral are adopted – sometimes radically different. *Speech* is another dynamic tool we as humans can use to interact with the world, and in a general sense it is most certainly 'universal'. As demonstrated in the work of Austin discussed above, we use *speech-acts* to bring about dynamic changes in our environment, and to perform tasks. According to Goodman, speech can be used almost as a physical tool, a blunt object performing an 'obstructive' or 'disruptive' function. A typical example is chanting for political purposes or for football. This adoption of speech is in its most primitive sense has little to do with 'speech', but with the sound-based power of our voices. Goodman notes, however, that reverting to speech as noise, using it as a physical thing 'to disrupt routine and compel attention' is "politically rational for any group that believes it is constitutionally powerless and therefore has recourse to the irreducible political power that everybody has, his bodily behaviour in the space that he occupies" (1973: 22). In our own culture making use of speech is often a last resort action made use of by the desperate because it has the dynamic element of the real-life

performance embedded within it: without sound, speech is impossible. This contrasts to the politically tame 'text' which lives its life passively on the pages of a book. It comes to bear that language and speech are generally taught today as just that, fields of empty signifiers which act as tools to transfer 'knowledge' from one party to another, ultimately having no affect on the message being communicated. I hope to demonstrate, however, that the way the message communicates is as important as the message itself, and that this is something we should not lose sight of in the context of musical textuality.

In contemporary western culture it would be ridiculous to suggest that enacted discourse, expressed as speech, does not play an important role. Rhetoric and dynamism in textual expression is an integral part of major sociocultural institutions including the economy, politics and the legal system. In situations involved in these areas, for example a politician giving a speech to potential voters or a salesman trying to sell a vacuum-cleaner, *what* they actually say is not so important: true rhetoric depends on *how* you transmit the information, *how* you make the information accessible to any participants involved in the communicative process. The whole issue of text, speech and discourse may seem at first glance cut and dried, at least in our situation. Ricœur suggests, however, that when something is put into a written form, it becomes a *Text* and loses all connection with its immediate environment. However, if we consider, for example, theatrical texts, simply accessing the abstract textual information inherent in the written text isn't enough: we want to *see* real actors performing the words. There is no doubt, therefore, that speech plays an important role in our culture. The enactive role of speech can be felt in other aspects of our culture, the words blasphemy and taboo coming immediately to mind. From an intellectual perspective, if we say things it seems simply that we are stating something: nothing more, nothing less. But the amount of signification which one attaches to certain types of language use, even within our 'cultivated' culture, is quite remarkable. Swearing, for example, can cause great discomfort in certain social situations, and can even result in the party using such 'abusive language' being arrested or sent away. We believe, therefore, far more than we may realise it, how strong and significant spoken or enacted discourse (speech) actually is.

As mentioned, a belief in the enriched depth of enacted speech is common in many Southeast Asian countries, including most certainly Java and Bali. The Javanese cultural heritage is experienced daily in the Bali of today; many Balinese people see themselves forming a part of the cultural heritage brought to Bali through the *Majapahit* empire. The tradition of unaccompanied singing in central Java was considered to be the most appropriate form for passing on their texts, meaning that although the culture had inscribed the 'words' of its text, they considered there to be another level of signification which could only be communicated or enacted. Reciting actually 'created' certain melodies, meaning the concept of reading was not a passive one: the process of reciting/singing was intimately connected with the semiosis of given texts. This can of course be compared to the ancient Gregorian chants where the 'texts' were inflected to add a performative level to the enactment of ritual text creation. The word 'reading' itself included other levels of experiencing language. Lansing in his important work on Balinese religion describes this general approach to the realisation of textuality as the 'sounding of the texts'. At one and the same time the texts achieve articulation of words, sounding of melody and realisation of signification. This practice of singing texts extended to many different levels of Javanese life, including letters, storytelling, rituals, prayers and teaching. Despite our medieval heritage, it is comparatively difficult for us to imagine a state of mind which sees melody in all writing. It is also hard to imagine viewing 'text' as a medium which only transmits meaning through performance, which such a textual iconicity suggests. At the same time, Foucault has demonstrated the iconicity of text in Europe and the Middle-ages and even up to the belief in 'resemblances' in general thought during the Renaissance. Considering this, contemporary theoretical approaches to textual signification is in many ways turning the tide. One can no longer question the fact that even if we are speaking about the past, because it is spoken, there is always a bit of the present, a bit of ourselves that pushes over into the meaning of what we may want to say, making the communication unique. Furthermore, exactly the 'same thing' can never be said twice, whether it's inscribed or not: the inevitable unfolding of time—which remains still unquestioned—takes care of this.

While trying to avoid any form of idealisation, it could be said that the Balinese culture of today experiences the full potential of its texts, uniting the embedded existence of old texts which can be traced back to ancient Javanese and Balinese sources with its current dynamic and joyous realisation. Lansing used the term 'iconicity' to refer to the conjunction of expression and signification, a concept which I will further develop upon in Chapter Three. He demonstrated that the more ancient a language is, embedded in history and mysticism, the more 'iconically' it is generally experienced (Lansing, 1983: 59). This is demonstrative of the mysticism inherent in a Balinese aural world. For the Balinese the absolute experience of the godhead, for example, is enclosed in the sound of the magical word 'om' and a series of other vocal sounds and codes which are embedded in their ritual realisation in a rich mystical environment. This way of experiencing textuality can be demonstrated in many different forms of theatre and ritual which will be discussed in more detail later. Perhaps the most unique example of the expression of a connection between musical intonation and language, however, is the set of signifiers which the Balinese have

developed to classify their music, suggesting a coherence between musical sounds and words. Changing vowel sounds are used to represent the notes of the Balinese gamelan's musical scale: *ding, dong, deng, dung* and *dang.* It is interesting to note that a few older gamelan with wholly sacred uses base the formal structure of some pieces on verse forms in classical poetry. The number of lines in the poem and the number of syllables in each line are used to determine the number of phrases in the melody and the number of beats in each phrase. Further, the vowel sounds used in the poetry can actually be mapped on to the musical phrase to construct the melody itself: a, e and i in the text became *dang, deng* and *ding* in the music suggesting an essential coherence between sound, language and music. This connection could suggest that music and language have evolved from a similar belief in the religious power of sound to bring about supernatural changes, reflected also in the use of magical mantras that have no translatable 'meaning' but are still believed to have magical effects. Of all languages, Sanskrit is considered by the Balinese to be the most religiously 'iconic'. Lansing informs us that "the power of Old and Middle Javanese poetry resides in no small part in its iconicity, and for this reason the manner of its sounding is critical for its efficacy" (1983: 87). In the Balinese world of today, texts are still embedded with rich non-discursive signification largely because of the dynamism present on the one hand in their interpretation and on the other, in their musical realisation in a living environment.

Zürbuchen points out the fact that it is simply impossible to classify the Balinese culture as either 'radically oral', 'preliterate' (1987: 23) or even 'semi' or 'half' literate. We know they are 'literate' to the extent that they have a large array of important texts which are in the graphic sense 'recorded' on paper, and that it is these texts they make use of in a performance context. It stops being literate in our sense when we realise that the Balinese do not consider that text truly 'signifies' until it is performed and only then interpreted into a form the Balinese can understand. The experience of realising texts often takes place in groups where people can discuss the relevance of given texts to their lives. It is a true misconception to consider Balinese texts to have definite interpretations which the Balinese repeat mechanically if their unique form of 'interpretation' of texts is considered. Geertz refers to the Balinese act of translation as one of "puzzle solving, medical diagnosis, or even some sort of philosophical inquiry" (1991: 177) rather than interpretation in the western sense. A text is considered to be a complex system of layers which have to be 'peeled away' to reach a set of signifiers which is significant to the contextual situation, often solving problems in people's lives or fulfilling other social functions. The researcher into Balinese textuality has to understand that the Balinese do not consider the written word to be a *representation* of something: it *is* rather the signification, which helps one understand why the performance element is so important. Through uttering text in sacred languages like Old Javanese or Sanskrit does something which can bring change to the world like Austinian *speech-acts.* This is the primary purpose of written literature. Recital, then, is not simply a means to understand a text; it is a performative act which is believed can change the world around it in some way. Sound in itself is believed to have power. It is clear, then, that the Balinese experience the 'sounded' word as a tool which can be used as such because it has power in its own right. This level of textuality, the purely performative, is a step further than the live reciting and interpretation of existing 'texts', but is no less powerful in expression.

Balinese conceptions of textuality extend in some ways beyond ours, and any textual model would have to be able to include these additional elements. Ricœur's image of the transcendent text is obviously insufficient: there the text is distanced from a particular time and place, and in the Balinese conception such a 'text' is impossible, or could only exist in a purely religious setting, i.e. the 'Ramayana' does exist as a volume, although it is only through application in given contexts that it signifies. In Ricœur's text, there is a signification which at the very least individuals are able to ascribe to it in the process of (silent) reading, and that meaning, although at the mercy of *interpretation,* is a pretty reliable constant, at least in Ricœur's theoretical sense (although this is ultimately impossible in creative writing or literature in general). We have, in any case, a distinction between the text and its interpretation, something which does not ring true in the same way for the Balinese. As demonstrated above, the word itself—or the sound of the utterance of the word—contains a significative power which is only possible in the sense of performative speech acts (Tambiah, 1985: 17-59). According to Lansing, Balinese texts are not in actual fact 'read', but 'sounded': he has created a theory for the 'sounding' of Balinese texts which is embedded in this contrasting concept of textuality, one in which words and music have power in their own right. This is further demonstrated by the two different forms of *Wayang Kulit* which both play an important role in Balinese life. The lesser-known form performed during the day known as *Wayang Lemah* is particularly interesting because the *dalang* is used almost purely for ritual functions. In this case, there is not often even an audience to watch the action (a human audience, anyway): the performance of the text has a ritual function which is designed for the gods. In this case, it is obvious that the 'meaning' implicit in the words is so strong that it doesn't even have to be heard by an audience for it to have meaning: the meaning is implicit in the very act of its performance.

Kersenboom has demonstrated in her work that Tamil 'texts' which have been written (or rather inscribed) on leaves known as 'olai' actually play the primary role of being memory aids to complex multimedial performance acts, and not the complete literary 'works' themselves as has been incorrectly presupposed by a generation of

western scholars. According to Kersenboom, “writing resulted in the inscription of verbal compositions onto palm leaves, but was never embraced as a full-fledged representation of knowledge nor was reading accepted as a method of knowledge acquisition” (1995: 7-8). Here Kersenboom makes clear the fact that the process of reading and writing are considered only a small part of signification by the Tamil culture. Dynamic inscription in a given environment is expressed through sound, word and image; these are three terms that are included in the Tamil concept of language. In terms of Tamil inscription, the text literally ‘inscribed’ onto the leaf is merely a tool for the assistance of vital information which is passed down by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Here, the meaning of the text depends on its environmental realisation, meaning that the interpretation of the inscribed signs can adapt to change rather than being permanently fixed in one form. The Balinese also have their ‘written’ texts: according to Zürbuchen Old Javanese poems, treatises and didactic works which were written in central Java during the 9th century were brought to Bali to be studied and copied onto palm-leaf manuscripts (1987: 14). Zürbuchen provides us with further insight: “the writing materials used down to the present in this tradition are specially prepared leaves (ran) of the *tal* palm (hence the words *rontal* and *lontar*, describing manuscripts), into which letters are cut using a small pointed blade” (1987: 43). Like their Javanese forefathers, the texts were inscribed and reinscribed, which resulted naturally in gradual change, and were also used as a basis for an entire performance tradition. Similar to the Tamil model, the *inscribed* text was and is *transformed into meaningful action* in the form of performance. This has two major implications for understanding Balinese inscription. Firstly, the text itself is not permanent—both *lontar* and *olai* must be regularly reinscribed because of the nature of the palm-leaves—meaning that as they are recopied to provide a series of texts for the next generation, gradual change occurs as they are elaborated upon and updated. Secondly, a whole dynamic performance tradition becomes based on these texts, and as is clear in terms of Balinese textuality, it is only through performance that these texts can communicate to the audience. If Balinese music is ‘notated’ as language is, then in a similar way its ‘signification’ depends on the contextual aspects of its realisation. Here it is clear that the inscription of music is comparable to verbal text. Sudra, a Balinese composer who is presently teaching at the STSI in Surakarta (Solo, Indonesia), states that the ‘absence’ of western-style notation “enriches our tradition by allowing many possible interpretations” (Sadra 1988: 22).

Many different social situations require the intonation and interpretation of texts in Bali. One of the simplest is the man at home who recites texts to himself and reflects on their meaning. Many older men can be seen or heard participating in this type of ‘reading’ or ‘translation’ of epics originally inscribed on Lontar. Another very important context is in the performance of the *Wayang Kulit*, where *dalang* are invited to perform in a village for religious purposes; they choose suitable texts from the epics which are then translated in *Kulit* performances by buffoonish servant characters who make the sacred texts accessible to a contemporary audience. The ability to use texts in this way is an important quality of the *dalang*: it is necessary for him to be able to bring the meaning of the performance to the audience not only through the literal content of the ‘text’, but through the complex weave of sound, music and theatricality which is so characteristic of *Wayang Kulit* performance. Not only is the programme accompanied by ‘music’ (the *Gender Wayang* repertoire), but the text itself is also of a musical nature: similar to the Gregorian chant, it is sung, and a strong sense of musicality exists in the structure of the intonation. There is also the well-known form of textual interpretation which is held during the meetings of a Balinese societal group, usually of older men, who get together and successively read and interpret texts. These meetings involve the discussion of their grammar, content and signification (Schumacher 1994: 5). A particular form of recitation is used which involves not only the interpretation of texts, but also a communal adoption of onomatopoeic phrases which turn the event into a dynamic musical performance; it is known as *Cakapung*. Other forms include the realisation of *Geguritan* texts in *Arja* (ancient Balinese texts of a secular nature) and texts adopted in a way similar to *Wayang Kulit* in Balinese *Topeng* performances.

One of the most important ways of reciting and perpetuating texts in Balinese culture remains group recitals during evening meetings of clubs known as *sekehe bebasan.* Outside the family, the club or ‘seka’ is one of the smallest social units. There are *seka* for almost everything from cleaning the street to playing gamelan. It is in such a group that the ancient Balinese texts are ‘read’ or ‘sounded’. When a man has reached a certain age where he is considered to have attained a level in his life where he should take a greater interest in learning about and perpetuating his culture, he joins such a club. According to Hobart, men are still considered to be the most responsible for the perpetuation of Balinese cultural heritage especially as far as their literature is concerned. To exchange these texts, groups of men come together and chant the texts. This form of meeting involves a constant alternation between chanted *kakawin* passages and vocal interpretation (Schumacher 1994: 6); it actually functions to accent the process of translation, and relates in general to the contrasting understanding of textuality in Balinese culture. A group of men get together and discuss the ‘meaning’ of certain of the famous *Lontar* texts which have been inherited from Java, although attention is paid not only to the ‘literal’ meaning, but also to the sounds of the words themselves: the words are not considered to be ‘read’ correctly if they have not been ‘intoned’ in the right

fashion. Here the notion of meaning being embedded in the action of recital returns. Members of the group can be from any caste group, and are usually led by a person in a powerful or leading position (often a *Brahman* or a *Pemangku*). It is interesting to note that it is at these *sekehe bebasan* meetings that the *dalang* learns the texts he will later interpret into his complex multimedial performance. 'Reading' or 'reciting' is more than we attribute to these acts: it is a musical experience rich in *jouissance* which can only signify through its performance. The meaning in Balinese texts is as we have discussed directly connected to its realisation, which is based on a belief that sound has intrinsic meaning in its own right. This is not only a factor of Balinese history, but can be traced historically to ancient Java, where poems were composed according to distinct metrical patterns. The continued tradition of *sekehe bebasan* demonstrates that these texts are meant to be read aloud.

There are clearly many different contexts which involve the realisation or 'intonation' of texts in performance, in other words texts which become significative acts with unique meaning relating to a given temporal, spatial and contextual environment. In the following discussion the intention is to discuss these forms in a little more detail. We begin with the assistance of Lansing who helps us historically place the existence of these texts, and then on to particular dramatic forms that use text in a musical fashion beginning with *Wayang Kulit*, *Cakapung*, *Arja* and *Topeng*, masked dance/drama.

Performative texts, texts which are insufficient without their performative aspect, have been part of Balinese artistic communication for a long while. Lansing refers to an inscription from 1073 AD which describes "in extraordinary detail the intertwining networks of performing artists, based in courts, villages, monasteries, and as independent 'roving' troupes, who played a role in village affairs of sufficient importance to warrant extensive attention in the royal proclamations" (Lansing 1983: 144). Not unlike the *jongleur*s of mediaeval music, these artists—referred to in ancient texts as *bhangadina*—were sponsored by courts who would directly participate in their performances, although in this situation the performative texts were also brought "beyond the royal palaces and monasteries" (ibid.) into the villages and countryside, meaning that all Balinese people had the possibility to firstly share the same sort of performance art enjoyed by the leading figures, and secondly to have access to the religious texts which helped unite them as a community. Although typical villagers may have been 'illiterate' in the sense that they couldn't recite inscribed characters, they certainly were able to appreciate these texts in the dynamic context of performance which was of direct significance to their lives and helped give meaning to their activities.

Wayang Kulit, Balinese shadow puppetry, uses stories taken from the original Indian Hindu epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. These ancient stories were translated or summarised into Old Javanese between the 10th and the 15th centuries. From these texts, the *dalang* selects poems which are then elaborated upon in performance. Balinese performance texts of this type differ from our own because they are naturally thought to retain a connection to the present in each new interpretation. In this famous form of shadow-play theatre *Wayang Kulit*, the *dalang* functions to make these texts significant to an audience by doing precisely this: the *dalang* brings ancient Balinese, Javanese and Sanskrit texts to life by presenting them in a form which is understandable for the Balinese audience. He achieves this by having the texts spoken by the royal and divine characters translated into low Balinese by using buffoonish characters known as *parekan* or *penasar* who seem to be able to move freely between the discourses and time-frames of the characters populating these performances and the audience. Herbst provides us with an example of this contextualisation: "if the ceremony has anything to do with constructing a new village building or a *pura* ... the *dalang* could choose the section from the *Mahabharata* when the *Pandawa* princes are building their abode in the forest" (1997: 89). Here it is clear that two performances of the same 'play' can never be the same according to the parameters of *Desa Kala Patra.* The *parekan* characters translate the texts not only into Balinese, but also Indonesian and English depending on the needs of the audience.

Geguritan texts have been an important part of Balinese tradition for a good many centuries, evolving out of an age when the life of the peasant became a subject of interest in literature. *Arja*, known as 'Balinese opera' although its textual rendition contrasts highly to that of western opera, is presumed to have originated in 1825 during the reign of king I Dewa Agung Sakti in Klungkung, East Bali. The adoption of texts in *Arja*, which mostly come from *Geguritan* manuscripts, is quite complex and requires the singers in the opera to have an almost perfect knowledge of the material as the performers often don't find out which section of the story they will be performing until directly before going on. Similar to the *Wayang Kulit*, the elaborated *kawi* texts are translated to a form accessible to the audience. Slapstick humour or even parody of the original holy texts is sometimes resorted to if the performers consider it necessary or significant to the context of the performance. The characters that do this are usually servants and hand-maidens who comment on the actions of their superiors, often imitating or ridiculing them. The organiser of the event mentions the particular section of the story that he has in mind, and it takes shape during the performance. Next we'll discuss a form of performance which similarly involves the reading of classical texts (often from the *Geguritan* repertoire) although this time expressed in the less formal context of a secular social occasion.

Cakapung is an event performed for the members of a social group and not for an audience, primarily for recreation and amusement. It is found today largely in the Karangasem province, and on Lombok (which actually used to be Karangasem's vassal state). The men gather together in the evening at the *bale banjar*, the central meeting place of the *banjar,* usually dressed in traditional costumes for male performers, a white shirt and a piece of material wrapped around their head (called the *udang*). Bandem describes a typical evening of entertainment as follows:

> One of the participants picks up a palm-leaf manuscript [lontar] ... The reader sings a sentence from the manuscript to the accompaniment of a *suling,* or small flute, and *rebab*, or spiked fiddle. After each line of the song, another member of the group speaks for a minute or so, elaborating on the sentence from the song and clarifying it for the audience, who may have trouble understanding the highly embellished nature of the melodic setting. The function of the *penarti*, or explainer, is exactly the same as that of the servant-buffoon characters in *Arja*, minus the costume and characterisation. As the evening passes, different members of the group take over the reading and explanatory functions ... At last somebody abruptly stands up. 'Pung!' shouts the leader 'Pung-cakapung-cakapung!' The other men join in the chant and several more stand up to dance, some still holding their roosters. (Bandem 1981: 96)

In contrast to *Arja, Cakapung* is obviously a far less formalised format for the recital and 'interpretation' of the old Balinese texts, and this one in particular enjoys a dynamic phase of musicality which is present purely for the joy of the moment (*jouissance*). The highly rhythmic *cakapung* chanting and dancing makes the otherwise formal interpretation of ancient texts memorable and enjoyable and is perhaps the clearest presentation of Balinese textuality realising the moment of presence which the group shares.

Topeng is a well-known form of Balinese drama which makes use of masks all worn by the same performer at different times. Full mask dances, which consist of the miming of characters with full gamelan accompaniment, are interspersed with a half-masked 'narrator' character who tells the story in words. Referred to as *bondres,* this character is highly comic, explaining the 'context' of the performance event: here mundane issues are dealt with, and the more sedate and silent dance expression of the other masks is made accessible. As Herbst notes, this character is also free to move between discourses, "joking about members of the audience or even extending the actual performance space by wandering out into the audience" (1997: 89). Here the interactive element of the performance is clear, and so even though the non-speaking characters may have timeless appeal, their roles are continuously recontextualised, something which we have come to expect from Balinese traditional and new performance textuality.

An interesting aspect of Balinese textual expression involves a communicative discourse used between musicians and dancers. This includes a 'language of codes' which the *kendang*-player (Balinese drummer) uses to communicate information about the 'music' to both the dancer and the musicians, where information is transferred about rhythmic and stylistic elements relating to the performance. It is an onomatopoeically structured language of abstract sound, comparable to the South-Indian *bols* (a system used to coordinate dance and movement by using a set of syllabic vocal sounds to mediate between drum beats and dance movements). One can muse over the possibility that this form of extra-linguistic communication filtered down from India through Java to Bali with the Hindu religion, influencing Balinese dance and music. This is made all the more likely by the fact that the *bols* were onomatopoeic in nature, being based on the sound of the rhythms created by the drum. This is also the case for Balinese dance where the sounds of the vocal language used to communicate movements are based on *kendang* rhythms. Both these forms are syllabic in nature and are essential to the oral perpetuation of a complex musical tradition.

The intention has been to explore the performative aspect of text. This has meant a rethinking of its very origin: when does the text stop and the live performance begin? When does the act of reading become an act of performance? What is the relationship between (musical) performance and text? We demonstrated the extent to which the Balinese realisation of 'text' differs from our own, and so doing developed an alternative way of looking at text in performance. By exploring the musical nature of text and the various sets of signifiers used by the Balinese to refer to music and dance we have found important contexts for viewing textual realisation as a 'musical' process. These and other particularly Balinese issues will be developed further on.

Kersenboom in her approach to the multimedial text redefines the term 'text' in accordance with its original Latin meaning rather than its more abstract Ricœurian realisation. *Textus* refers to the process of *weaving* or *something that is woven.* Here however the fabric in question is the complex nature of text in culture. This fabric should not be seen as a three-dimensional object, but as a *process*: through a combination of the threads of word, sound and image, the text is woven into time, making an impression and perhaps teaching a lesson to those that have participated or witnessed its performance. A living text, then, is a complex array of different strands which come together to provide meaning in a spatio-temporal context. Here we can refer back to Barthes who viewed the text in such a fashion, standing against the cold completion inherent in Ricœurian hermeneutics. The *artistic* text is therefore much more than simply what one can read: it can include a vital *process* which occurs in a given environment to communicate in some way to an audience. A *process*-based approach to the multimedial text

understands the 'textuality' inherent in *practice*, what Bourdieu refers to as a 'feel for the game'. It not only helps us perform interactively—be that in dance, music or sports—but it helps us know why others are performing. This is based on an underlying system of rules or tendencies. Models based on human behaviour rather than on the products have to become the basis for an understanding of multimedial performance. More detailed discussion of these individually unique but culturally fostered ways of dealing with texts (*textualities*) will return in further discussion. In Balinese *Wayang Kulit* we have demonstrated the importance of the instigator of the text being sensitive to the *textualities* of his public; in his textual realisation he is continually rechallenged to bridge the world of the text, often in another spatial or historical context, to the world of the audience, fine-tuning the performance to the environment. The next part of our discussion will involve *artistic performance texts* which have the ability to encourage or in fact bring about cultural change. I hope to introduce to the reader forms of Balinese musical 'textuality' which act to either perpetuate traditional culture or to bring about change.

2.3 Text as a tool for cultural perpetuation and change

In the following discussion, the intention is to observe types of *artistic texts* which are involved specifically with cultural perpetuation, cultural change or a combination of both parameters. In order to do this we'll be extending some of the ideas already discussed, particularly *textualities* or 'comprehension engines'. As part of this exploration we look at the dynamic cultural devices involved with specific types of *artistic texts* used in contemporary culture to bring about some contrasting types of cultural change.

We begin by returning to two familiar terms which have helped form the structuralist paradigm by introducing a third term which de Saussure introduced in his writings: *Langage*. *Langue* and *Parole* are primary creations brought into the world by de Saussure. The sort of theoretical extension involved with *Langage* was, according to de Saussure, easily encompassable by the two terms: he believed that the only access to *Langage* was through *Langue* (the system) and *Parole*, (the imperfect realisation). But what was *Langage*? According to de Saussure, *Langage* was the added contents of both *Langue* and *Parole*. In other words, a *Langage* is the system of codes and their articulation (Silverman 1983: 240). *Langage*, then, is a dynamic entity which combines the dynamics of the expressive act with the underlying rules that go into its performance; it is the total unencompassable whole. Barthes presented the French literature tradition and the fashion industry as examples of instances of *langage* [large and complex discursive structures]. These exist both in material reality and as theoretical entities; it is only through the experience of their physical existence that we can experience them, although we are able to talk about them in their absence. They exist both as *syntagm* and *paradigm*. The whole problematic issue of performance, be it reading or acting, is an implicit notion in a *langage.* Barthes described the dynamic expressivity of an enacted *langage* as 'textuality' (ibid.). *Langage* is textuality in a living context, one which helps us make decisions about how we experience our culture. It is essentially an understanding of text not as an object but as an active tool. This notion of 'textuality' relates back to our image of the cultural 'weave' which I discussed in the opening. These three terms together illustrate a basic model for understanding the musical text. *Langue*, the first of the two Saussurian terms, refers to the text as an *artefact.* Here we are viewing the *text* as an object which is perpetuated in cultural terms. Examples of *langue* in this context are objects which a culture identifies with, knows are in existence, or to which its members can turn for specific cultural/spiritual insight or even economic aid. Practical examples include 'texts' in the Ricœurian sense, for example, the Bible, or in Balinese terms the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. It is the fantasy which is impossible to realise in its own context, but does exist as a collected whole: if all cultural elements are put together, one could form a general image or what that text might be. In contrast, *parole* is a given work or sentence uttered in a real time-space context, it is the dynamic realisation adopted at a given place and time. In terms of the western text, this is in its simplest form the act of reading, or rather a specific instance where the text is brought into reality at a given time and place. *Langage* is the epistemological system with which the people involved in the realisation of textuality are able to apply to the text being enacted. Although it refers to the dynamic meanings available to the speaker/hearer based on particular spatial/temporal contexts, it is not transcendental like *Langue* may seem to be. *Langue* is merely the object, where *langage* is the active system which allows the *doing* of the deed, the performing of the creative act in the minds of the participants. Performative or multimedial textuality requires the presence of all three elements: anything less is a reduction. Recognition of *Langage* is a recognition of the dynamic nature of cultural change, understanding the term tradition not as a conservative continuation of static forms, but rather a constant dynamic system of change based on existing models.

Perhaps the most important factor provided by the *Langage* trilogy is the importance of the individual, the cultural participants, in understanding how the textual process takes place. The model above allows us to include the individual in understanding how 'culture' works, how tradition is perpetuated. Cultural systems have to be viewed as coherent processes based on real-life actions and not on abstract structures. An example of the dynamic interpretations by individuals to make their realisation of *Langage* unique is that of the constant process of offerings made on a daily basis for religious purposes by the Balinese people, appeasing the demons below and the

gods above. Barth demonstrates that if the individual's understanding of the tradition is included, many different interpretations of *tradition* becomes possible:

> The offerings placed on the ground are part of the daily routine of every home and of every larger offering. The range of their interpretation is already very wide, from the appeasement of dreadful ogres and demons to a philosophical acceptance that also lust and grossness are the creations, and thus the emanations, of Godhead. One can well imagine a flux ranging from a dominant terror of evil forces demanding their sacrifice, to a hedonistic pleasure in our animal selves, being evoked by this symbol in the different contexts of changing times and concerns. But I also know a woman whose current thoughts, as she places the daily offerings on the ground, are those of gratitude to our sustaining earth, mediated by the ecological vision of the multitude of little black ants who pour out of the ground each year to return a bit of our offering in its eternal source. . . . I suggest that these are not exceptions and aberrations, to be examined and enjoyed and then theoretically dismissed as not reflecting the valid and shared meaning, that is, significant, of the symbol in that culture. They are, on the contrary, evidence of the vital productivity of such traditions of knowledge responding and expressing the flux of people's concerns and sensibilities under ever-changing circumstances. (Barth 1993: 336)

The proposal made here is a clear expression of a performative approach: 'cultural' or 'artistic' texts—terms which are made use of specifically to refer to this form of expression—are *tools* which members of a culture can employ to help form a 'theory of the world' in the sense intended by Smith (1985: 199), providing a sort of blueprint for reality. Thanks to such texts we are able to explore the phenomenological ground which our culture provides us with by using these texts as tools of experiential understanding. An approach to text as tool is of course not entirely new. Wittgenstein's concept of the 'language game' is perhaps one of the first approaches which perceived the variety of different types of communication that could be expressed with use of communication systems: words become tools which were used to perform specific functions, leading inevitably to Austin's theory of *speech-acts*. Here propositions rather than words brought about real change in the environment and performed real accents which were significant in a cultural sense. Kristeva, part of the Parisian *Tel Quel* group of which Barthes was also a member, was to take this further in her own theoretical work. She defines text as a 'device' (*appareil*), "a practice whose 'semantic components… open up to volume as they establish relationships via the structured surface with the infinite *translinguistic* practice" (Feral 1980: 273). Although her *text* can also be seen as a tool, she was referring more to the *intertextual* processes which the bringing to life of a text could bring with it. Although the notion of text as tool has been brought up in various different ways, the image meant in this discussion has a specific function. Texts as 'models' and *textualities* as 'engines for comprehension' leads to a theory in which *Langage* is brought to the fore. Thanks to given models provided to us by culture—to which we apply our own unique signification—we are able to find as best we can meaning in the complex whole which surrounds us; we *make* texts by finding significance in them and applying them in our lives. Thanks to *textuality* which is taught in the context of culture, or which we pick up as a result of our culture—textuality can be seen as both a voluntary, involuntary and inevitable process—we are able to make sense of the world. We as humans are constantly bombarded with 'texts' we may actually not agree with. Many 'texts' are incomprehensible, especially in the post-modern world—and try as we might we may not be able to apply them to our lives. Finding meaning in the world is all about "mixing and matching" with texts, as I was reminded by a Balinese girl describing her desire to include interculturality in her performances. Barthes introduced the notion of 'unreadable' non-communicative texts, where it is impossible to 'produce the text' [*produire le texte*]: "le jouer, le défaire, le *faire partir*" (1984: 79). Even though we may be able to 'read' them in whichever format they may be in (as a book, or a performance or a piece of graphic art), a text is often only worthwhile to individuals if it signifies for them in some fashion. Barthes founded a particular term for the type of reaction which involves the evocation of inappropriate *textualities* resulting in the 'user' (of the text; in some senses 'reader') finding no textual system to classify the new information: it can be translated in English appropriately enough as 'boredom' [*l'ennui*] (ibid.). These incomprehensible texts can often still be 'taken up' by an audience, but very often in a form unintended by the creator: here the *textuality* is not shared, there are no common points which means audience members may have difficulty agreeing on the significance of the event. Very often this is the crisis of contemporary culture. This also explains why so many are attracted by cultures which are very good at creating communal texts, such as the Balinese culture which has represented so much to so many western artists who have been attempting in their own work to attain that sense of mutual communion dynamic moments of *jouissance* attain. The Balinese demonstrate this quite clearly in their love of forms which are 'accessible' (in that they are based on traditional Balinese metaphors) and their general abhorrence for avant-garde works which are distanced from their own concepts and which, as Barthes would note, make use of texts which can't be 'set in motion'. This is particularly the case for experimental music by Balinese composers.

There is also the case of the *regimented* text perpetuating a particular belief system to such an extreme that the experiencer of the text is forced to move with and to learn from the text, or to reject it. The restrictive environment set up by music for marching bands played for organisations such as the military or even the Salvation Army has a very particular significance involved with its regimentation. This is not necessarily a bad thing: feeling part of a community, as one within a collection of people with similar intentions and goals, can be uplifting and help us to

comprehend our own role within our cultural restraints. This explains the popularity of a lot of regimented music such as *house* or *techno* which retains a commanding power over its audience. In a dynamic sense 'musicality' is often adopted in the expression of a cultural text to assist the communication. Here the musical regimentation becomes a tool to help express the message, one that could be inherent in the music or embedded in the text. Classical western music is often pure regimentation; part of its joy is about the elegance of its rhythmic incarceration (which in many ways is also a kind of liberation). A great deal of pop music is also highly regimented largely because it is designed for specific cultural events which require regimentation. A prime example of this regimentation is the disco or night-club in which people are able to 'lose their sense of individuality to the group'; this is made possible by a combination of the communal dancing and the regimentation of the music. At the same time, however, a lot of pop music can also communicate a message which represents a break with the regimentation inherent in societal or musical systems already in existence, a prime example being the Punk movement which became popular precisely because it stood against the drudgery of English regimentation by celebrating anarchy.

As Lansing suggests the Balinese have a unique ability to communicate artistically common textualities; they also adopt texts which can be set in motion easily by a large section of the Balinese population. As he observes: "what the Balinese show us, both by means of their example … is that we have vastly underestimated the significance of art as a vehicle for shaping and moulding the imagination, and thereby giving pattern and meaning to the world" (Lansing 1983: 8). Although their world is rapidly changing on the dawn of a new millennium, the performing arts still play an educational role although not nearly as much as in the past. The way Balinese musical texts communicate in contemporary Bali is extended upon in Chapter Four based on recent research held with Balinese youth who are battling to adapt to a rapidly changing world.

Change is closely connected to the whole Balinese textual apparatus. Even within our performance traditions, however, we can read some of this dynamism. All successful performers will tell you that every performance is different, and will discuss whether or not the audience was a 'good' one; in the field of theatre and drama a whole discourse has developed around the study of the audience. Performers of all kinds interact with their audiences, and when an audience participates, reacting dynamically to the performance, the performer can 'play' with them, moulding their reactions to the text of the performance. This takes place no matter how strict the regimentation of the 'text' may be: from loose regimentation in terms of stand-up comics to tight regimentation in terms of classical music performance, and all the different forms in between. Moreover, this type of dynamic interaction between audience and performers has been taken up in contemporary performance theory. Hilton, for example, comments on the importance of judging performance not in terms of how the performers realise a static performance text through a process of rehearsal, but instead how actors interface with their audience. In his own words:

> In performance there are two levels of dramatic engagement. There is the on-stage conflict of forces which constitute the plot of the drama, and there is the engagement with the audience in an imaginative act of constructing a possible world. (Hilton 1987: 123)

Contemporary performance theory has taken this even further by commenting on many different aspects involving the importance of performer/audience interaction: *size* (of the performance space), *applause* (of late-comers), [involuntary] *gestures* (from audience members), *sounds* (such as coughing, rustling candy wrappers etc.), and *laughter* (Whitmore 1994: 61-62). In another example, Styan comments on the fact that we don't go to the theatre merely to have the 'text' reiterated, we go to "share in a partnership without which the players [performers] cannot work" (1975: 224). The Balinese, similarly, are constantly in a process of adapting to new audiences. Gold notes an instance of change necessitated by the varying tastes and necessities of an audience:

> Many *dalang* and *gender* players note that this build-up from peaceful to violent used to be much more gradual, and that it is a mark of the times that nowadays *dalang* jump to the fighting, immediately after the formulary opening scene…Sometimes the *dalang* will surprise an audience by deviating from the expected norm, if he needs to get their attention in a noisy performance situation, for example, or if the story chosen calls for it. (Gold 1993: 256)

In comparison to our own culture which often longs for or expects exact reproduction of 'texts', the Balinese contrast by never allowing the same performance to occur in the same place. According to the tenets of *Desa Kala Patra,* the *dalang* is expected to demonstrate that he can adapt to new situations in every new village. Herbst refers to a Balinese aesthetic concept known as *perkembangan* ('flowering') which sees art as an every-changing form, never remaining in any way static (Herbst 1997: 95).

In further discussion and in relation to Balinese forms of textuality we will be referring to two types of *artistic* or *cultural* texts: *progressive* and *conservative* texts. Progressive texts are similar to Peacock's concept of *Rites of Modernisation* in his work (sharing the same name) on the Javanese dance form *Ludruk.* These texts in Bali through characteristics inherent in the text's *comprehension engines* or 'textualities' encourage processes of change actively, contributing more than a simple commentary on a changing environment. On the other hand, *conservative* texts encourage stasis; retaining existing textual structures unquestionably. It will be demonstrated that as far as Balinese texts are concerned there is sometimes a fine line between tradition and innovation,

especially as far as their musical texts are concerned. We also take a look at another type of progressive textuality which I refer to as 'radical model' texts. The intention is to demonstrate the unique and dynamic way musical texts can both reflect upon and actively influence to some degree cultural change. We begin with a discussion of Balinese musical textuality.

2.4 The Balinese Musical Text

Musical texts are unique in that they communicate something which is not possible in any other way. This is because 'musical texts' don't really mean a great deal until they are performed. One is able, like with a book, to discuss the structures present in musical texts, or use adjectives to describe the experience, but the only way to really communicate the 'knowledge' is through realising it. Musical sounds, like smells or other 'sensual information', are difficult to find words to describe. As Classen, Howes and Synnott note, odours can only be alluded to "by means of metaphors" (1994: 3). By taking advantage of agreed upon structures either actively as performers or passively as listeners, we gain a unique insight into the space and time the musicality fills. By recognising musical 'structures' we are familiar with we are able to firstly achieve a sense of familiar communion with those around us who may be undergoing a similar significative process. Musical textualities allow us to have access into musical texts; they provide us with the cognitive apparatus to recognise something in a non-verbal 'musical' discourse. In Bali, both musical textualities and musical texts are quickly changed to suit new circumstances if they require it.

Balinese musical texts appear in many different forms ranging from the mixed programme *prembon* to works composed for the processional gamelan *Gong Baleganjur*. It is thanks to vehicles such as these that culture is perpetuated. The *Gender Wayang*, whether used as an accompaniment to ritual (*Wayang Lemah*) or a theatre performance (*Wayang Kulit*), is certainly one of the most important vehicles for the perpetuation of Balinese culture. Thanks to the dynamic role of the *Gender Wayang* orchestra in accompanying the performance, the musical structures are reinscribed into the present. Their accompaniment directs the attention of the audience (and/or the gods) towards the performance, making it very much a part of the present, an organic nowness implicit in musical performance. Lansing makes an interesting analogy, demonstrating the relationships between temples, musical texts and cosmology, emphasising the important nature of musicality in Balinese cultural perpetuation:

> The relationship among these elements—temples, texts, performance, and cosmology—is essentially circular: temples exist to hold festivals, where they are activated by the performing arts, whose function is to sound the texts of Balinese cosmology, which establish a world view in which temples are essential to the continued function of the middle-world. (Lansing 1983: 146)

I consider the reference here to the activation of the performing arts to be significant: it is through the 'activation' of musical texts that other symbols can be passed on in Balinese culture. Through learning in a cultural context the important processes necessary to comprehend the signification of musical texts, we attain an insight into our own culture, and the possible ways we can interpret that musical symbolism. Here I am referring to the textualities necessary for the comprehension of our musical texts.

In her conception of culture as a performing art, Kersenboom refers to culture as the metaphorical 'stage' on which every man performs. Theatrical performance involves the dynamic acts we perform to bring that stage to life; its function is to comprehend the blacked-out world of the audience. This metaphor suggests that outside the context of our dynamic human performances, there exists a realm of the dark unknown which we can't fathom with the comprehension engines we apply. We can compare this situation to the 'theatrical' universes of the critics and the cast of the mystery play in Stoppard's *The Real Inspector Hound*. Using contrasting discourses, the theatre critics sitting in the audience and characters in the absurd murder mystery use their own restricted languages to conceive of whatever enters their environment. As a result, the critics are quite able to communicate with one another and to discuss the performance on stage, although when they become involved in the discourse on stage they are well and truly out of place. Stoppard makes it clear that escaping the confines of one's discourse is a difficult if not impossible task. The theatrical metaphor is as follows: texts are the tools we use to *explore that space which exists in the dark area beyond the stage of our human performance*. The analogy here is that we have on one hand 'culture' which we can comprehend: the very processes of that comprehension form part of the system, as do the performances or realisations of that culture. On the other hand we have *nature* which remains a mystery, but through using the skills we have in the performance we attempt to extend the borders of the stage into nature. Music is the closest we get to reaching that ineffable extreme, an area largely unaccounted for in other communication systems but nonetheless necessary for our understanding of the organic nature of our existence. Examples of 'musicality' inherent in things we comprehend can be taken back to the basics. Rhythms are examples of natural metaphors which we feel within our bodies; our heart and lungs, for example, send out a constant pulses resulting in our heartbeat and breathing rates. It is thanks to fundamental natural musical signs such as these that we can understand musicality. Our voice can sing and with our limbs we can produce 'music' on external instruments or move ourselves around on the stage (dance). Thanks to this movement we feel space, we fill it with our own weight and experience its uniqueness. Langer comments on rhythmic continuity which is the

basis of “that organic unity which gives permanence to living bodies” (1953: 117). In our environment we can find these rhythms and make a connection between what it is that we are and what it is that nature is: examples include the breaking of waves on the shore or the repetitive patterns produced by insects and birds. Art does not ‘encroach’ on our lives: it is thanks to art that we can encroach on the world and make it real. Musical texts help us to bridge the boundary between *nature* and *culture*, and musical experience is the dynamic level of human cognition which gives us a feeling that we have the tools to conceive of that environment.

Musical texts, then, are able to induce cognitive states which lay the borders of our experience. These texts are taught culturally, and their understanding is based both on cultural inculcation and events we naturally encounter through our interaction with our environment as human beings. This statement infers that musical texts do not ‘express’ things which will *per se* be familiar cognitively to the participant. Rather, musical textuality provided by our interaction with the world (be that culturally as a learnt process or ‘naturally’ during everyday interaction with the world), can induce cognitive states thanks to creative engines inbuilt in our *musical episteme*. We begin this discussion with a section on the relationship between musical and ritual communication, the point at which musicality is experienced in perhaps its most natural setting. After this we explore another application of the musical experience: the relationships between musical states, their expression as cognition and their expression as sociocultural activity, i.e. how we sometimes need to personify certain sociocultural situations musically, such as the movement against or for social rigidity and/or anarchy.

Cognitive states which are reached by individuals can be brought about or influenced by human behaviour. Musical structures present in ritual can help bring about specific bodily messages via the senses which help communicate information to an individual which can’t be communicated in any other way. Here I am referring a series of ‘natural metaphors’, structures in ritual which help the body to understand cognitively (but not ‘rationally’) concepts and ideas which cannot be defined or explained via standard forms of communication. Here the phrase ‘knowing is doing’ refers to the fact that signification is an enactive process. Thus in a way similar to ‘musical’ (instrumental) performance, it is difficult for people to describe what they experienced as they were going through a ritual-based or musical text: Barthes relates in his work to the fact that turning to ‘adjectives’ to describe aesthetic facts is another way of saying that it is impossible to really describe in words what is experienced musically, just as Classen, Howes and Synnott refer to odours (1994: 3). An example of musical structures which are included in rituals is what Parkin refers to as ‘resolving tangled states’ as introduced at the conclusion of chapter division 1.5 (1992: 23). He uses this term to refer to the way these states come to some form of resolution in the ‘musical’ structures inherent in ritual. I refer to this as musicality because ‘music’ as we hear it can often be involved with similar concepts, i.e. the resolution of musical development can lead to a similar feeling of resolution in the mind of the listener even divorced from rituals in a western context (i.e. the structure of the symphony, a grandiose and climactic product of the classical era of music). Although music has the ability to bring about chaos and confusion, musicality in a ritual which brings about anarchy seems a contradiction in terms. Turner has demonstrated on the same token that very many rituals function to evoke a sense of ‘controlled’ anarchy which he called *liminality*. Liminal events of this type are specifically for *Rites of Passage* rituals which have the individual standing on the edge of two different periods in his or her life and where the controlled anarchy provides him or her with extra abilities and/or powers be they legal, functional or magical. An example of a *Rites of Passage* of this type which involves liminal behaviour and controlled anarchy is that of the ‘stag’ party where when men about to be shackled within the institution of marriage get together and do ‘manly’ things they probably would never attempt in real-life, becoming for that short period more ‘bachelor’ than they have perhaps ever been. There also exist rituals which stand against particularly strict sociocultural orders, rituals which function to create anarchy as a function of rejecting the hierarchy or over-dominance of society. This is certainly true in our culture, represented quite well by the punk movement which was ‘anarchic’ in spirit but involved at the same time highly ritualistic performance elements, including sanctification of spatial and temporal environments (with the help of music). In any case, one of the important goals of musicality is to provide individuals with the means to attain order or to provide some form of logic to complex levels of human consciousness. This musicality can express itself in many different forms, hence the direct relation to ritual behaviour and communication.

Another pertinent observation is the relationship which can be made between sociopolitical situations and the way we cognitively experience musicality. Here we could refer to some states evoked by certain types of music which are felt as a dynamic sense of liberation. Joe Cocker expresses this feeling in the song ‘N’oubliez Jamais’ (Never forget) by Joe Cocker which directly refers to the cognitive evocation of a sense of freedom or liberation. In this musical text, the narrator is questioning his parents as to why they listen to the same music and not to the ‘new thing which is happening on the streets’. Its message is as follows: listen to your own music because ‘every generation has its day’ and therefore holds the dynamism of the time in which it was written, becoming an expression of what individuals felt when standing against the traditions then existing. In this sense, of course, this type of musical behaviour is experienced by many—usually those participating in the old regime—as ‘chaotic’ or

'anarchic', which suggests that this music could be also cognitive in moving against the 'regimented texts' offered by a culture. Examples of this sort of musical expression of social dissatisfaction include some types of avant-garde performance which are purely experimental for the purpose of being different. Here the avant-garde can represent a threat to a given society, and is considered so dangerous that its perpetrators are considered criminals and are sometimes even imprisoned or put to death. Here social and artistic regimentation fall together. One can turn to the example of the *Constructivist* movement in Russian art which was started by Tatlin and his colleagues. Initially it conformed to the goals and aesthetics of the new communist movement. As it became stricter and stricter, however, life became more and more difficult for avant-garde art and the perceived goals of the movements, despite the good-will of the artists, began to diverge. This resulted in the horrific communist purge which changed the face of Russian art forever.

The Balinese have a myriad array of accepted musical texts which express certain states, evoked during all kinds of performance including ritual and theatre. Avant-garde art, however, in the sense we know it, is not something the Balinese readily accept. They are not really able to realise the advantage of standing against their existing systems, primarily because most Balinese people feel that their existing forms provide them with sufficient cognitive satisfaction. For the Balinese avant-garde art is primarily for people within the musical education system who are studying (and are required to as part of their assessment) or have studied in a country outside Bali where this type of experimentation for experimentation's sake is the norm.

Traditional texts are deeply inscribed in the memories and the bodies of the Balinese people, and it is only through their performance that the knowledge inherent in them is transmitted. We have seen this clearly demonstrated in our discussion of *Wayang Kulit* texts which only signify when 'recited'. The Balinese share a complex series of musical structures which they are able to assimilate and experience in a way that brings them together, often because it unites them on a sacred level. An example is dance where the performance of or the viewing of certain movements evokes a particular emotion connected to certain sacred functions, such as welcoming gods, even in dances which aren't of a sacred nature (but still involve use of sacred movements). Such dances display, like all musical texts, complex non-verbal narrative including gesture, movement, glances and sounds; the narrative is made complete by flow, tension, relaxation and interaction between the music, the performance space and the performer.

As discussed, many Balinese traditional structures are involved with retaining balance, which can be used as a musical metaphor to describe the forces at work in Balinese life. Rather than seeking to overcome and dominate, the Balinese seek to reach a state of balance. A clear example of this is the well-known *Barong* dance which has the force of 'good' (represented by the *Barong*) set against 'evil' (represented by the inimitable witch *Rangda*). Of course, retaining balance is not the only possibility for this type of expression of cognitive states: other dances involve complex abstract movements, gestures and interactions on stage. An example is the contemporary welcoming dance *Panyembrama.* The 'story' or cognitive pattern externalised is communicating a particularly dynamic relationship between ritual-like welcoming movements, something which provides the viewers as well as the dancers themselves with a feeling of completeness: "and with this situation I feel satisfied, although I have to explain my satisfaction with my whole body." Here Ni Ketut Wirjati, a Balinese dancer living in Utrecht, relates her feelings about performing *Panyembrama*. Messages are communicated 'physically' by the body on a number of different levels, the most obvious being the welcoming gestures ('please come in, you are a welcome guest') functioning to provide the audience and performers alike with a feeling of joy. There are also particular movements and musical passages that communicate 'balance'. After this, the performers have finished welcoming, and another level of communication is entered into: one of 'playing', where they turn to one another and enjoy the beauty of each other's costumes, make up, and of the dance space the performers have created: "we begin to play with one another - oh, you're so beautiful, we enjoy the pleasure of each other's beauty, the lovely scents, they smell so good..." Then the dancers have to return to the welcoming task, and invite their supernatural guests in a more official way. The 'abstract' dance structures are quite complex multi-levelled messages about the dynamics and sensuality of space, time and a level of spiritual reality. For the Balinese musical text, successful cognitive signification is only possible through performance. As Ketut informs us:

> We use movements which have rules. If we can feel them, in specific movements and mimes, then the dance is brought to life. That is one of the most important parts of the dance, to bring it to life in performance.

Musicality is evident in practically all levels of Balinese existence. Even Balinese 'written texts' are considered essentially to be of a musical nature. An example of this attitude is presented in the adoption of the term for the reciter of texts: 'juru gending'. The term *gending* is a word which is exclusively used for sung melodies in Balinese music (Schumacher 1994: 8). Although the texts themselves are usually spoken and translated by a *juru gending*, they are considered in their own right to be meaningful. It is considered 'musical' because its signification is dependent on the musical sounds and not strictly on verbal discourse. The intention in this discussion has been to demonstrate the complexity of Balinese musical textuality. Not only are their messages

intricately complex; they also vary in signification from individual to individual. Although I am able to base my conclusions on the existential preferences and opinions of Balinese people and westerners who have been influenced by their music, the task of providing a completely 'objective' reflection on their performance would be at best superficial. Instead, we have to use as many different epistemological tools as we can muster. In the following discussion we will be exploring particular types of musical text which have both reflected and actively influenced cultural change in Balinese culture.

2.5 Text as a means for perpetuating Balinese culture

Texts of any kind, and the tradition that nuances their interpretation, are not necessarily deigned to bring about change. Very often they are designed to help perpetuate the tradition, to keep it alive. In a Balinese sense this pretty much means adaptation, although within our own culture we often view the perpetuation of *tradition* to be a static process. In this chapter division we'll be discussing language-based/vocal texts and also some complex music-theatre texts adopted in Bali with the specific purpose of the perpetuation of Balinese culture. We begin with texts from the *Wayang Kulit* repertoire, and then move on to some other Balinese musical texts and the way they function. It will be demonstrated that saddling Balinese textuality in relation to either conservative or progressive cultural texts with an 'either/or' mentality is problematic; performances can be conservative and still at the same time instil a positive approach to change.

Balinese *Wayang* 'texts', both in the more traditional form and in the performative sense discussed here, are highly complex communicative vehicles which are 'multi-levelled' in the sense that they have something for all present at the time of performance: they can be both educational and amusing; they can provide ritual and secular entertainment. According to Hobart they are able to achieve even more than this: she sees them as complex tools which provide the Balinese with 'blueprints' for their sense of selfhood (1987: 16). As we have discussed, they enable the Balinese to relate their heritage to the dynamic context of everyday life thanks to the ability of the *dalang* who adjusts the performance to the situation at hand. Although taken from ancient Indian and Javanese epics, these texts are "ingeniously modified and adapted to fit the Balinese context" (ibid.). An important level at which these 'performative' texts communicate is of course the musical level: thanks to the active participation of the gamelan, the 'ancient' voices from Balinese myth are brought vividly into the present. These texts may use ancient stories and be based strongly on existing musical and 'literate' traditions, but at the same time they still promote cultural adaptation; very often they involve recontextualisation of the stories to make them more relevant, and in general more useful to the lives of the Balinese audience. Characters and situations become indeed 'models' on which the Balinese can base their interactions with the world.

Many different approaches to textual interpretation have been presented for the purpose of understanding the way the Balinese communicate (inter-)textually. The Ricœurian transcendent text is discarded in favour of a model which views the text as an expression of a dynamic given referred to as both *textuality* and *tradition,* although to avoid all confusion I am referring here to the system which works in culture to interpret 'texts' in a certain way, perpetuating certain tendencies available to the individual to make sense of his/her environment by participating or finding signification in the active 'texts' provided by culture. Balinese culture was presented as a vital vehicle which constantly updates its texts, meaning that Balinese tradition is both *coherent* in the fact that individuals are provided in general with many different multi-levelled textual 'models' or 'blueprints' on which they can model their life, and at the same time, that tradition is entirely adaptable to the dynamic circumstances inherent in a living environment. The Balinese culture provides its members with a system in which they become intricately interwoven; they have a notion which they refer to as 'kaîket' (Lansing 1974: 1) signifying the intricate system which literally 'connects' them to their environment. As Lansing observes, the Balinese are "'tied' from birth to a bewildering variety of obligations, duties, organisations, temples, places, people and things" (ibid.). Thanks to this system, the Balinese provide themselves with an environment in which they are culturally active, creative and ready for a changing future.

A particular characteristic vital for the survival of a culture is the ability to perpetuate its traditions. Change in tradition, however, can lead to transition and this is not always a successful mix. If the physical environment in which a culture exists changes too quickly, as has been the case in many cultures during the twentieth century, the tradition can come to represent stagnation, and ultimately the loss of traditional practices. The Balinese culture is unique because of an ability they have to rethink traditional practice in terms of new symbolism which has significance to a contemporary environment, meaning that the source material is traditional, although the product produced is an innovation which is internalised by a new generation. This can be explained as follows: the Balinese are more interested in *producing* or *playing at* their traditions than speculating philosophically about their *practice*. This practice, however, has to be typical of styles which are present and accepted by the general Balinese public. This means in some way that the Balinese are both innovative and conservative in that a Balinese audience accepts certain musical styles and celebrates small innovations, but as they play the music themselves and have internalised the whole emotional impact of the music, they are very wary of any performance event which strays

from traditional texts. The fact that Balinese people consider their music in terms of practice doesn't in any way reduce the intricate complexity of the musical event. The musical systems which have to be understood to be able to participate in Balinese performance is in no way easier than any other musical system. As Richter notes, the fact that they don't have an intricate system of theoretical knowledge or notation concerning their music "does not mean that Balinese musical concepts are vague and unintelligible: they are concrete and observable, but are not easily tied down by the form of words" (1992: 197). This aside, it is most certainly true that philosophical and religious knowledge, a great deal of which is related to performance, is perpetuated in Balinese culture and is based on the recital of ancient texts in languages such as Old Balinese or Javanese, or even Sanskrit. Despite changes which are involving more and more women in Balinese performance, including music-making, it is still men who are perpetuating the dynamic knowledge implicit in Balinese textuality. Hobart notes that older men "become increasingly concerned with philosophical, religious and literary matters, and with acquiring verbal fluency" (1987: 185).

It should also be mentioned that there is still some degree of insecurity on Bali about precisely where the boundary lies between sacred and secular performance. The elegant Balinese sacred dance known as the *Rejang Dewa* was performed in April 2000 in Yogyakarta, a major Javanese city. The audience consisted of many important VIPs and dignitaries, and the event was organised by the director of the STSI there, the well-known Balinese artist and scholar I Made Bandem. This dance is usually performed as a purification ritual to welcome in the new year, but in this example it was performed purely for aesthetic purposes. A dozen dancers—students of the Yogyakarta Arts Institute [*STSI Yogya*]—were accompanied by live gamelan music (also performed primarily by Javanese students). The dance itself is one of several inner-temple dances performed to "delight and entertain visiting spirits." It was originally based on the sacred *Rejang* dance, and took the form it still adopts today thanks to the reworking of perhaps the most-influential figure in the development of Balinese gamelan: I Wayan Beratha (Bandem 1981: 134-5). It was composed in 1969 when the sacred/secular distinction was an issue, and was reworked in 1970. In *prembon* or other dance performances it is always the first dance used, and was originally composed for the purpose of welcoming visitors to Bali. The dancers in the work carry bowls of flower petals and burning sticks of incense as is found in the traditional *Rejang* dance, "developed from rites to honour the visiting gods" (ibid.). As was made clear with the example of *Panyembrama,* the fact that the composition was composed as an 'empty vehicle' on a religious level doesn't at all reduce the joy and excitement which the dancers achieve while performing movements which are mostly used to welcome gods into the temple. Balinese scholars and legislators present in the audience considered the performance sacrilegious and they voiced their concern. Bandem's justification was precisely that many dancers which were performed for religious purposes changed their function because of the need to adapt to the needs of a growing tourist audience and that the Balinese community is oversensitive. It is clear that this is still a volatile issue which voices at one and the same time Balinese adaptability and conservatism.

One of the most multi-levelled Balinese artistic texts is *Wayang Kulit* (shadow-puppet theatre). During a *Wayang Kulit* performance which involves the explication of certain ancient texts, the audience is subjected to much more than simply words. As a result of the orchestration of the media, they are influenced by the patterns of signification conveyed by the various dramatic components in action. The *parekan* or *penasar* (clown characters) play a similar role to the *penarti* in the *sekehe bebasan* who provide spontaneous translations of the text; they are responsible for linking the textual nature of the performance with the symbolic necessities of the audience. *Wayang Kulit* texts, like their Javanese counterparts, are drawn from the Hindu epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana.* At various times in the twentieth century Balinese cultural organisations have attempted to adapt other major Balinese works—such as the *Geguritan* texts—without success. The great Hindu tales have remained, therefore, the favourites for this medium as they are so well known: instances from these works are referred to constantly in everyday Balinese life. The type of poetry adopted in these works is known as *Kakawin* (when in the form of poetry) and *Parwa* (when in the form of prose), and is made use of in many different Balinese contexts. *Wayang Kulit* performances are contrivances of intricate complexity. As expected, they consist of multimedial elements which allows them to communicate with an audience on many different levels, or rather provides individuals with a large number of different points of possible access. The *Wayang* performances are embedded in a ritual context and have great dramatic strength. The performance becomes a complex creation involving a combination of sound, light, image, odours and other sensory information. The ritual role taken by the *dalang* is extremely important, and it is only he who can perform the necessary rituals for the preparation of the puppets and the blessing of the water for the necessary consecrations. With a combination of the vocal text and the music the performance becomes a multimedial whole of enormous communicative potential. The screen which creates the sense of mystery "acts like a threshold across which the gods are said to communicate to men" (Hobart 1987: 14) can be viewed from both sides, giving the audience the freedom to witness the musical performance in action or to be a part of the mystical ritual process brought to life by the flickering of the candle flame and the movement of the puppets. The *dalang* is

responsible for all levels of the realisation of the Wayang texts: his name is derived from the word *galang* which means bright or clear, implying that the *dalang* is a man "who makes clear the sacred classical literature" (Hobart 1987: 27). He is firstly responsible for choosing the texts, which he cannot do until he has some idea about the reasons why he was invited to perform. On the basis of this encounter, he has to choose the actual texts from the repertoire, and has to weave them in such a way that they have significance to the event taking place or the situation which involves the invocation of the *dalang*. The people who organise the performance have high expectations of the work created by the *dalang*; when the performance is due to take place, he is responsible for all the necessary religious preparations as mentioned above including the blessing of the holy water ('tirta') used to consecrate the performance space and the instruments. When the performance is in action, he reads the parts of all the puppets and controls the musicians. As mentioned the *dalang* has to play in on the desires of the audience, and performance styles are gradually changing as the expectations of the audience are adapted to. Thanks to this ability, *Wayang Kulit* has been able to remain a constant form of entertainment for many hundreds of years.

Balinese religious texts such as the *Karawitan* used in *Wayang Kulit* performances are perpetuated constantly in Balinese culture precisely because they are reinterpreted each time they are read. For older Balinese men to learn more about these ancient texts groups of men get together in the clubs called *sekehe bebasan* described above. It is even possible for *dalang* to learn texts in this group situation. When such texts are presented in *Wayang Kulit* the audience learn about their culture. Within the performance, most of the audience cannot or only partly have the ability to understand the *kawi* or 'decorated' language inhering in the performance, and so rely on the interpreters—the *parekan*—to make the texts accessible. Here the young learn basic concepts in a form which they can understand, knowledge which will help them in the future when they become participants in the *sekehe bebasan* or even as *dalang.* The *parekan* or *penasar* are immune to the cycles of time and can move between the realms of the *kawi*-speakers and the audience. They are actually not mentioned in the ancient texts, surprisingly, but they do play an important function and can almost be viewed apart from their expression as 'characters' in a drama. They speak in local dialects, make jokes, and are fat and buffoonish, but they are enormously entertaining and are loved by their Balinese audience. They retain therefore a healthy, but respectful, distance from the aristocratic figures and deities who represent the old world of Balinese heritage. According to Becker, they use 'modern language, modern ideas, and modern behaviour' (1979: 224) to interface with the gods and the aristocracy, which obviously makes their flowery speech accessible and can sometimes even parody their language use and subjects of discussion if the *dalang* considers this appropriate. As Becker describes, "they bring the present into the story (i.e., they always speak the present), and with the paradox of forethought, contextualise the present within the tradition, changing both, as usually seems to happen when epistemologies are allowed to coincide" (ibid.). The *dalang*'s ability to improvise in interpreting the texts is often a sign of his success and popularity. He is free to include political jokes and to involve members of the village. I've even seen performances in Europe in which the clowns speak in English and make jokes about the audience to one another. Although the *parekan* are amusing, the primary purpose of these characters is educational, interpreting the texts and providing their own insights which audience members are free to allow to influence their textualities. This function is similar to the role played by another context in which *Karawitan* are recited: the *sekehe bebasan*. Similar to a performance of the *Wayang Kulit*, at the meetings of the *Sekehe Bebasan* the meanings of the texts are discussed, joked about and presented in contemporary Balinese. The texts are not at all biblical scripture and they can and often are questioned. There are no fixed rules in this regard: whatever works at the time is a success. By participating in the *sekehe bebasan* reading groups, contemporary *dalang* remain up-to-date on how the artistic texts can signify in dynamic Balinese environments.

The *Wayang Kulit* is an active form of theatre performance which the audience participates in on many different levels. Hobart refers to the fact that these artistic texts "form a self-containing symbolic system which sustains a select pattern of meanings relating to a village's daily life" (1987: 15). Here she refers to the fact that a system of semiotic signification which is represented in contemporary Balinese ways of living is perpetuated in the performance tradition, which may be 'self-containing' but is not conservative or repressive. Change as has been demonstrated is a constant underlying factor present in *Wayang Kulit* performances. Hobart observes that this medium is a strong and pervasive educational tool, offering the Balinese an "integrated scheme for living, a design for selfhood and personal identity" (ibid.). It is referred to constantly and used as a tool to help gauge the parameters of existence, providing comprehensible behavioural models and conceptions. In a performance, the *dalang* revitalises "deeper symbolic linkages" that help to give deep significance to everyday occurrences in Balinese life and general village activity. Again according to Hobart, *Wayang Kulit* performances become vehicles which articulate a "distinctive conception of the universe and the rules governing the moral order" (1987: 186). Axioms presented within the stories are made accessible by the interpretative function of the *parekan*; this system provides entirely comprehensible ways of understanding what is noble and elegant in society and what is ugly, inappropriate and misplaced.

The tradition of the *Sekehe Bebasan* reading clubs which receives full expression in *Wayang Kulit* performances is changing with the new technological possibilities available today. As a dynamic realisation of an ancient medium through a new form of technology, radio is being used as a means to discuss musical texts normally reserved for textual situations like *Sekehe Bebasan*. When questioned on this topic, Astita—an important Balinese composer based at the STSI in Denpasar—told me about a programme called 'Dagang Bantal' played on a radio station based in Denpasar. According to Astita the programme is designed to give the audience the chance to talk about contemporary Balinese art, particularly about traditional texts such as the *Geguritan* and *Kakawin*. Participants can take part by calling from their home, and they sing the texts over the telephone and then discuss with the radio announcer and others present about the interpretation of the text (and the quality of their singing). Astita considers this a highly positive development for the young people of today because it uses contemporary technology, and at the same time encourages the development of Balinese traditional culture. It speaks to young people, therefore, in a way no other medium can.

Up until now we have discussed *Wayang Peteng*, shadow-puppetry performed at night intended for an audience. *Wayang Lemah* ('day wayang') is involved with a unique form of communication: its function is primarily ritual-based and is actually only intended for the gods. In this form of *Wayang* the screen is replaced by a sacred cotton thread suspended between two branches of spiritually powerful trees. It is the most highly respected form of performance even though its audience is primarily supernatural. Gold describes the process as follows: "*Wayang Lemah* represents an intermediate level of abstraction in which the story is performed for the gods as an allegory for the actual ritual situation" (1993: 270). The symbolic potential is enormously powerful: the 'sound' of the *dalang*'s voice and the story enacted combined with the music are strong enough to be considered of great ritual significance.

Musical structures can be found in many levels of the *Wayang Kulit* fabric. These structures could be described as being 'cognitive' in that they refer to generative processes that take place in the subconscious, processes that are often grouped under the heading ritualised behaviour. We can refer here to the phase of transition inherent in many of the narrative-based 'passages' which take place in a performance. Hobart describes one of these as follows: "… *dalang* focus on the intervening phase of transition: the hero, having left one place, passes through an intervening, often ambiguous zone, a sort of social limbo, before reaching another place… The story tends also to stress his purity and nobility, achieved by overcoming some obstacle, which justifies the transition to what is usually a more elevated state" (Hobart 1987: 179). The ritual journey which is taken during *Wayang Lemah* also makes use of this type of narrative; what can be represented at night has a level of similarity to what they need to achieve with the assistance of the *Wayang Lemah* form during the day. In this sense we are referring to the voyages of the *Wayang*-narratives as non-discursive structures which are united by the musicality inherent in the form. This realisation of musicality represents another level of the complex weave which makes up the *Wayang Kulit* performance. Gold also discusses the relationship between the narrative structures and the musicality echoed in the ritual performance during the day in an article entitled "Musical Expression in the Wayang Repertoire," commenting on the "clear connection between a *Wayang* narrative and the activities that unfold during ritual" (1993: 271). As Gold refers to it, "rituals are seen as narratives to some extent, and music is the vehicle for the narrative" (ibid.).

It is not difficult to concede that *Wayang Kulit* as a medium is a popular form of entertainment which attracts Balinese people because it can speak to them on many different levels. Within our own culture, wide-ranging success also depends on the broad way it can communicate to a wide audience. We could compare on the one hand an intellectual talk-show concerning popular culture which has a limited audience to a popular programme such as the famous cult animated series *The Simpsons*. The wide-reaching success of programmes such as the latter is thanks to the way they can speak to an audience on many different levels: children enjoy the typification of real-life situations exaggerated for comedy, whereas adults may enjoy some of the more advanced humour which goes over the heads of children. Film-buffs can enjoy imitated scenes from famous Hollywood films and academics could enjoy the typification and parody of pop-culture in contemporary North American life. There is something for everyone, and this helps to explain its popularity. *Wayang Kulit* is similarly popular, although I think that its multimedial nature is important here: children from a very young age can begin to enjoy the exciting clashes of wood against metal and the interaction of the voices even before they understand spoken language; infants can enjoy the comedy of the *parekan* and older-children can start following the stories which are told. This spreads to older men who can ponder on the erudite interpretation of ancient texts. hrough the expression of the complex Balinese *Wayang Kulit* texts, the *dalang* is able to provide a textual environment which is 'nonarbitrarily related to the world outside the play' (Becker 1979: 238). Here the text is directly taken-up as a part of the audience's everyday reality as well as an expression of their ancient heritage. The two concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Thanks to the ability of the *dalang* and the nature of Balinese *tradition* which allows this type of dynamic textual expression to take place, the Balinese are provided with a comprehensive and significant system

to measure the world, allowing at the same time adaptations to take place which are necessitated by cultural change.

Tourist performances, in contrast, are to all intents and purposes 'conservative'; they involve to a large degree textual regimentation. Their aims for the Balinese are primarily lucrative, and unlike other forms of Balinese dance, these performative texts have remained pretty much the same for the last fifty years. Moerdowo comments as follows on this stasis:

> In almost one decade there has been no variation or advancement in the forms and compositions that these dances take. The *Oleg-Tambulilingan* dance taken by John-Coast to Europe twenty years ago, and to America in 1952, is reproduced in the same from and with the same choreography. (Moerdowo 1983: 75)

The stasis of these musical texts, however, does not mean the performances are treated with any less seriousness than ritual performances. The Balinese attribute the financial advantages to a combination of the performance of the works and of the spiritual health of the participants, all of whom are usually part of the same community. Many tourist performances, with the exception of those held at the *Bali Beach Hotel* on an unconsecrated mock-stage (rather than a temple), are performed only after some sort of ritual process has been performed. It must also be remembered that most tourist performances share at least some of the basic attributes present in ritual performances, meaning that the Balinese feel a similar sense of joy when performing non-sacred works. This was made clear in an interview I had with Ni Ketut Wirjati, a Balinese dancer living in Utrecht (the Netherlands). As a result, the performers feel similar devotion to the performance and inevitably a sense of the sacred: this is an inescapable side to this form of musical textuality. In 1997 I witnessed a tourist performance which took place in a temple in Kerambitan. It was a celebrated *Barong-Rangda* performance, one involving the traditional conflict between good and evil which results in neither side retaining the edge over the other; maintaining balance in an environment of constant flux as is typical of the Balinese culture. In this performance something suddenly seemed to be going wrong after the arrival of *Rangda*, the evil childless widow who is seen by the Balinese as a kind of witch. First some members of the audience fell into trance, and then the back part of the *Barong* collapsed. This caused a whirlwind of events to take place, including priests rushing on to the stage firstly to help revive the performers but secondly and most importantly to stop one of the kriss-dancers who was becoming dangerously close to pouncing on the witch: they actually ended up taking off the *Rangda*'s mask to make clear to the dancer that it was 'only a performance'. Here the boundary between ritual and tourist performance becomes extremely difficult to distinguish, and one is reminded of the important experiences which provide the Balinese with a way to cope with their world. Tourist performances, such as is the case with many aspects of Balinese culture, are difficult to classify without knowing a great deal of background information. They usually involve a degree of conservatism primarily because it is in the interest of Balinese tourism to perpetuate the image of a 'timeless' Bali, even if that image is somewhat misleading and highly dated. There are, however, cases such as the one described above where 'tourist' performances fall by chance on the same night as ritual performances or *odalan* which often means that the 'tourist' can witness something quite unique.

Balinese texts seem to maintain both a conservative and adaptable streak, although right up until the present day women in Bali have been discriminated against in all levels of textual expression. Balinese *bodily hexis* is certainly stronger and more restrictive for women than it is for men; their culture demands women remain serene and silent. It is not considered feminine for women to show their emotions, whereas for men a little leeway is allowed in this regard. Most visitors to Bali don't realise that balancing the turbulence of their lives to retain such a serene composure can be a constant daily pressure. A new generation of women, however, have been attempting to change this, to redress the balance. A major event in this regard is the performance traditions. Women in traditional culture are permitted to play only the most feminine of characters, and playing gamelan instruments is considered inappropriate. Today however there are some groups of female players who are coming together. Unfortunately, women are the last to feel the turning tides of change on Bali, so we can only hope that the future will bring more positive development. There have recently been some important developments for women, even though it is not directly involved with changing the gamelan traditions. At the moment there is an art gallery in Ubud called the *Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women* where art by Balinese women is demonstrated and where collaborative projects between artists from all over the world can be organised. The gallery started with ten painters in December 1991, and now represents seventy two women. It took awhile to sell the idea that women could create art: moving against a whole tradition which limits the possibilities of women artists is not an easy task. Mary Northmore is the director of the gallery. She is a foreign painter who settled in Bali with her Indonesian husband. The issuing of a calendar with women's art was a first step which helped them achieve a degree of acceptance. According to Northmore, nurturing young talent helps. The gallery has organised yearly art contests for schoolgirls.

In Bali most forms of textual expression could be called 'conservative' in that they involve the perpetuation of traditional Balinese culture. After observing the unique adaptability of many of these textual forms, especially

Wayang Kulit, one can't help questioning this conclusion. Even after viewing these and other 'conservative' texts represented in the stasis of traditional and tourist performances, we can't help come to the conclusion that even the most 'conservative' of Balinese musical texts maintain at the very least some vital connection with the present which consistently updates the works for its participants. This suggests the importance of the contextual environment for signification for all the forms of textual expression we've viewed until now. In the following discussion we observe performance texts which have the potential to influence cultural change in a dynamic way.

2.6 Progressive Cultural Texts as Rites of Modernisation

Artistic texts are important cultural tools in South-East Asia, as Peacock states in his book concerning Javanese *Ludruk.* When Peacock published his work in 1968 there were at least twenty times as many professional drama troupes per capita as in the United States (Peacock 1968: 4). Bali also sports an amazing amount of performance ensembles and an equally remarkable amount of performance texts. Certain types of performance texts have a tendency to initiate cultural change; Peacock, with reference to *Ludruk* refers to these types of texts as *Rites of Modernisation.* In his important work of the same name Peacock demonstrates a contemporary tendency in Javanese culture where sets of Javanese terms are compared; two alternative types of opposites, one of which is pervading over the other in a gradual process of modernisation (ibid.: 7). *Alus* and *kasar* refer to cultural distinctions made between 'refined' or 'clean' and 'crude' or 'dirty' thoughts, actions or things. In contrast the *madju/kuna* distinction refers to 'progressive' and 'conservative'. According to Peacock contemporary Javanese performance is actively playing a role in perpetuating as a pervading cultural given the *madju/kuna* distinction above the *alus/kasar* distinction because "the alus-kasar cosmology served to make sense out of a traditional society that is no more, while madju-kuna ideology imbues the process of modernisation with meaning and legitimacy" (ibid.: 8). In this context performance texts are seen to actively precipitate cultural change. In this part of the chapter we'll be looking at specific tendencies in Balinese cultural performance texts that tend towards progressive change. Bali has a remarkable ability to adapt to new cultural situations and to emerge from the adaptation with a great deal of personal integrity. The Balinese are able to turn essentially non-Balinese processes or textualities into something integrally Balinese. With this remarkable ability to adapt, it is logical that the role of the composer in Balinese life would also be shifting with the cultural change. In the period after the turn of the century Bali was undergoing enormous change. McPhee noted that the role music played was highly 'functional', being used for specific purposes in rituals and drama. He referred to the compositional process as 'evolving' rather than creating, which in some respects is still significant in understanding how Balinese contemporary artists work. The *pencipta* ('creative artist') of today, however, plays a larger role and arrives at rehearsals with general conceptual structures. The most famous contemporary composers are remembered for dynamic new melodies, whereas in McPhee's days, 'a new melody was rare'. In any case, the contrasting signification of the terms *pencipta/penusun* is still of significance in understanding Balinese contemporary composition, and will be referred to further on. As a part of the Balinese social fabric many progressive artistic texts can be found which lighten the burden of rapid sociocultural change as I hope to demonstrate in the following case studies. We start with a general discussion of the movement between sacred and secular dance forms. This is followed by a discussion of a particular genre of dance performance, the *Prembon,* which has itself initiated various types of signification dependent on the cultural environment and necessity. The next topic to be examined is the most striking example of possible influence of musical form on cultural change: the development of what is now referred to as the *Gong Kebyar* tradition.

The *Desa Kala Patra* phrase is certainly applicable to contemporary dance performance, both in terms of what is classified as 'sacred' dance and 'secular' dance. According to the Balinese, the meaning of something could change depending on when it happens, where it happens and who it happens to, suggesting that they have a model which is much more conducive to sociocultural change. This adaptation is implicit in their understanding of meaning. We can demonstrate an example taken directly from Balinese traditional culture. At certain times in history, a distinction between *sacred* and *secular* dances was needed because of the fact that history had brought with it a questioning of Balinese faith as more and more religious dances intended for the most sacred part of the temple were performed for tourists. As a result of this, particular new dances were composed for the tourist market. Thirty years later, many of these secular dances are used again in the temple, and sacred dances are performed for an audience. This represents an ability to reassess situations in a new and contrasting cultural light, and we will be discussing some of these issues further on.

The twentieth century brought a great turbulence to Bali, although many have tried to repress this turbulence to support the tourist industry. Bali was considered by colonial policy to be non-political, and political unrest in the direction of republicanism and/or communism was repressed by the Dutch supposedly for Bali's own good; this image of Bali has been perpetuated for the tourist industry since this time. After an extremely torrential period of political turmoil, the tourist market returned in full force. The impact of the rapidly increasing tourist market began

to cause unrest in Bali after the fear of the bloody massacres in 1965 had died down: traditional temple dances usually reserved for sacred purposes in the most sacred part of the temple (*jeroan)* were being performed for tourists. In 1971, a team of scholars came together to determine which dances were to be sacred, and which were to be secular (Ballinger 1993: 58), so that there could be no more ambiguity. This seminar was known as 'Sacred and Secular Art'. I Gusti Bagus Sbriwa "proposed the basic three-part set of categories of sacred performances" (Bandem 1981: 133). These categories were based on where the dances were held in the temple and were referred to as *Wali, Bebali* and *Bali-balihan.* Ballinger describes these categories as follows:

> *Wali* dances are those performed or originating in the *Jeroan* or innermost courtyard of the temple ... *Bebali* dancers are ceremonial- performed in the *jaba tengah* or middle courtyard of the temple ... *Bali-balihan* dances are secular and performed in the *jaba* or outer courtyard, usually beyond the prescribed sacred space itself (although often this space will be consecrated by a priest before performance). (Ballinger 1993: 58-59)

At the seminar it was decided that dances composed for the two inner most places should not be performed for tourists, or involved in any type of money-making activities. As a result of this, new dances were composed which were similar to sacred dances used for tasks such as welcoming the gods. This included welcoming dances like the *Gabor* or *Pendet.* One of the most well-known of these was composed with music and movements from different places around Bali, and is considered today to be an extremely beautiful composition both by the Balinese and the international public who appreciate it. The work received the title *Panyembrama* (from the Balinese word *sambrama* which means 'welcome'). The music and choreography within the work involve a mixture of traditional sources from the *jeroan* (most sacred part of the temple) collected from contrasting places all around the island. Today it is now performed in the temple again. According to Vitale, this demonstrates clearly Bali's ability to retain their traditions and also to constantly adapt their culture to new developments, bringing to life *Desa Kala Patra* and still maintaining their sense of what it is to be Balinese. Textual performances such as *Panyembrama* certainly assist in this change.

The distinction between secular and sacred performance has been adjusted considerably depending on particular cultural necessities. This can be caused by many factors including resources—amount of space and time the musicians/dancers have to produce sacred works—or economics, the amount of finances the *banjar* has to purchase instruments. A prime example of this is the adoption of the processional music form known as *Baleganjur.* It is played with cymbals sounded together using the dynamic *kotekan* rhythmic style. Other instruments include *reong* pots, *kendang* and *gongs.* It is simpler to learn than *Gong Kebyar* and is therefore far more accessible to a contemporary Balinese people who live in the big cities and are required to work full-time. It is also a far smaller economic burden to the *banjar*, who often already own the instruments. Contemporary Balinese culture has adjusted its ritual needs to include this simpler form for necessary ritual activities, meaning that far less time and energy goes into tasks which are nonetheless necessary for the culture: the Balinese have no problems in bending the rules to suit a new situation, suggesting that the 'sacred/secular' distinction was based on a particular necessity at a given time and place—here we can think again of the *Desa Kala Patra* ethos. *Baleganjur* has many applications in contemporary Balinese life and has adjusted so well to its environment that it has had an influence on the way Balinese culture has adapted to recent cultural changes, especially over the last fifty years as the island has succumbed to over-population. It also has both mythical and historical sub-texts. These areas will be expanded upon in our discussion of competitive events, of which the dynamic and new *Kreasi Baleganjur* is a prime example.

Another musically structured Balinese performance text is the well-known *Prembon.* This form of presentation is most certainly a type of 'artistic text', one which has functioned in at least one of its guises in Balinese history to 'modernise' Balinese culture. Today tourists know this as a typical Balinese collage of different types of performance, although its origins are quite complex. It is most likely a twentieth century creation that emerged within Balinese communities, but became connected with the colonial administration and the tourist trade. According to Ballinger, the Balinese have always loved to create new genres by 'melding together different forms', meaning that *Prembon* may well have begun ages before its existence was recorded. In the 1940s the king of Gianyar, I Dewa Manggis VIII created a new form of dance called *Prembon* (Ballinger 1993: 74)**,** combining elements from a variety of different performance genres including the ancient forms of music-theatre *Gambuh*, *Arja*, *Parwa* and *Baris*. It is known to have become an enormously popular event. This shortened programme was something new to a post-*puputan* Bali, an exciting and vital textual presentation which at one and the same time made available a new performance aesthetic. It went hand in hand with contemporaneous developments in the *Gong Kebyar* tradition. The *Prembon* form as we know it today, however, actually arose during the Japanese period of occupation, and some suggest that it may have come about partly due to the desires of the Japanese who enjoyed seeing more than one type of dance in the same programme. Even if it was created for the Japanese, it was quickly integrated into Balinese folk culture and began to form a part of Balinese entertainment. For a long time now, the *Prembon* form has been entertaining busloads of tourists regularly who can be introduced to many

different kinds of dance and music at a single performance. The 'tourist' *Prembon* which is a rather conservative text became associated with the *Bali Beach Hotel* on Sanur beach. This multi-storied hotel was one of the first of its kind set up during Sukarno's reign, the first step on his grand quest to develop the tourist industry in Bali. It is at this hotel that the whole ritual of tourist *Prembon* performance took root. As Bandem refers to it, a sort of myth has grown beneath this term due to a number of different circumstances which have developed around it: an evening's entertainment combined with a dinner buffet where the audience is directed towards the sea watching dancers performing on an unconsecrated stage which has been designed specifically for this purpose with 'imitation shrines' concealing the spotlights (Bandem 1981: 132). There is a clear demonstration here of the Balinese changing forms initially developed for a Balinese audience to suit the specific needs of the tourist public who often flock to this particular hotel to see the performance which is a melange of all the favourite bits of Balinese dance and music in a short and accessible form. Dibia, an important choreographer and academic discusses the important implications of *Prembon* in contemporary Balinese art. He considers the Balinese ability to combine different forms of performance into a single show, despite the contrasts, is a particular talent the Balinese adopt in contemporary performance. As Dibia himself comments, "by means of intimate and dynamic interaction, artists in this area practice their contrasting expertise, and they also unite the artistic elements around in a perceptive way" (1993: 36). The artists work together to produce something integrally Balinese in nature: adapted to specific conditions "motivated by an internal communal aesthetic" (ibid.). Dibia describes this ability to fuse contrasting art forms successfully into a single programme as 'per-*imbuh*-an' (from *imbuh* which means 'to add' in Indonesian); *prembon* has since its origin demonstrated the "very adaptable and flexible" way (ibid.: 43) the Balinese have of adapting their performance forms, directly indicative of social change. The Prembon, then, is perhaps demonstrative of the Balinese spirit of adaptation present in their artistic forms. As Dibia suggests, the Balinese are able to work together and produce to their own satisfaction a balance of 'traditional' forms to create a performance which is essentially complete in its own right. It also demonstrates the ability of the Balinese to take advantage of situations which are financially lucrative without in the process losing the creative ability to change in the process. *Prembon* has clearly functioned in many different fashions in the Balinese culture, one of them being as a 'Rite of Modernisation' in the sense intended by Peacock—a text intended to influence cultural change. A discussion of *Prembon* as a form of Balinese cultural creation is therefore an ideal introduction to change within the Balinese culture. It is, as Dibia suggests, not just a *melange* of different theatre forms, it is a *way of realising* culture, an indication of the textual engines which function in Balinese art to perpetuate and continually update their culture.

Perhaps the most dynamic form of musical text which has truly instilled—and continues to instil—a modern attitude to the future in each new generation of Balinese youth remains the *Gong Kebyar* gamelan orchestra and its associated *Kreasi Baru* musical form. The *Gong Kebyar* ensemble arose at the beginning of the twentieth century and represented a radical change to existing gamelan such as the stately *Gong Gédé* and the melodic *Semar Pegulingan.* It represented not only a change in instrumentation, but a radical change in musical and epistemological aesthetics: from stately forms designed for Balinese aristocracy and a complex ritual tradition to the dynamism of the new gamelan form called *Gong Kebyar* which heralded in an exciting age of Balinese musical development. It celebrated rapid musical development characterised by sudden changes in tempo and volume and new musical structures. It was a move away from a previously staid musical tradition designed for ritual-based purposes, bringing in as it did a new and dynamic secular style. This didn't of course happen in any way spontaneously or without good reason. The beginning of the twentieth century was enormously dynamic for the Balinese, with the downfall of the feudal system and the transferral of (musical) power back to the villagers. Dutch colonialism weaselled its way into Balinese life, and a political consciousness gradually formed in the minds of the Balinese, something the Dutch were to repress; they generally never considered politics to be 'appropriate' for the Balinese and their happy-go-lucky culture. *Gong Kebyar* was to play an important role in demonstrating that the Balinese were an active culture demanding constant change and development as their world placed more demands upon them. We discuss in more detail the repercussions of this truly unique *Rite of Modernisation* in chapter division 2.7.

Almost in tandem with *Gong Kebyar* music a dance form known as *Kebyar Duduk* or *Kebyar Trompong* developed. This was an extreme expression of Balinese musical thinking in dance. It was essentially a dance style based entirely on the movements involved in playing an instrument. The name refers firstly to the gamelan instruments (*kebyar*) and secondly to the 'sitting position' involved in the performance of the movements (*duduk*). The dance itself evolved from the physical process required to play the *trompong,* where the length of the instrument itself necessitated the player to move from one end to the other, and as such was usually played by two or more performers. I Ketut Maria, the originator of this dance form, wanted to play this instrument alone and thus invented a large number of stylised movements that would allow him to reach from one end to the other as a dancer. Naturally he had to remain as close to the ground as possible; hence the word 'duduk' in the dance's title.

This performance became independent of the instrument and was recognised as a dance form in its own right, although one could interpret the dancer in *Kebyar Duduk* as an 'instrument' of the music rather than as an individual personality; mallets ('panggul') for playing the instruments were eventually replaced by fans and the instrument was removed from the stage. Vitale considers the physical element of the *Kebyar* form to be vital in understanding how the Balinese relate to this performance and to contemporary performance in general. He considers the dynamic activity, the theatricality, present in the earliest *Kebyar* performances, which became in its most complete form expressed in the *Duduk* style, to be a quintessential element of the form; the *Gong Kebyar* aesthetic was as much a theatrical as it was a musical style. He thinks that what struck people the most at the beginning was the flamboyance implicit in *Kebyar* performance practice, the flourish of the *trompong* player which became an essential basis element for Mario's dance. What really excites a contemporary Balinese audience is the explosive enthusiasm present in their physical gestures as they perform their music. This unique combination of dance and music is a clear demonstration of the 'embodied' complexity of Balinese musical thinking. Moreover it is an *artistic text* of considerable importance and influence which worked in tandem with the *Gong Kebyar* movement as a 'Rite of Modernisation' to change the face of Bali in the years following the turn of the century.

On Bali a unique type of textuality deeply involved with music is the institution of the competition: Balinese 'theatricality'. Because of its enormous popularity, its dynamic adaptability and the way it often provides spontaneous new physical and social forms of expression for Balinese youth, it certainly can be seen as a *Rite of Modernisation*. Through the medium of competitions, the Balinese are able to communicate a unique sense of self-expression not quite possible in any other way. Although the dynamic theatricality in a general *Gong Kebyar* performance can be classified as 'heightened behaviour', as are Balinese cockfights, it is only when competing in a competition, thanks to strong audience interaction and an environment that literally drips with energy, that the Balinese express themselves completely. In all competitive situations, the performers make use of 'theatrical' self-expression which is a sort of heightened interactive state between the musicians and the audience, and/or the musicians and the dancers. Rather than an aspect of the text, it is both a way of performing and a phenomenological state that individuals reach from experiencing performances; it is at one and the same time a way of interpreting a text (a 'textuality' of sorts), a form of behaviour and an approach to life—I refer to it in chapter divisions 1.4 and 1.8 as *Balinese theatricality*. It has even become a parameter used for judging the relatively new Balinese competition known as *Lomba Baleganjur* (designed for the new processional gamelan form *Kreasi Baleganjur* which has musicians playing cymbals, gongs and drums): the term *Gerak*—which basically means 'movement'—has become a category which specifies this 'theatrical' form of expression. According to Bakan there is a fine-line between "types of movement that are thought to be appropriately clever in a humorous way and others that may be regarded as offensive" (Bakan 1993: 318). Here the degree of expressivity which is so essential to the performance is controlled so that the performance doesn't cross the boundaries into dramatic excess. Although an inexperienced viewer may find Balinese expressivity completely over the top and lacking in subtlety, when one comes to understand how diverse that expression can be, these images begin to fade. This unique expressivity comes primarily from the urge to compete, and it is through pleasing and entertaining the audience that one can win. It is logical therefore that expressivity of this type will be used by the winning groups in such a way that it can fire-up an audience without completely losing themselves in high camp. According to Bakan, inappropriate over the top movements include "pelvic thrusts and gyrations, protruding backsides turned towards the audience, or clumsy and awkward gestures and motions that caricature the ideal deportment of warriors or other noble characters" (ibid.: 314). In *Gong Kebyar* performances the groups are a mixture of young and older men who have rehearsed very actively for a long time, probably under the direction of a teacher sent out from the STSI, and their groups are probably supplemented by students of the academy who are able to perform the new and quick playing styles which are becoming increasingly more difficult for laymen. *Kreasi Baleganjur* is especially popular among a young male audience. According to Bakan, "within Balinese 'youth culture' itself, the *Kreasi Baleganjur* phenomenon has achieved tremendous popularity because the music and the *lomba* event are so intrinsically invigorating and uplifting, the intensely energetic quality resulting in great youth appeal" (1993: 330). Most importantly, however, Balinese youth love the social aspect of belonging to the group, and they are also very proud of being able to perform in a musical idiom which is based in a whole new variation on the tradition, which as far as they see helps to perpetuate traditional culture, or to 'keep it alive' (ibid.). At the same time, with its parallel running *modernising*-streak the competitive/theatrical text provides the Balinese with unique moments of improvisation where new types of behaviour in relation to one another and an audience can be experimented with. This event is discussed further in terms of *Bottom-Up* and *Top-Down* impetus to artistic creation in Chapter Four.

Lastly, I'd like to discuss a particular form of Balinese behaviour which is both a form of textuality that encourages modernisation and an age-old form of Balinese mass communication: *ramai* (introduced in chapter division 1.81). A comparison could be made between this Balinese sense of expressivity described above and the

dynamics involved with the achievement of *ramai*, the unique Balinese notion of becoming lost in a crowd, briefly escaping from the controlled environment in which one lives within the small and intimate confines of a *banjar*. *Ramai* is a desired Balinese state which forms a controlled type of mass-hysteria, one involved with the interaction between audience and performers. Although it is essentially Balinese and can be traced back to the early days of Balinese history, it is appropriate for it to be included here because it helps explain the remarkable ability of the Balinese to adapt itself to change. *Ramai* is a Balinese word for a sense of personal power and freedom that one gains through uniting with the crowd, and is an emotive state that could be compared to what many Balinese go through after falling into a trance. It is, in a sense, both a way of behaving and an achieved psychological state; it is something particularly Balinese but also something very human. To adapt to Balinese life in an overpopulated Bali, achieving *ramai* had become an important goal, and the Balinese have used it to help them adapt to many different types of new developments on the island. It is perhaps this ability to express themselves in an outwardly going manner either in trance or through *ramai* that the Balinese are able to adapt quickly to a rapidly changing world and seamlessly remain true to their rich traditional life.

2.7 The Avant-Garde Musical Text: *Kreasi Baru, Gong Kebyar and its Performative Environment*

As we have discussed texts can be so much more than simply a static 'product' of given cultural exchanges, and can certainly come in many forms. In this context we refer particularly to open 'cultural texts' which provide the artist with a basic blueprint for their own personal creations. This 'blueprint' can be more than simply a 'form' which the artist can take advantage of in a practical way. It can be a process, a way of realising artistic behaviour which is involved with a particular bodily-situated relationship or a way of behaving. Bourdieu refers to this as a 'sens du jeu' [*feel for the game*] (1980: 111). In other words, it is more than simply knowing the rules, but knowing how they can be applied. In Western European art the quest to find a personal voice has resulted in the work of many artists being considered inaccessible by people who are not intimate with the artist's œuvre. This can be related to Barthes' model for the 'unreadable' text, the text which is difficult for the participant to set into action (1984: 79). On the other hand, the work of an artist can by chance answer specific needs of a given culture, resulting in him or her reaping the benefits of fame and popularity. An example in the musical arena could include the *Glam-Rock* phenomenon, one which made use of the marketing of sexual ambiguity. Thanks to the paleability and popularity of this movement, David Bowie became world famous. By chance—or clever marketing—his music which promoted sexual ambiguity became enormously popular. There existed at that time an audience of people who were longing for an escape from the gender restrictions enforced by existing forms of popular music. Bowie made use of the currently popular artistic texts in the rock idiom and combined it with his own theatricality and camp. Whether by chance or intention, Bowie's success remains unquestionable.

The *Avant-Garde* artistic text, however, can differ. It is often the dynamic result of a reaction to 'traditional culture'. As discussed, traditional texts adopt existing artistic models. These 'texts' usually develop minimally and without purposeful intent upon existing texts. As demonstrated so dramatically in Schaffer's play *Amadeus*, the more 'traditional' an artistic text, the less chance it has to survive for future generations to hear. In this work an almost dichotomous situation is created by comparing Mozart's 'genius' with the 'mediocrity' of Salieri (a modest court composer). Because Mozart attempted to defy the traditions with his sometimes outrageous experimentation, he suffered physically and died young, although ultimately it is his work (rather than Salieri's) which has survived to reach the audience of today. Although Schaffer's model is highly dramatic and exaggerated, it does represent a general movement in artistic change. Texts that are 'traditional' in that they simply perpetuate existing forms, although popular when they are written (as was much of Salieri's music), often end up being forgotten by future generations all the same; the actual 'quality' of the work doesn't necessarily play a role in the 'survival' of a given cultural text. In comparison avant-garde or 'innovative' texts perform a dynamic function in presenting radical new models which become expressive of a particular generation: the musical artefacts we tend to remember are those which were more than simply quintessential representations, but the expression of a 'new' voice to the people of a given society.

In general the more innovative a given 'avant-garde' text is, the less it is appreciated by its original audience. At the same time, the more innovative it is, the more dramatically it is remembered by its audience. 'Successful' avant-garde works, then—if you judge successful as being remembered—act to (radically) extend existing cultural texts or to provide new models which express more successfully the needs of a given generation and which can be extended upon by its contemporary artistic audience. Good examples of this phenomenon include Stravinsky's famous work *Le sacre de printemps* or the ground-breaking Balinese *Gong Kebyar* work *Teruna Jaya*. It is important to stress the fact that the completely 'traditional' or 'innovative' text is practically impossible to find. As suggested by Dibia, most artistic texts are results of attempts to make a balance between the two. The changing forces of time influence the impact of avant-garde works as well, of course. *Teruna Jaya* was truly an 'avant-garde' work when it was composed in the sense that it went where no other artist had gone and changed the face of

Balinese music, although today it is a standard *Gong Kebyar* work which is played for tourists among a programme of many other similar works. The same can be said of works like Stravinsky's *Le sacre de printemps.* Textual models produced by artists which react against existing models are of vital importance to cultural development, even if they form an 'undercurrent' in a stream in which the prevailing model remains the *status quo* instigated by society. De Smet suggests that art is an essential form of 'social conscience', noting that once art has been officialised and made sacred, it quickly loses its stimulatory function and its questioning role. In this brief discussion I have attempted to traverse a number of issues concerning the problematics of avant-garde texts and the sociocultural change they may have the potential of causing (in certain unique cases). Many of us these days have the tendency to say that the 'avant-garde' is a thing of the past, that it's no longer needed in the contemporary world which has transcended this type of artistic expression. I hope that through this particular discussion the reader will begin to question this assumption; *avant-garde* is more than a type of art – it is an attitude which questions the control society has over its artists, and the ways it attempts to enforce particular ideologies. It also involves the way individuals attempt to transcend these limitations by extending the boundaries of their art forms.

The concept of compositional models is of course as old as western culture or probably any culture. The theory behind such models is basically that thanks to a 'primeval creative act' a new generation of artists is able to innovate; most types of innovation are not possible without the *status quo* to deviate from. In the western culture, an example of this type of model is the *sonata form*. Successful compositional models are those which composers can use to express their own artistic individuality. Vitale notes that models of this type 'draw the best' out of composers, using the example of the *concerto grosso* of the 18th century and the classical symphony of the 19th (1996: 11). The *concerto grosso* was quite rigid in form, but thanks to gradual development through the years became enormously extensive and decorated in the romantic era in the form of the romantic symphony. Compositional models are not, therefore, existing works on paper, but general structures that composers subscribe to by adapting the genre. We can refer here to Barthes' notion of the static Work—which is a completed object on a bookshelf—compared to the dynamic plurality of the *Text* which exists in a state of becoming, being more of a *potential* than an object in its own right. Compositional models, such as the *fugue* or the *sonata form* in western music give the composer a degree of freedom through restriction, a 'textuality' around which they can create their artistic works. Without such models many composers would flounder, having ultimately too many choices at his or her disposal.

The Balinese compositional model, such as the now highly developed *Kreasi Baru* form, however, takes this a step further. Like the western compositional model it resembles far better Barthes' *Text* than his *Work*, especially considering that the compositional models themselves are not static, but change according to environmental and temporal factors. Composers can use the dynamism of these compositional models which themselves are still in a 'process of becoming' to create their own works. There is never pressure to imitate them exactly, and that in any case would be impossible because in Bali the real essence of the music, the complex playing styles which decorate the melodies, are never notated; there exists a rudimentary system of notation for core melodies or *lagu* which is generally only used for academic purposes.

Without these types of models, or through the gradual deterioration of interest in these models for whichever sociological reason, avant-garde art usually takes place. Radical new models are presented which are either rejected or accepted depending on the active interest of the participants and audience. It is always difficult to make general conclusions about the way these compositional models work, because it is only through their *enaction* that these models can be tested. The 'model' itself doesn't exist: we can only make generalisations about what the tendency is in a given era, and talking about what is going on at the present moment is naturally difficult because it is impossible to know what sort of decisions are being made artistically. In discussing such models, Vitale notes that it is "not a pre-shaped mould (into which a composer can "pour" his or her ideas) which attracts creative minds, but the very fact that such forms are still in the process of evolving. Composers have the opportunity to challenge and redefine boundaries, explore the fringes, and help shape the commonly held perceptions of what is possible and appropriate" (1996: 11). Compositional models are important because they provide a given generation with a sense of shared understanding, musical experience that unites a cultural group or school, and communicates important information about the dynamic environment in which the models are expressed.

The twentieth century has seen the development of two major forms of music in Bali, both of which are 'Rites of Modernisation' in that their cultural presence has actively influenced Balinese cultural development. The first is the most popular and is basically a form which is a development of the *Gong Kebyar* innovation which left its permanent mark after its radical introduction near to the turn of the century. This form has received the name *Kreasi Baru*, and represents a general approach to musical composition which is based on innovations upon a traditional form. It is centred around a three-part structure (beginning/middle/end) which is representative of the Balinese Hindu *triloka*. More information on this embedded context is included further on, although it basically implies that even though the *Gong Kebyar* revolution was a radical new form of innovation, it still had its

backbone in a traditional format which the Balinese were able to relate to. In comparison, a new form has arisen in recent years which makes a dramatic separation between the past and the present. It is known as *Musik Kontemporer*, and has arisen in academic contexts in the STSI, as part of the new educational syllabus which requires contemporary composers to create radical breaks with the past: new ways to adopt instruments, new playing styles, deviations from the tripartite *triloka* which characterises the *Kreasi Baru* form, and other radical breaks with tradition. I Wayan Sadra, a Balinese composer of rather radical new music which resulted in him finding a niche not on Bali but in Java (Solo), makes the following definition contrasting the two forms present in Indonesian contemporary music:

> …I have observed two approaches to composition, each with its own momentum and growth. In the first [approach]… the composer makes creative use of existing musical material. In the second, developed since 1978, the composer has a more experimental attitude. The approach using existing materials in works that have strong relationships to the past, a sense of place, a technique to arrange the music, and one main arrangement. The traditional repertory and vocabulary can be potentially vital resources, even when they clearly are used to express the musical feeling and ideas of an individual composer. These works are considered by many artists to be somewhat conventional, supporting the more established goal of development of the tradition… The more experimental approach is evident in works that have an open and free orientation. The composition shows a consciousness that looks forward and is based on a belief in 'newness'—in both the process of encountering new ideas and the new elements themselves. The composer does not care about existing techniques. (Sadra 1988: 20)

Kreasi Baru, then, is considered to be an organic form which results from the highly gradual adaptation of traditional structures, whereas *Musik Kontemporer* is seen to be relatively artificial, resulting from influences external to tradition. *Musik Kontemporer* is still not particularly popular or even well-known in the Bali of today. It takes place to a limited extent in an academic context—student composers writing for their exams—or as a result of Balinese composers returning home from studies overseas, having learnt new techniques such as jazz or free improvisation; they attempt to apply these new techniques to a Balinese context, and are largely unsuccessful. A Balinese composer who delves into the *Musik Kontemporer* genre can still expect general derision if it is experienced in an environment external to the academic world which nourishes it.

There is no doubt that artistic developments of this type are the result of dramatic epistemological change, brought about in all of the examples above by the imposition of or the transferral of power either to or from the villagers. This type of 'radical' adaptation to new epistemological circumstances is known as 'avant-garde' artistic behaviour. I think however that a theory of 'radical models' is more appropriate in the case of Bali because *avant-garde* evokes the image of a non-accessible text, while on Bali the 'radical' new musical experiments were enormously popular despite their sudden contrast to the past. In using the term 'models' I'm referring to musical texts which can be used as examples by each new generation. A popular model within our culture is the *sonata form* which developed quickly through the baroque, classical and romantic eras, although in the twentieth century it reached such a point of decoration that it could no longer be further developed and has largely fallen out of use. In any case, the *sonata form* is generally not considered to be radical. Individuals react and interact with their culture, and participate in the constantly changing body of knowledge which the members of a culture share, some of which is the 'musical knowledge' we are dealing with in this work. The rules set up by the culture demonstrate to individuals what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. These rules only act as guidelines, and they are automatically updated with each new generation. Sometimes, however, these principles cannot keep up with development necessitated by environmental and/or sociopolitical change; the existing set of rules become old hat or out-of-date. Sometimes radical cultural change is necessary. Very often artists are active participants in this rethinking process, and sometimes the work of individuals will catch on, suiting the taste of an audience requiring quick and total satisfaction. It is my belief that this is the best way to describe what happened on Bali, and also other radical avant-garde movements which were successful in influencing or radically changing their culture. This need for change around the turn of the century led to radical artistic experimentation, and it was one of these experiments which took off, a type of text which people found accessible, which through natural affinity and/or chance made sense in a way that no other text had in the past. The artists that produce work of this type take risks, and many of them fail, never receiving any credit for their innovative work. Unfortunately, this is how the complex world of the arts in culture works. In the case of the Balinese situation, the radical model seems to make sense. Clearly the Balinese were ready for such a radical change after their existing *episteme* had been so suddenly altered by the Dutch. After the process was set into motion, it was simply unstoppable.

Development of the *Kreasi Baru* form changed the face of Balinese music in the twentieth century and it is still used today by contemporary composers and choreographers. The term *Kreasi Baru* at least etymologically has colonial origins. In Dutch 'Kreasi' (spelled 'creatie' in contemporary Dutch) actually refers to a premiere (first) performance. In Indonesian the term 'Kreasi Baru' literally translated means 'new creation' suggesting that *Kreasi Baru* works are simply that, new freely composed works. *Kreasi Baru,* however, has become a textual blueprint for all works of its type, or rather it has become a basic model on which composers writing in the Balinese idiom can subscribe to. Works that don't use this model often become the source of ridicule; Balinese composers are

restricted in general by the confines set up by the *Kreasi Baru* form. Although the term has been applied within the last thirty years more and more frequently to contemporary *Gong Kebyar* works, it is most likely that the form existed before it was given this name. Vitale notes that "by the seventies Balinese composers apparently reached a [silent] consensus, as their compositions started to share more and more features of general layout" (1996: 11). The *Kreasi Baru* form, a textual model or engine comparable to the *sonata form*, has been moulded by the thousands of works that have been written for it, and of course it has been through an enormous developmental process through the most recent decades. Music composed in the *Kreasi Baru* style is generally divided into three parts: *krawitan* (introduction), *pengawak* (main body), and *pengecet* (closing section). According to Vitale "another feature shared by traditional pieces is the tendency to move from irregularity at the beginning (brief, isolated, or asymmetrical phrases) to broadly paced cyclic periods in the *pengawak*, to balance and regularity at the end (faster, shorter cycles of the *pengecet*)" (1996: 12). This structural basis on which *Kreasi Baru* is founded can also be observed in other gamelan forms such as the classical *lelambetan* works which were played on the massive *Gong Gédé* instruments.

Although change has been gradual, taking excerpts from compositions in the early days of the formalised *Kreasi Baru* musical form and comparing them to works produced today, there are indeed many large contrasts. Works produced in the fifties, sixties and early seventies "showed a far greater variety in overall formal design than today's *Kebyar* music... Blocks of music were conjoined in startling contrasts producing at times an almost cut-and-paste impression" (1996: 11). Music in the *Kreasi Baru* style of today is more restricted stylistically, although the Balinese demonstrate as usual the fact that it is precisely thanks to limitation that individuals can produce works of great imagination and creativity. Comparing the two, Vitale notes that "where earlier *Kreasi* showed greater freedom in overall layout and design, recent works reveal a heightened fascination with the details: greater complexity in the interlocking parts, lengthier and more sophisticated transitions, unusual meters, and novel orchestration" (1996: 12).

Kreasi Baru works, according to Vitale, follow an iconic structure which has been present for hundreds of years, although the form only received a name in the mid to latter half of the twentieth century. Resemblances between original *Kebyar* works and new works of today which are written for performance at the PKB are so far developed that it is almost impossible for the (non-trained) listener to find the similar basic structures which are characteristic of 'traditional' *Kreasi Baru*, although they are nonetheless present. The Balinese refer to the 'head', 'body' and 'foot' analogy (*pengawit*: opening, *pengawat*: body, *pengecet*: closing section). There are also basic structural developments connecting the sections which have developed of their own accord, and as mentioned the works of today sound very different to earlier *Kreasi Baru* compositions. Although they may sound different, the process has been a very gradual one of small innovations upon the *Kreasi Baru* tradition with each passing year, meaning that radical innovation such as that characteristic of the spawning of the *Gong Kebyar* style has not occurred again since then. Vitale describes the development of *Kreasi Baru* works by comparing it to western music. In a broad manner of speaking, one can compare a Beethoven *sonata* with a *sonata* that may have been written by one of Bach's sons: one can only observe broad structural similarities. It is impossible to ignore the intricate developments which have been brought about by time and change. These new ways of treating music and relating with one's environment in general have changed musical thinking. Commenting on the development within the *Kreasi Baru* form, "every single part has itself sprouted subsections and it has little internal repeats."

Kreasi Baru for contemporary Balinese culture is both an important icon representing a link to their heritage, and at the same time a complex musical text providing them with a rich aural and visual experience which adopts multilayered forms of textuality the audience are familiar with and enjoy a great deal. *Kreasi Baru* is truly a blueprint or a textual engine which contemporary composers apply to their own comprehension of music and for their own new compositions. In the sense intended by Peacock, it plays the role of a *Rite of Modernisation* in that developments within its structures *can* and *have* been influential to cultural change. Composers who write new works both formally at the STSI and in the villages, use the *Kreasi Baru* as a model on which to base their works. Existing innovations are often copied and copied again until they become tired and superfluous, especially on a village level; innovations become textual. Within the academic atmosphere of the STSI innovation is often created in the context of the PKB which is a major field for innovation in Bali. One of the major factors of contemporary musical forms such as *Kreasi Baru* is that they provide limitations to the composer, restrictions on the type of musicality which can be expressed. In Bali, anything beyond the borders of *Kreasi Baru* is often overtly rejected; sometimes over-ambitious young composers who innovate too far beyond the confines of the *Kreasi Baru* musical text risk shouting, cat-calls and general unpleasant behaviour. Limitations, however, can provide the individual with an enormous amount of freedom. Vitale comments on contemporary *Kreasi* compositions, where "recent works reveal a heightened fascination with the details: greater complexity in the interlocking parts, lengthier and more sophisticated transitions, unusual meters, and novel orchestration" (1996: 11). The new models given to

young composers of today are enormously rich and provide generation after generation with a strong and exciting foundation.

Practically all *Kreasi Baru* works incorporate recognisable and untransformed elements of older musical texts which can often be traced back to ancient *Gambuh* roots. Even in the context of 'new' *Kreasi Baru* compositions, older melodies could be varied, or in fact entirely reproduced. The tenets of *Desa Kala Patra* allow this sort of thing to happen without there being any sense of artistic breach. Popular melodies can be copied, put into a different order or varied in another fashion; entirely new sections could be interspersed between older segments. As long as the pattern of *Kreasi Baru* is kept to, compositional creativity is encouraged. Wenten, himself a successful Balinese choreographer, informed me that *Kreasi Baru* compositions show the "composer's concern" and the need to produce something up-to-date, which parallels an increasingly modernised society all over Indonesia in addition to the fact that *Kreasi Baru* is equally an expression of an impetus towards the perpetuation of tradition as it is an expression of a 'radical' avant-garde text.

In contemporary Balinese works, a stage has been reached where the music has become intricately baroque in its complexity. Windha is one of the most significant innovators in contemporary Bali, and a short description of his life and carreer will be described further on. Vitale described to me one of his major innovations in the fragment below:

> In that piece in the middle of the *bapang*, the central section where they have all the *kendang* variations and there's a lot of rhythmic licks, that section in the middle of it, suddenly he dropped back the tempo and they had a kind of a drum, just the flutes playing the melody in a different mode, and the drums playing a very elaborate passage, and that whole kind of dropping back of tempo in the middle of that, it's just a beautiful thing, and then coming back up again for a very dynamic unison with the whole gamelan, that was a new thing that he did, and that again, immediately caught on, was copied by several other composers... Maybe it was the fact that the drums are featured in a new way at that moment and the *gangsa* are not playing, you see what I mean. There are all these possibilities of how that might be imitated. And it was also criticised by people immediately, a couple of composers I talked to said well that really destroyed the sense of the section, so there is that type of conservative resistance as well, you know.

Yearly at the PKB these types of developments are introduced, and their popularity will bear out through performance. Popular compositions will be imitated by performers and copied by composers continually, the less popular and mediocre will be forgotten directly. The complex process of cultural change becomes represented in the microcosm of a musical world.

In modern *Kreasi Baru*, it has become increasingly more difficult to be able to divide the works into the three parts so important in older *Kreasi* performances, although there are still usually three major points which are reached during the performance. Vitale notes that a four-part form with two periods of transition would be more appropriate for contemporary Balinese compositions. Included below are Balinese terms which are used to refer to these sections:

1. *Gineman* (krawitan, ngebyang) – through-composed
2. *Genderan* (kotekan, gansaran) – cyclic

   Transition I (peralihan) – through-composed
3. *Bapang* (ocak-ocakan) – cyclic

   Transition II (peralihan) – through-composed
4. *Pengecet* (gambangan) – cyclic (Vitale 1996: 13)

There are three stable sections in a typical contemporary *Kreasi Baru* composition: the *genderan*, the *bapang* and the *pengecet*. Each of these sections is preceded by an introduction or a transitory section. These three sections have a steady beat, and are similar to gamelan forms preceding them in that they are colotomic (use a cyclical repeating gong structure). These three sections are composed on the beforehand, and then later connected with transitional or other melodic material (Vitale 1996: 13-14).

According to Vitale many developments within the *Gong Kebyar* style have occurred thanks to cross-pollination from other gamelan forms. Sometimes their journey to *Gong Kebyar* can be a complex one: a well-known example is the adoption of an unusual *pokok* (basic melodic line) for *Semar Pegulingan* in a work by the well-known Balinese composer Lotring. It was taken directly from the repertoire of the *Gamelan Gambang*, although much later the tune and part of the figuration was altered and used as the *pengecet* of a *Kebyar* piece in the late 1970s. The idea became popular: eventually the use of *gambang* rhythms in the *pengecet* of *Kreasi Baru* compositions for the *Kebyar* orchestra in the 70s and 80s became so common that musicians often referred to that section simply as the 'gambangan'. This practice, however, is already out of vogue.

Kreasi Baru has in its own way influenced change in Balinese culture through the years, even though its influence has been slow and gradual. Because it is connected to the *Gong Kebyar* form its structures have certainly been 'multimedial' in the sense that it involves advancements of the Balinese crowd-pleasing theatrical aesthetic, continually challenging existing musical/aesthetic norms as part of its performative textuality. It has functioned to

instil a dynamic attitude and has funnelled the attention of generations of Balinese people whose boundaries have been extended by participating in the development of the form. Moreover, it has functioned to give individual Balinese composers a unique voice and has at the same time provided them with a musical environment which they can feel very much at home in. In other words it is on the one hand a unique textual vehicle for individuals to express their creative talents and on the other an expressive communal voice for the Balinese culture. The influence of this dynamic musical form cannot be underestimated.

In the history of the *Kreasi Baru* form three major generations of Balinese composers can be discerned: the old, the middle and the new generations. The old generation saw the beginning of the form, the middle generation are currently teaching at the STSI in Denpasar and are still playing a major role in providing textual models for the 'new' generation who will be the *Gong Kebyar* innovators of tomorrow. We take a look at some of the most significant figures, the intention being to demonstrate particular instances of 'modernisation' which either accompanied or were possibly influenced by developments in this progressive form of musical text.

I Wayan Beratha is one of the most important composers in Balinese music: the innovations he introduced during his lifetime have had an enormous influence on contemporary *Kreasi Baru* composers. He was born in 1924 and was the son of a well-known Balinese musician, I Made Regog. His youth developed during the period in which the *Gong Kebyar* form spread across the island, and although he was not one of the founders, his early influence was of great importance to the generation now teaching at the academies. In the old days at the STSI, when it was known as the ASTI, Beratha taught there and provided foundational guidance to those famous as composers today, such as Astita and Windha. Some of his important contributions include creating the Balinese version of the *Ramayana* and the *Jayaprana* dance drama, musical texts which have developed into sociopolitical tools. This important recreation of great Hindu tales in dance form has had significant implications for Bali as a Hindu-state and its position within Indonesia, and is discussed in more detail in chapter division 4.4. Most importantly in relation to contemporary *Kreasi Baru* compositions, he created a set of influential models on which the composers of today still base their work. Since its inception in the sixties he was able to compose new *Kreasi Baru* works for the; he set the standard for the development of the *Kreasi Baru* form.

Beratha lived and composed in an extremely turbulent period including Indonesian independence and the bloody communist purge of 1965. An important *Kreasi Baru* composition called *Swa Buana Paksa* was inspired, for example, by the roar of Indonesian air force jets: the title literally translated means 'Victory in the Air'. The work was composed in 1950 during the tense period of political insecurity preceding the communist purge. Sadra comments on Beratha's transmedium approach to *Kreasi Baru* composition, something which has inevitably influenced contemporary composers. He observes that this method is clear in a work composed in 1964 called *gesuri*, "in the use of *bedug-azan* [a kind of drum not usually associated with gamelan], march rhythms and Sulawesi drumming style" (1998: 20). Beratha is also responsible for the creation of the dance form *Sendratari*—taken from the Indonesian words *seni* (art), *drama* (drama), and *tari* (dance)—which offered a new form of music-theatre and which helped provide the Balinese with a better basis for understanding their place in the new Indonesian Republic. These works were often composed thanks to commissions from the Indonesian government, and the subject matters united Bali and Java sharing as they do the same Hindu-Buddhist heritage. In addition to all of the above, he was also responsible for the creation of the *Semara Dana* gamelan, a new scale designed specifically for contemporary music. This has brought about increasing interest in the Balinese heptatonic and mixed mode scales. Beratha was still very much alive at the writing of this work. He no longer teaches at the STSI, but instead is involved primarily these days with instrument making. According to Astita, Pak Beratha is still called in to give artistic advice and to provide commentary on *Kreasi Baru* performances.

I was able to interview personally two significant composers of the middle generation: I Komang Astita and I Nyoman Windha, both of whom have achieved some degree of international fame. The two composers contrast in their approach to the tradition/innovation parameters, and have therefore applied their texts in different ways to have an impact or to make an impression on their culture. Astita has always tended to be more experimental in his work, deviating from the strict confines of *Kreasi Baru* but still retaining it enough for the Balinese people to recognise it. Innovation and experimentation are more accented than the perpetuation of the *Kreasi Baru* tradition. In contrast, Windha accents the *Kreasi Baru* tradition, although he has consistently provided every year at the PKB variations which have made the form exciting for each new audience since the festival's inauguration.

I Komang Astita, the elder of the two, was born on September 24 in 1952. He was born into an artistic family, many of whom were musicians. He, like many Balinese people, could already play gamelan at a young age. He graduated from the ASTI (today known as the STSI) in 1976, and has taught at the STSI—and in fact all over Bali—since 1977. As a young musician from the age of 15 he had already begun teaching gamelan. Working on the music for *Drama Gong*—a form of music-theatre similar to *Sendratari*—was influential to his development as a composer because of the necessity to compose new melodies for different scenes and characters, although it wasn't until a couple of years after his graduation that he actually got around to writing his own original

compositions. In 1979 he made his debut with a contemporary work for gamelan which was performed as part of the first arts festival in Denpasar at the cultural centre (*Taman Budaya*). This work was called *Kembang Rampé* and was unique because he combined *Angklung*, *Semar Pegulingan* and *Gong Kebyar*, three different types of gamelan at the same time. Although these days combining different orchestras is becoming more common, the work was then quite experimental and ground-breaking. After that he was to take his experimentation further, and this led

to a work which brought him to a national audience. This major composition was called *Eka Dasa Rudra*, a title sharing the name of a major Balinese temple festival held only once every century. Again the composer combined different orchestras, his logic being that at all temple festivals one hears the different orchestras together, although they may be performing as part of separate rituals and for separate audiences (both human and divine).

Astita studied overseas like many of his colleagues, and this period was also enormously influential to his work. To Astita, interculturality is an important part of Balinese life: he does not at all reject popular music forms from the West, and actually has founded a pop group called *Koka Studio* which produces Balinese fusion works, attempting to attract a local audience to a market of Balinese popular music: he recognises the evident necessities of young people, but hopes that the Balinese will be able to develop their own musical texts with a distinctly Balinese style. Astita is a well-known composition teacher at the STSI. He uses his compositions as 'models' which can be considered as 'musical texts' in the sense that they are often used by his students as a basis for creating their own musical experiments. Teaching composition in Bali is based on working directly from such models rather than abstract techniques: this is part of the Balinese practical approach to music-making. The model has to be an accessible text for it to be considered worthy. It is interesting to note that Astita considers Pak Beratha's generation to belong to the 'Renaissance' of Balinese music, and his own the 'Baroque', considering the complexity and elaboration of the *Kreasi Baru* style. It should also be noted that Astita stands at the forefront of musical copyright in Bali. Undoubtedly thanks to his studies in the United States and possibly because of his knowledge of copyright laws and the payment of royalties, he thinks that although models can be used as a basis for future works, outright copying without credit is not justifiable despite the Balinese tenets of *Desa Kala Patra*. Astita remains relatively nonchalant, however, about the way his work should be performed in the future. He considers that some of his works may be performed again, and that some of them may be performed in the same way. He accepts, however, that the performances might be changed totally. Komang also notes that timing is an

important factor to the way a work may change: sometimes works are revised or condensed depending on the amount of time given to develop the work. This is a significant attitude to textuality which is starting to have an influence on Balinese culture.

I Nyoman Windha is perhaps the most successful of all Balinese composers, producing for many years consistently new innovations upon the *Kreasi Baru* style. Windha was born on the 4th of July in 1956. Like many of his colleagues, Windha started to study music when he was young, in his case when he was six years old. Then he took the traditional Balinese path through the KOKAR, the music secondary school now known as SMKI, and ended up at the ASTI (now STSI). As is demonstrative of the ambiguity between music and dance in Bali, he actually came to ASTI as a dancer and not a gamelan player, but after his studies he finally graduated at a Bachelor of Arts level and joined the STSI composition staff. While teaching at the STSI, he went on to take his studies further to the level of masters, although he never ended up studying outside Bali. Most of the other major composers of his time who have reached such a level of compositional proficiency, such as Astita, studied overseas, which makes him in some respects unique, although he has spent a lot of time overseas teaching and working as a composer. Windha considers himself to be a 'pencipta', a creator of new works. Fitting to his place as a Balinese musician, he considers that one must know by heart the traditional repertoire before one can begin to compose new works, and most of his major compositions are based on this tradition. He started composing in 1983, where he combined gamelan with voice, and since then he has composed new works every year, mostly for the *Pesta Kesenian Bali*. Windha has one major goal when he composes new music: producing beautiful melodies. His range of influences are wide, including Indian music, Javanese gamelan and Bulgarian vocal music. The influences are, however, implied; they provide him with a source of inspiration from which he can extend his musical language, although that musical language remains largely within the confines of the *Kreasi Baru* form. His compositions have transformed and developed the whole genre in various ways, and creating new challenges each year is part of a personal programme of innovation. In our interview, he acknowledged influences from the West which have changed the way he experiences music. Examples include the extended possibilities for voice combined with instruments. Western concepts of harmonic development which are to a large extent absent in Balinese gamelan music. He experiences influence from the West in a positive way: new influences provide him with new compositional possibilities. Windha doesn't only compose for the PKB. Other events include large ceremonies, and even activities held for the Islamic community. In this sense he works on a pan-Indonesian level. He is also invited to teach both the latest trends and more 'traditional' innovation to villages and community groups. It is really only possible for him to compose 'avant-garde' works when he is invited overseas to collaborate on new projects with western composers and choreographers. His innovations include combinations of different Balinese ensembles such as the *Gong Gédé* and the *Semar Pegulingan*. His role as a teacher of new composition also puts him in a position to innovate: he teaches young composers how to develop *Kreasi Baru* works from the existing repertoire, which is indeed extensive. He asks his students to develop their work as flexibly as they can, to try something different to the *kotekan* technique and to find new melodies; he believes that his students can find their own style based on the models he presents them with. Finally it should be noted that Windha considers interculturality to be of prime importance to his work. He has been an influential figure in Balinese new music and it looks like he will retain his position for a long while yet, actively participating in future change through supporting the work of younger composers of the new generation.

The teaching programme for composers or choreographers who are currently studying at the STSI involves a type of 'immersion' process: the students are immersed in playing, listening and producing works based on what they have heard. In order to graduate, they have to produce a number of new compositions, including both a *Kreasi Baru* and a *Musik Kontemporer* composition. This means they are required to compose a work based on Balinese *traditional* music—the three section compositional form that is at the Balinese ontological core—and a composition based almost entirely on *innovation*—producing a composition which is totally new, based on experimentation of some kind. Innovations typical of this experimentation include not using the cyclical colotomic gong system, integrating non-Indonesian instruments, using improvisation and combining theatrical and musical elements in the same composition. The teaching process basically involves textual 'models' which the composers teaching at STSI provide their students. These models are usually compositions from the teacher's own œuvre or landmark works by other great musicians. Composers such as Astita and Windha discussed above of the middle generation demonstrated to me some of the works they used as compositional models, all of which had some elements of innovation. These works provide a new generation of composers with basic textual models which act both as tools for composition and as strong symbols for fledgling musicians.

Contemporary composers often direct the gamelan orchestra in their *banjar*, and sometimes compose new music for these ensembles. New music of this type is almost without exception composed using the 'Kreasi Baru' form: experimental works—i.e. the creation of totally new musical texts or radical innovation on existing forms (*Musik Kontemporer*)—are generally only possible in academies, as a part of collaborations with western composers or through actually working in western countries. In the village situation, new *Kreasi Baru* works are challenge enough for the performers there. They also provide the group with new innovations upon *Kreasi Baru* works they already know and which they will be able to make use of in the next major gamelan competitions (such as the PKB), as well as tactics to win themselves more points at these competitions. The amount a composer composes depends largely on demand: well-known composers are often invited by different groups to write works for them. *Kreasi Baru* events are also strongly present in STSI or SMKI in events: students are required to compose new *Kreasi Baru* works (as well as *Musik Kontemporer*) for their graduation. This doesn't only occur in Denpasar, but also at academies in Yogya, Solo, Bandung and other Indonesian cities; *Kreasi Baru* is evidently a national Indonesian phenomenon. They are most certainly used in tourist performances, and sometimes even for rituals, although in these cases the melodic structure usually has to be a development on an ancient melody which has some significance in relation to the ritual event. According to Vitale, the fundamental question concerns the circumstances in which new Balinese works are performed. For them to be successful, they have to perform a

useful function. It has to be something that's going to thrive, that people will want to go and see. If they're going to perform in a *banjar* for fund-raising purposes, it has to attract an audience or be in some way interesting to the gamelan group who will be learning the *Kreasi Baru* work. Vitale emphasises the fact that in Bali for a work to thrive it has to be practical in some way. New works are also composed for *odalan*, or temple ceremonies, especially for the material that is performed as entertainment in the evening, which includes new musical compositions, new dramas and dance works. These fall, of course, into the *Kreasi Baru* category. Vitale considers other places in which *Kreasi Baru* works are composed to be at village fund-raising feasts, where for example people buy food at inflated prices to raise money for the *banjar*. In situations like this, new *Kreasi* works are often combined with pseudo-western disco-dancing (often referred to as 'dansa') performed to attract a younger audience. Another possibility for the performance of *Kreasi Baru* compositions is when a village invites a gamelan group to perform or do a dance-drama which requires contemporary music. In the following paragraph we discuss the different dance styles *Kreasi Baru* works are usually composed for.

According to Dibia, contemporary Balinese *Kreasi Baru* dances can be grouped into four major categories: *penyambutan* (welcoming dances), *binatang* (dances imitating animals), *kepahlawanan* (heroic dances) and *kerakyatan* (dances representing society). Welcoming dances include such famous compositions as *Panyembrama* and *Puspawresthi*. These dances are based on ritual movements used in Balinese temples to welcome gods. Movements include laying flowers, presenting offerings and throwing petals. The dancing is done primarily by women. Animal dances are in general an illustration of the life and actions of wild animals such as birds, insects and other animals. Heroic dances are "illustrations of strength, bravery and agility of a group of soldiers, which is formed by simple, dynamic movements" (Dibia 1994: 52). A typical dance in this genre is the *Baris*, and 'Kreasi Baru' variations upon this include *Baris Bandana Manggala Yudha* and *Wira Yudha*. According to Dibia, dances representing the society are "usually full of humour" and "illustrate the business of everyday life" (ibid.: 54). The welcoming dance *Puspawresthi* was choreographed by Dibia, and the heroic dance *Baris Bandana Mangala Yudha* by I Nyoman Catra (a well-known Balinese choreographer) with musical accompaniment by Astita. These dances represent the middle generation active in the seventies. The works *Tari Manukrawa* by Dibia, *Kencana* by I Gusti Agung Ngurah Supartha, *Gopala* by I Nyoman Suarsa, and *Blibis* by Ni Luh Nesa Swasthi Wijaya represent the work of the eighties. Dances of the nineties include compositions produced by the students at the STSI and models presented by the teachers, although they are yet to become so well known or so long in circulation that they are adopted into general use (ibid.: 52).

Kreasi Baru is evidently a complex musical text, and is one which still plays an active role in Balinese culture. At the beginning of this chapter we discussed its entrance into Balinese life as a 'radical model', a cultural text which is different enough to provide its audience with new communication possibilities, meaning often that the work becomes incredibly popular (sometimes even infamous). After this we looked at its general structure and the way it has changed and developed through the years. Lastly, we looked at a number of important composers who have influenced the development of this unique style and dances which are indicative of the form's development. The *Kreasi Baru* text is evidently a complex cultural given, and it has had many different applications. It is impossible to make definitive conclusions about its function in Balinese culture, although I have tried to demonstrate that it has generally been used by the Balinese to provide innovations to both their musical traditions and their culture in general. In the following chapter division we'll be looking more specifically at the way the Balinese use musical texts in the form of compositional models to teach composition at their arts academies.

2.8 Self-Reflexive Textuality

I describe *self-reflexivity* as being a sociocultural phenomenon or ability where individuals are able to turn on their own surroundings and view it as a 'culture'; a complex sign system, many of whose symbols are arbitrary. *Self-reflexive* textuality refers to this ability as a cultural skill to produce and comprehend artistic texts in this way. An active form of *self-reflexivity* in our culture is comedy, which is a vital tool for making our world an easier place to live in. This same model can be applied to the field of interculturality, where we learn more about ourselves by examining other cultures. In this discussion I would like to take a look at what we can learn from the concept of self-reflexive interculturality before moving onto examining Balinese musical texts which can work in a *self-reflexive* fashion for western observers. If we look at the notion of 'culture' as a potential metaphor, we can consider ourselves to be participants in a game, one which we participate in because it's all we know. We never forget, however, that it is but a game, and that the rules we have to follow are in no way *unbreakable*, even though we in general have the tendency not to break them (even if nobody is watching). What I refer to as the (non-Einsteinian) theory of *relativity* helps to explain this: we can only understand things by comparing them to one another, and returning to our game-based metaphor, that certain activities, events and behaviour are in some ways acceptable because the behaviour is at least 'relatively' permissible in certain situations according to what we have learnt through processes of social inculcation. Human existence brings us in contact with lots and lots of different 'games' with lots and lots of different sets or rules; thus behaviour in one environment could be *relatively*

shocking in certain situations, like walking around naked at work, whereas walking around naked on a beach set aside for this purpose is perfectly acceptable. Here certain types of behaviour are inappropriate or appropriate depending on the discourse or *textuality* involved. Being able to step back and experience that all these different situations we find ourselves in are but games, even if they are the only ones we know, is a very important part of being human. Culture provides us with lots of different ways to do this in the form of ritual, theatre, music, television and *real* (non-indicative of culture) games, among any number of private moments we enjoy on our own just laughing at ourselves or others. I borrow the term *reflexivity* from linguistics, which actually refers to verbs which refer reflexively to the subject of the sentence. An example of a 'reflexive' verb is the Dutch word *zich voelen* which translates as 'I feel', although one has to not only refer to oneself as the subject of the sentence, but also the object: ik voel *me* goed (I feel [myself] good). I adopt it because it involves the subject in two senses. On the one hand as the viewer, and on the other as participant, around which the whole *self-reflexive* cultural event takes place. What I would like to suggest is that the ability to be *self-reflexive* is an important part of culture, even if it may question in many ways the systemic apparatuses which a culture builds around itself; thanks to this ability, cultural change and adaptation can take place. The Balinese are very successful at being *self-reflexive* in this way. Parody and other active *self-reflexive* forms are prevalent on Bali, which doesn't mean to say they're religious life is in any way threatened. Through realising this ability, they are actually strengthening their culture for the future. As George notes: "…that is the secret of their relentless creativity: they are searching for perfection but know it is an illusion" (George 1992: 110). Further I will be focussing on particular ways Balinese culture has of perpetuating itself, but at the same time providing a running *self-reflexive* commentary which acts as a cultural aid, rather than a cultural nuisance.

Westerners have had a tendency both in terms of academic and popular culture to distance themselves epistemologically from Balinese culture by applying to it textual models which become generalised to all other forms of this type of culture. Said adopts the term 'orientalisms' to refer to the discourses or textualities adopted to 'exoticise' or in another way distance western from Eastern culture. This actually functions to communicate more about specific tendencies in our own culture than to inform us about the Balinese, or in fact any Asian culture. This tendency to 'exoticise' is a type of 'self-reflexive interculturality'. Theorising can of course be a potent form of *self-reflexivity*, and the Balinese have also demonstrated the habit of turning to look at itself and to find something 'exotic' there.

In traditions involved with musical experience, i.e. non-verbal performance which can be sound or movement based, I believe that by interacting through participating in bodily embedded traditions, one certainly gains a much bigger insight into how music is used to interact with an environment, even if that learning experience is primarily *self-reflexive*. This means that through interacting, we share cultural knowledge, but the knowledge that we take in is based on the knowledge we already have, in other words the knowledge that we receive is primarily restricted to what the participating parties are ready to learn. As Foucault informs us, we can only perform within the parameters of the discourse we are provided with in the context of our social lives; anything beyond it is simply unencompassable. *Self-reflexive interculturality*, therefore, is a self-centred cultural act if it goes unchecked. Being aware of the 'self-reflexive' nature of interculturality is an important step on the journey to understanding how the traditions of another culture work. First one has to be able to look at his or her own traditions in a similarly arbitrary fashion.

Many western performing artists consider all music to be communicating the same message, and that intercultural influence helps performers understand that same musical language which exists above all the niceties of cultural contrast. Just as the colonial approach to western imposition carries with it a certain paternal note, the universal musical language which many western performing artists attempt to reach has its own epistemological restrictions. The emphasis here is not only that we don't share a musical language, but that the entire epistemological aims can be positioned in highly contrasting areas. Sometimes not finding the answers to a musical tradition doesn't imply that they are not there, just that we don't know what they are and where to look for them. Just like a language, one can learn the superficial elements of a musical system by getting to know the basics, but it is only through years and years, sometimes a lifetime, of musical practice that the subtleties and nuances of musical meaning can be transferred. The point made here is simple: the 'self-reflexive' desire to understand a new culture results more in fulfilment of the desire of the people performing the intercultural act than in providing the individual with a complete all-encompassing knowledge of the 'product' being examined. Often the perpetrator discovers something about him or herself.

An interesting area of *self-reflexive* intercultural influence can be seen in Balinese music history. Around the turn of the century a dramatic period of musical change took place, namely the emergence of the 'Gong Kebyar' musical aesthetic which can be seen as a dramatic adjustment to radical historical change after the bloody *puputan* and the consequent movement of musical power from the hands of the aristocracy to the villagers: during this period it moved from elegant and stately court music to completely absorbing secular music in every way dynamic

and theatrical. The new *Kebyar* artistic text became a *Rite of Modernisation* which functioned to induce a process of cultural change, one which is still felt today. In chapter division 4.32 we will be discussing one of the major theories as to why the *Kebyar* aesthetic developed as it did. Although we cannot be sure if it is true, it provides us with a prime example of a *self-reflexive* intercultural process. Nyoman Wenten told me during an interview that the *Gong Kebyar* phenomenon developed in North Bali because it was in Singaraja that the colonial powers had their major base. He thinks that *Gong Kebyar* came about because Balinese people got the chance to hear the dynamism of the western chamber orchestra. Wenten said that it would have sounded remarkably exciting to a Balinese audience because of its rapid change and the way the instruments all worked together on the same melody with sudden simultaneous cadences. Although ultimately impossible to prove, this is a prime example because it shows how a given culture gets what it needs from another cultural phenomenon that may have quite different intentions. Here music which many of us consider to be sedate and relatively static could have brought about a new radically theatrical form unprecedented in Balinese gamelan music. In other words, an intercultural phenomenon could have been the impetus towards the creation of an important musical performance text, a true *Rite of Modernisation.*

Radical change produced by an artist can by chance fall concurrently with a particular need for change in a given society, often rocketing the producer of this new model or its textual expression to great fame and an eternal position in a given culture's history. Clear examples include Ibsen's play *Ghosts* which scandalised Swedish society by dealing with the theme of syphilis, or Nijinsky's choreography of Debussy's *L'apres midi d'une faune* which suggested outwardly physical expressions of sexuality which had been lost in the largely abstract traditions of classical ballet and its accompanying music. These radical new models become in turn become the new *status quo* for contemporary artists to develop upon. These models, however, don't become static templates which composers adopt mechanically until another radical change is reached. As Vitale notes, "composers have the opportunity and the challenge to redefine boundaries, explore the fringes, and help shape the commonly held perceptions of what is possible and appropriate" (Vitale 1996: 11). This is particularly true for development in Balinese music since the entrance of the *Gong Kebyar* form at the beginning of the twentieth century. Composers in their own way have taken advantage of this form as a basis for their own developments precisely because they have been able to develop upon it, if slowly and gradually. As Vitale suggests: "A dynamic polarity thus exists between constraints and freedoms: the many guide posts offered in previous works are complemented by the even greater number of intriguing grey areas in which a composer can explore, experiment, and play, with listeners' expectations" (ibid.).

As mentioned above, the Balinese are good at being *self-reflexive,* of being able on the one hand to participate in their culture, and on the other to look at themselves in a relatively critical fashion while they go about 'playing the game' which calls itself culture. One of the most famous sayings about the Balinese is that they are *always on stage,* the metaphor being that the world is a stage and life is but an inexplicable piece of theatre. By being *self-reflexive,* people are not only participating in the theatre, but they are aware that they are actors on a stage. This is an analogy which all of us are familiar with. Being unable to transcend discourse, we as human beings are in a constant process of adapting ourselves to cope with new situations, both familiar and unfamiliar, with the assistance of the knowledge we have. Those that aren't able to do this have an awfully difficult time participating in society and are often stigmatised as having sociomental illnesses and deficiencies. People who aren't able to obey the rules society places upon them, or aren't able to make the same basic distinctions which may seem an obvious given to many, often end up in mental institutions or other places our society creates to deal with them. As members of a culture we have to don 'masks' to face any number of different situations which require a constant necessity to change identities as our environment changes around us. Here the image of 'masks' suits our theatrical metaphor, particularly in the case of Balinese theatre where masks play such an important role. This constant process of adaptation can be very tiring, and fortunately society often creates situations in which we can step outside of our most commonly donned roles (which are often the most restrictive) allowing our 'real' selves to see and by seen by the world, if only for a short time. The Balinese are no exception to this rule, although many commentators on the subject seem to agree that the masks they are required to don seem to be far more extensive and restricting, affecting their behaviour from the cradle to the grave. The remarkable Balinese ability to be *self-reflexive* is a necessary and inevitable part of Balinese culture. It is no wonder that Balinese people long to achieve the state of 'ramai' where the individual *Self* and his or her mask becomes lost in the crowd. As one can imagine, the notion of 'kaîket' (Lansing 1974: 1) which is so important to a Balinese sense of well-being, can also become claustrophobic, and the small confines of the *banjar* means that everyone knows what everyone else is doing with whom and where. Despite this apparent restriction, to be 'kaîket' is the only way to be: the greatest Balinese fear is to be banished from one's *banjar* which means one is suddenly confronted with the desolate emptiness of the void, outside the safety of discourse in an empty world of nothingness, a truly existential fear perhaps all humans share.

Geertz notes a more specific Balinese fear which also reflects this aspect of Balinese society: it involves the temporary and involuntary loss of one's 'mask'. He refers to a situation where a Balinese person suddenly realises that the surrounding world has seen through the 'mask' behind which the Balinese *Self* is hidden. He refers to this as *Stage-fright*, and describes it as follows:

> Whatever its deeper causes, stage-fright consists in a fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps by mere accident, an aesthetic illusion will not be maintained, that the actor will show through his part and the part thus dissolve into the actor. Aesthetic distance collapses, the audience (and the actor) loses sight of Hamlet and gains it, uncomfortably for all concerned, of bumbling John Smith painfully miscast as the Prince of Denmark. In Bali the case is the same, if the drama more humble. What is feared—mildly in most cases, intensely in a few—is that the public performance that is etiquette will be botched, that the social distance etiquette maintains will consequently collapse, and that the personality of the individual will then break through to dissolve his standardized public identity. When this occurs, as it sometimes does, our triangle falls apart: ceremony evaporates, the immediacy of the moment is felt with an excruciating intensity, and men become unwilling consociates locked in mutual embarrassment, as though they had inadvertently intruded upon one another's privacy. (Geertz 1973: 402)

Being *kaîket* assumes a whole range of physical, mental and philosophical states of existence; it reflects many things: a sense of being aware of how others gaze upon us, and also a front to possibly treacherous situations, such as witchery or other forms of black-magic. Every word, event and action is a potential threat, supernatural or mundane, reflecting real Balinese fears of their façade being seen through, of involuntary *Stage-fright* in the Geertzian sense. The Balinese masks, even the kind, elegant masks of Balinese women, hide a Balinese identity with specific purposes, necessities and desires which need to be hidden for cultural reasons from most other members of their culture and all visitors to their island.

Considering the above, it is logical therefore that the Balinese will also have a way to step outside of this constant sense of *Dasein.* There are a wide range of activities which act as an alternative. This extends from highly religious events to more mundane activities. Balinese musical processes often play an important role. The loud and rhythmic nature of their music can help to bring those susceptible into trance states, where an individual is 'taken over' if for a brief time by a deity, demon or even an ancestor's spirit. This extends to forms of folk theatre which includes both 'traditional' and new performance. In addition to providing situations in which susceptible parties can fall into trance, music can also be seen as a unique tool which can be used to make a temporal moment *communal*. The very nature of the many different forms of Balinese music and dance provide a constant and varied range of activities which the Balinese can participate in both as performer and audience. Another important Balinese notion is *ramai* which is used to describe the complete loss of self in a crowd, providing a direct and pleasurable release from 'the game'. This is a very important form of activity in Bali which provides the opportunity for *self-reflexivity*, and is made possible by an important type of event which is available to all: musical competitions. Although it is 'musical', the multimedial nature of the activity makes it resemble a type of theatre, and contemporary analysts of Balinese culture constantly refer to that sense of 'theatricality' in performance which drives a Balinese audience wild with frenzied excitement. This mass frenzy creates the perfect environment for achieving *ramai* which provides a sense of release from everyday Balinese activity.

Many forms of Balinese theatre, including Balinese *Wayang Kulit* (shadow-puppet theatre), *Arja* (commonly referred to as Balinese 'opera'), *Topeng* (mask-theatre) and more, have characters which play a unique role: they maintain on the one hand a connection with Balinese traditional discourse, which means with characters who live in a universe of Balinese myth involved with gods, demons, royalty and other lofty characters, and on the other hand a link with the present by providing a commentary on what is going on in the performance. Often buffoonish and unsightly clown-like characters such as the *parekan* in *Wayang Kulit* provide a commentary which allows a culture to look at itself *self-reflexively.* I have witnessed performances in Balinese villages, for example, in which the formalism of ritual is ridiculed in some way by characters who comment on the events: this type of activity is generally seen as a healthy cultural process. I have the impression that this activity is tolerated because on the one hand it is endemic in their traditional theatre and on the other that it is accepted as an educational process, rather than as negative rebelliousness among the young. Balinese culture is good at revitalising itself partly thanks to this ability. There are further examples of this type of behaviour as an important form of cultural expression. The Balinese, for example, often enjoy seeing themselves being imitated by others. In my research I have witnessed many situations which have involved the Balinese coming to performances to watch the audience of foreigners rather than the performance itself, and foreign Balinese gamelan groups are always enormously popular. This is also a 'self-reflexive' act, a special type of escapism which doesn't reject the game and plays an enlightening role. Examples which I have seen include western visitors living in Balinese environments on a *banjar* level who were invited to learn certain dances, wear costumes and in general to 'be Balinese' in a highly physical sense. People would even come from other villages to watch this unique form of participation. Vickers suggests himself that the affect of Balinese tourism has not only been a negative process. In addition to the monetary advantages, another of the positive sides is that they have become aware of what it means to be a Balinese embedded participant, as Vickers notes: "This process of articulation has meant that the Balinese have had to be conscious about their own

culture, producing both a sense of pride in their cultural identity as Balinese, and an ability to sum up what may be considered as the essential aspects of culture—such as Hinduism, caste, priestly rituals and dances—in a way that can be conveniently understood by others" (Vickers 1989: 198). The evident desire to see their own culture as it's being participated in has been a positive element of tourism, although it was very possibly a part of Balinese culture before the great tourist influx. Another aspect to consider is the great range of western academic material which more and more Balinese theoreticians have access to. Academia is obviously another level of discourse in which *self-reflexive* processes occur.

Self-reflexivity textuality in Balinese culture answers a contrasting range of individual and cultural needs and has many different forms of expression. I hope this discussion has made clear precisely what it means to have this level of discourse available, one which can express itself in many different forms and which can provide different expressive functions stretching from individual release to intellectual discourse, but which generally provide a positive environment to assist a culture in adapting to a changing environment. This ability to be *self-reflexive* has a very long history on Bali thanks to hundreds of years of being open to intercultural influence and adopting that influence in a vital way. When Hinduism from Java was introduced by the Majapahit empire, the Balinese didn't just take it on. They made it very much a Balinese religion, something which took advantage of the already extensive traditions implicit in their existing performing arts. Lentz refers to the fact that the Balinese adapted Hinduism so that it would suit their "distinctive communal life with its overlay of intuitive, animistic thought and ancestor worship" (1965: 3). This is a perfect introduction to the following discussion on Balinese intercultural texts and what interculturality entails for contemporary Balinese culture.

2.9 Intercultural texts

More and more performing artists, including composers, are making use of intercultural texts to express their vision of reality. *Rites of Modernisation* of the sort which have brought about Balinese cultural change have very often involved at least to some extent intercultural influence, just as westerners are influenced by the multivaried forms of Balinese performing arts such as the gamelan. This is only natural considering the international nature of the island and the rapid eclecticism of the Balinese culture. Bali has been clearly open to intercultural change for many centuries: one of their forms of textual expression (the engravings on *Lontar*), for example, existed almost entirely for the purpose of keeping records of intercultural influence between Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic cultures. In the following discussion of bilateral Western-Balinese intercultural influence I'd like to promote the issue of interculturality; it helps a culture's *artistic* or *musical texts* remain comprehensible in a rapidly changing environment. We use as an example Balinese youth who have to deal with a whole new series of Indonesian and other external influences, including tourism and the MTV-pop culture. Rather than interpreting interculturality as an unpleasant 'imposition' on traditional culture, it has to be viewed in general as a *tool* for understanding a changing world. The following excerpt which clearly demonstrates a positive attitude to interculturality was translated by the author from a Balinese cultural journal:

> Our young artists are utilising artistic forces filling the gap between naturalism, romanticism, and also between expressionistic, cubist, surrealist and abstract art, among others, right up to *pop art.* Observers who have seen this phenomenon at a superficial first glance get the idea that our artists have been influenced by and submit to artistic forces from the West... The observers mentioned above don't estimate that modernisation in our art is not the result of submission to western influences, but is only as a result of the utilisation of the previously mentioned forces as media or *tools.* (Djelantik 1994: 11)

This excerpt helps deflate the western academic myth that Indonesia is unwittingly and passively being completely smothered by western influence. It also demonstrates a willingness to conceive of intercultural influence as a highly positive form of active cultural development. Intercultural influence has a lot to offer, and embracing it represents the possibility for positive cultural adaptation and renewal. As I will demonstrate, many Balinese *Rites of Modernisation* have been influenced by interculturality.

What concerns us here is intercultural influence in the performing arts. When another culture performs, an audience can attempt to learn by comparing it to their own experiences. As I will demonstrate, this can often lead to individuals learning more about themselves than the object of analysis. The most highly educational intercultural process involves both parties sharing their knowledge. This is cultural *interaction.* By interacting with another culture we are able to learn more about both the other culture and ourselves by comparing it to our own performance traditions. Intercultural interaction also produces a third level of learning which emerges from the interaction. It concerns the interactional *process* itself. I think here the *product/process* distinction is clear. If we take the *product*-based approach, we take the role of the anthropologist viewing the product from an 'objective' position outside of the sphere of the performance. Post-structural thought has demonstrated that an 'objective' position is a 'fantasy' of structuralism. *Process*-based intercultural procedures involve the act of collaborating and the potential to learn from these experiences.

Contemporary culture, as we have demonstrated in this discussion, is asking for more and more interaction between itself and other cultures, or rather individual creative artists are looking beyond their own shores to create

new models to encompass a world growing smaller by the minute thanks to the increased contact brought about by telecommunication, mass-media and the internet. More and more composers of today are dissatisfied with the restriction of models within their own culture because of the new experiences that are available to them via intercultural contact. This has led to a massive increase in compositional diversity. These days there seems to be little point in pouring one's creativity into an existing compositional 'mould' when there are thousands of dynamic models waiting to be discovered in a rapidly shrinking world. For many composers and other creative artists, however, the apparent 'freedom' we have today is much more a prison: we just don't know where to begin considering the incredible amount of choices available. Creating a model is becoming more and more the responsibility of the individual composer rather than sharing a model adopted by other composers. For example, the work of Haydn and Mozart is far more comparable than the work of say, Boulez and Glass (both of whom shared or share a common time period). This is the *intercultural text*, where artists are set off on their own to create a kind of musicality based on personally created compositional models.

Many visitors to Bali are encouraged to participate in the performing arts. In hotels designed for an international tourist market, there are generally many performances organised for the guests, as well as in restaurants and other secular places in the hotel grounds. Both effective and lay ethnomusicologists often consider that this is in some way debasing the Balinese culture, although the Balinese generally view this differently. For one, the Balinese generally do not perform sacred dances of the inner sanctum of the temple for tourists. As introduced in chapter division 2.6, a large-scale symposium on Balinese music involved with the religious ethics of Balinese dance held in Denpasar in 1971 classified a selection of works which were and were not allowed to be performed for tourists, and many new works were commissioned for a tourist audience. After the major concert tour which took place thanks to the support of John Coast in 1951, it became clear that the Balinese didn't have enough dances specifically for a western audience, and from this time composition as an industry began. Works such as *Oleg Tambulilingan* (composed for the John Coast world tour) and *Panyembrama* (composed as a result of the conference) fulfil today particular functions such as welcoming tourists or foreign guests or as concert performances. This is positive as the myriad array of new performance allows the performers to gain an income in addition to obtaining the opportunity to practise movements from traditional dances. In addition to catering to particular western audiences, the Balinese also have their own particular agenda: perpetuation of traditional culture and a stable and popular form of income. Some Balinese of the older generation—although this is confined largely to a circle of academics—consider the influence of rock and other western popular music to be negative in that it is taking away the desire to communicate with traditional forms. Many, however, are realising that they will have to accept these changes and are attempting to integrate this into their general musical tool-kit.

Colonialism, or at least its justification, is based on the conception that Eastern culture is a step lower on the general cultural ladder and that it is not only possible but necessary for the West to bring the East up to the standard of the West meaning that colonial cultures such as the Dutch in Indonesia were entirely justified in taking over the economic and administrative role and all the accompanying privileges (and 'obligations') this entailed. This attitude stretched very much into the work of the anthropologists who visited Bali; for these people Bali had been made accessible thanks to Dutch colonial rule, and their approval of Dutch colonial ideology was a sure sign that they subscribed to a similar discourse. This is particularly easy to read as a sub-text in the work of Mead who adapted Freudian discourse to interpret Balinese behaviour.

The circle of Balinese anthropologists and artists which developed during the colonial period was unique in the fact that they arranged 'cultural' performances both for their own entertainment and for research purposes. This sort of performance was to radically change the face of Bali: some members of the well-meaning circle of western artists who lived on Bali 'helped' the Balinese to become what the visiting anthropologists wanted to see rather than what they actually were, and consequently influenced the way the Balinese culture developed. This skill to adapt their culture to a western audience has proved highly profitable for the Balinese, playing in on in the inherently 'exotic' *orientalism* which is endemic in this orientalism. Bali was the place to be, a haven filled with experiential delights which contrasted to a troubled Europe. Bali became for many everything that Europe wasn't: it was the true expression of the mystical East, unique in its isolation, both geographically and culturally. The anthropologists became part of that project where maintaining cultural integrity was of paramount importance. Of particular interest to us here, however, is the textual meddling of McPhee who wrote the epic work typifying Balinese music at it found itself in the dynamic period following the turn of the century. A mention should be made of Walter Spies, the German painter around whom gravitated the whole western clique who went looking for intercultural excitement on Bali, including other artists and well-known anthropologists such as Mead, Bateson and the Geertzes. Spies had a great affection and respect for the Balinese culture, and he attempted to express these positive emotions by allowing his academic and artistic friends to experience a very particular 'Bali' accenting aspects Spies thought would echo his respect. These aspects included the static harmony, the artistic richness and variety, and of course the figure of the woman as virgin, mother-figure and witch, all elements which were to be

taken up as psychological fixations by Mead. According to Vickers, Spies gave a 'guiding hand' to the direction those studies were to take: "the study of unchanging Balinese 'folk' life, and of Balinese art as a manifestation of the darker side of the psyche" (1989: 121). This has had intercultural ramifications for the Balinese. McPhee who was to become famous for his interactions with the Balinese musical world, undoubtedly participated in this particular intercultural text.

Like Walter Spies, McPhee was attracted to Bali because of his dissatisfaction with a stifled conservative artistic environment. Among his many interactions with the Balinese culture, McPhee was responsible for revitalising ensembles which had fallen out of use, which is an interesting discussion in itself because of the fact that his interaction brought about changes in the way Balinese culture developed. McPhee started a new life on Bali, attempting to totally forget the binds to his past. His autobiographical writings, for example, never mention the fact that he was married to Jane Belo, an anthropologist who was also a part of the Spies circle. His devotion to the Balinese culture became absolute and he is responsible for introducing many western composers to the intricacies of Balinese performance. One of his most well-known converts is Benjamin Britten who thanks to McPhee learnt to appreciate the fascinating new possibilities offered to a western composer if one learns to understand contrasting musical principles. He also attempted to form new gamelan groups on abandoned instruments:

> I had organised a new gamelan in Sayan for the sole purpose of reviving the old ceremonial music that was so rapidly being forgotten. It seemed to me sad that this pure and noble music, so tranquil, so perfectly proportioned, should be lost forever. (McPhee 1944: 25)

Even though this reflected a static way of thinking about musical preservation, McPhee at least saw the difficulty of his predicament, that he was someone influenced primarily by western values in a culture that had no difficulty in accepting the necessity for constant change:

> As for me—I had succeeded in helping prolonging the past. To delay it even for a day, change which brought inevitable decline, was my one wish… Who had benefited? None. (Oja 1990: 133)

McPhee wrote an incredibly detailed book on existing gamelan forms which is now considered one of the most important and complete ethnomusicological documents ever written. Thanks to McPhee many of the older gamelan forms such as the *Gong Gambuh, Semar Pegulingan, Gong Gédé* and *Gamelan Angklung* were able to survive. Oja mentions two major instances of McPhee attempting to revitalise old ensembles: the *Semar Pegulingan* group in Sayan and Lebah, and a *Gamelan Angklung* group in Sayan (Oja 1990: 126). As mentioned, McPhee considered that his attempts to revive the gamelan forms were largely futile, but according to Oja McPhee had underestimated the far-reaching effects of his research and his active involvement in the revival of gamelan groups: the only two advantages McPhee ascribed to his involvement were the joy he had provided to many Balinese people who spent evenings playing the old instruments, and also the ethnomusicological information he managed to collect. He considered that the revivals "aided his own study" (ibid.: 133). Many contemporary Balinese composers and academics, however, turn to his major work for advice when considering use of old gamelan ensembles, for example, and the very fact that they treat the past with the respect that they do could at least for a small part be the product of McPhee's dabbling. In any case, without McPhee's influence there wouldn't even be recordings—aural or written—of the old gamelan ensembles. It must be noted, however, that McPhee was involved directly in Balinese music in other ways. Situations arose in which McPhee intruded in some way into the way gamelan developed. An interesting example of this was communicated to me via a specialist on Balinese music Ed Herbst. According to Herbst, a *Semar Pegulingan* ensemble currently in Teges Kanginan was transported about 150 years ago to Peliatan, near Ubud as the spoils of Balinese aristocratic intrigue. When McPhee came across the instruments in the early 1930s this gamelan was in disrepair and inactive, and the instruments were lent to McPhee who helped restore the group. He returned the instruments after making changes to the tuning based on his own aesthetic ideas of how Balinese scales worked. Basing their ideas on memories of discussions with Balinese elders, one of the notes of the scale was raised slightly giving the scale a feeling of western 'minor' tuning, becoming 'that melancholic beauty McPhee cherished'. This sort of aesthetic intrusion on gamelan scales is a clear example of intercultural processes at work, in this case involved with western expectations actively working to adjust the *Other* to suit personal needs. His revivals were certainly a fulfilment of a paternal *orientalism*, but at the same time we have to accept that his interaction with Bali is nothing more than a moment of history which is no less relevant because the contribution was made by someone who was not Balinese.

McPhee has played a major role in providing ethnomusicologists today with a means to access music as it was experienced during his stay on Bali. Although it is in many cases out of date, it is a highly important historical document and has ensured that knowledge of Balinese ensembles which have gone out of use or have been melted down to form more up-to-date gamelan ensembles will not be lost. Although this indicates a western obsession with storing knowledge forever, the fact that McPhee's work is often turned to by contemporary Balinese composers demonstrates its value. I Wayan Rai, an important contemporary Balinese composer noted that he had found the *Trompong Baruk* instrument thanks to an ethnomusicological report written by McPhee. Tenzer, an academic and musician specialised in the field of Balinese music, considers that McPhee played an important role

in encouraging the individualisation of musical texts created by composers. Before McPhee's arrival authorship was not a big issue: works were considered to have been composed by the ruling prince even though the works were normally composed *for* them, comparable to the situation in Mediaeval Europe where individuals were not normally credited for their work. In the 1930s one of McPhee's major projects was the encouragement and general support of the prolific and influential composer I Lotring who he helped to make a true Balinese 'star'. Another major influence Colin McPhee's work had was on John Coast who read McPhee's book, travelled to Bali and with this work as his guide selected music and dance groups which were to travel world-wide and to bring international fame to Bali. The image presented was based on the whole historical project of western artists and anthropologists to create Bali as a static tropical harmony. Thanks to a western desire to believe in this reality in a Europe and America scarred by war and death, Coast made lots of money both for himself and Indonesia: Sukarno (who was partly Balinese) enthusiastically encouraged this project, undoubtedly in the realisation that this would bring an incredible increase in tourist dollars.

Next to his ground-breaking work *Music in Bali,* another writing which is often referred to is his autobiographical account *A House in Bali* which describes in loving detail his experiences with the Balinese culture. It is an interesting work because it describes directly his personal approach to the Balinese culture and how he experienced or came to understand it. This includes interactions which took place during his stay, interactions which can only be understood in terms of mutual intercultural processes. His work *Music in Bali* differs because it attempts to present itself as an objective account of all Balinese music, but as we have already demonstrated an objective approach is difficult to achieve: there are often sub-texts beneath the surface which are most often not recognised by the author of the text. An example is included below of a text which reflects McPhee's approach to music and musicality which leads him to make certain assumptions about Bali which weren't necessarily true, at least to the degree he describes it:

> Virtually every type of Balinese drama is based upon a traditional story and is accompanied by an equally traditional repertoire of music. Thus, music is subordinate to drama… And even music that does not accompany dance or drama is bound by traditional forms and aesthetic ideals that severely curb the composer's possibilities. The *Kebyar* style on the other hand is much freer, both in its music and in its dance. It is no surprising that younger musicians turned eagerly to *Kebyar* while their elders 'lamented its loudness and restless lack of direction'. (McPhee 1944: 20)

This passage demonstrates the knowledge he has of the way 'traditional' performances work. As discussed earlier performances even in sacred circumstances have characters which explain and often parody the 'historical' texts written in Sanskrit or an archaic form of Javanese or Balinese. His opinion about the fact that traditional works, either musical or dramatic, are static is truly problematic if not completely incorrect. His other assumption is that *Kebyar* provides the contemporary composer with more freedom. The musical form was louder and more exciting in its dynamic theatricality, but compositions for it still conformed to a typical Balinese three section style evoking the image of the *triloka*, suggesting that although the work is newly composed, it does obey strictly defined criteria. This also questions his conclusion that 'traditional' forms "severely curb the composer's possibilities" (McPhee 1944: 20). This opinion is very much based on what he actually considered musical freedom to be. Balinese 'freedom' is based on the development of traditional forms

There is no doubt that the West has had a great deal of influence on Indonesian institutions—of which the STSI is only a small (but important) part of—in the twentieth century. There are mixed reactions to this phenomenon. On the one hand, there is the intercultural perspective which sees the influence as largely positive. Sri Hastanto, a Javanese scholar and composer who studied in England has the following to communicate in this regard: "The appearance is that we give, but actually we receive something extremely valuable. As we give, we gain the experience of discussing what it is that we possess" (Diamond 1990: 17). Here Hastanto is discussing the whole experience of being a foreigner and teaching gamelan to foreigners: through sharing one's culture, one learns to experience one's culture in a different way, as a system rather than as something which speaks for itself. He continues:

> When we are faced with foreign students, they continually query us. We are made aware of deficiencies when we explain things. This is an immensely valuable experience. (Diamond 1990: 18)

Considering the number of foreign students who study at the STSI, the influence has probably been quite extensive. According to Windha, western influence is viewed with caution and apprehension by the STSI as an institution, which is the reaction of the organisation rather than of individuals who experience the positive aspects. western influence presented in the form of compositional innovation in works created by students have to be clearly explained and contextualised. This would be natural national conservative caution important to consider in order to retain a degree of Balinese autonomy in relation to the West or other places in Indonesia. There have been, however, programmes of western music and dance training brought in at STSI all around Indonesia, including Denpasar, although this occurs with background study and research on its possible implications in an Indonesian context. Decontextualisation or globalisation reminds us that western influence is a constant presence around the

world, and European influence has been present since early contact with the Portuguese and the Dutch colonial period. *Musik Kontemporer* is considered to be the penultimate form of western influence. According to Diamond, however, contemporary experimentation of this kind is not '*just* western influence': "the ideas fit with and flow from existing traditional systems interacting with an evolving world whose citizens are in increasingly better communication" (1990: 15). Discussing the work of Sadra, a Balinese composer living and teaching in Surakarta (Java), she continues:

> Sadra's inspiration does not arise from imitation of outside forces, but from an artistic awareness of the world and of an increasing range of ways to express that awareness. We are what we learn, but we are also who we are. Sadra's description of the same piece reveals the source of his 'influence'. (ibid.)

Globalisation is not the only a western phenomenon, it is a general way of viewing the world which finds its expression in many different forms. Western influence is only one part of a whole range of complex issues which concern us all. Interculturality is an unavoidable part of our lives and it is difficult for composers not to attempt to include its influence in their own individual textual modelling system. The works of composers will perhaps diverge, but this is part of facing intrinsically global issues and does not necessarily mean that the work of composers are divested of engagement or polluted by incorrect agendas. It is an unavoidable part of our world and it has to become part of any contemporary dialogue on contemporary musicology.

2.10 Conclusion: *importance of a new approach to text*

In this chapter the primary intention has been to demonstrate that a contemporary approach to culture requires a new vision for text and the whole concept of 'textuality'. Many existing textual models take for granted assumptions made by Ricœur who is one of the forestanding figures of a contemporary field referred to as hermeneutics (involved with a study of the theory and practice of texts). His model attempts to generalise many western assumptions about text into an all-encompassing model based on a particularly (structuralist) *episteme*: he imagines that texts, after they have been written, are divorced from the writer and exist in a state of limbo above all other texts; the act of creation becomes totally disconnected from the act of interpretation. I refer to this as the *transcendent text*. The model introduced in this chapter is involved with developing an approach to text which includes performative events, taking into account 'musical' aspects—non-verbal significative processes—which are only present when the texts are realised. This musical aspect of the text is demonstrated in terms of the concept of multimediality developed in Chapter One. After demonstrating the difficulty of Ricœur's model by adopting Barthes' Work/Text distinction, we discussed the 'comprehension engines' or *textualities* we use to realise the *potential* of given cultural texts. Here again the individual is included in the textual process. This model offers a wide range of communicative possibilities, demonstrating the necessity of a radical form of hermeneutics which demands the recognition of *practice*; it has to become a truly bi-directional confrontation with the *Other* shared in a phenomenological present. This material is developed upon primarily thanks to research done on *Wayang Kulit* texts which are so important in Balinese life, offering as they do the tools which the Balinese can use to understand many different levels of their culture in daily life, forming part of an educational process which can not be perpetuated in any other way. In the latter half of this chapter the parameters were discussed for that part of the multimedial text which is purely 'musical'. These textual parameters communicate very particular messages which can only be experienced (not talk about). The Balinese have developed for themselves performance texts and engines for the perpetuation of these texts thanks to performance forms which are in a constant process of adaptation. Here traditional Balinese texts (*Kakawin*) are discussed in terms of their use in *Sekehe Bebasan*, *Wayang Kulit*, *Topeng*, *Arja* and other similar textual vehicles. They are only considered to have significance through a process of 'recitation' or sounding which literally brings the texts to life and into the present—the world of the audience. The Balinese musical text is a comprehensible form which is still accessible to many Balinese people, providing them with a blueprint for reality which they can apply in everyday life.

Further I have tried to demonstrate that a new approach to the text goes far beyond the traditional conception of text as an object which can be interpreted. Text is a cultural artefact which individuals apply meaning to, often reinterpreting existing beliefs or teaching new ones. They become educational tools which create a set of guiding principles, helping all the time to train the *comprehension engines* which develop in the cognitive processes of individuals. Although culture tends to create a general pattern which is attained by a mass population, every different experience of text remains individually unique even though the text itself may be using material which is familiar to the audience. I can refer here to the important Balinese text involved with the preparation and presentation of offerings. The intention has been to demonstrate how cultures are formed thanks to the dynamism of texts, creating a series of models and comprehension engines which are realised by every individual at every new performance. These 'blueprints for reality' are only made possible thanks to the dynamic process involved with the 'story-telling' (both verbal and musical), helping to define a culture's uniqueness. Balinese *Wayang Kulit* has been very successful in performing this function for many hundreds of years thanks to its combination of

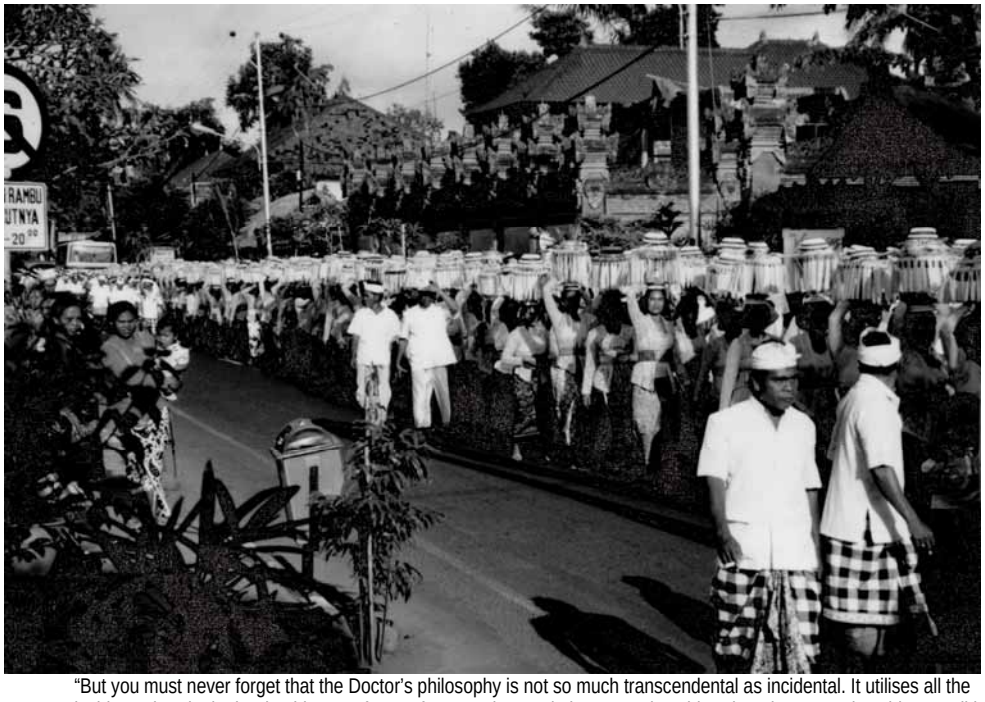
innovation and tradition, providing every new audience with a new educational environment in which they can reassess their 'theories of the world in the head'.

Another important discussion entered into in this chapter has been involved with accessible and difficult texts. The potential accessibility of texts, of course, depends on contextual circumstances (especially for the performative text) and also on the background of the individual, especially his or her education: through social life particular ways of subsuming texts are attained thanks to processes of 'social inculcation' (as Bourdieu refers to it) which provides the individuals with a system for textual interpretation. Perhaps the most successful cultural texts are those which have many different points of access for those experiencing them. *Wayang Kulit* as a multimedia performance has all these elements and more, providing the Balinese with a myriad array of possible ways to appreciate what they are actively or passively participating in. Difficult texts are those which are 'hard to set in motion' (*faire partir*) as Barthes would put it (Barthes 1984: 79). This is a familiar feeling for many Europeans who feel alienated from the potential individualism inherent in an inaccessible avant-garde painting. Thanks to an educational *episteme* which results in the artists creating an individual voice rather than one shared with others, often works of art are created which may be highly 'progressive', but for which the layman will lack any conceptual engine or *textuality* to comprehend the artistic work in any positive or educational way. This is not something which troubles the Balinese too much: for them development of the tradition, even if that development is a little experimental, is the only way to have successful performances. They don't really consider anything else worthwhile. Although this perspective may sound rather conservative—and the Balinese are not scared to show their contempt for any other type of art for which they lack the *textuality*—it is comprehensible if one begins to understand how textual performance in Bali combines the changing needs of the culture rendering the 'avant-garde' unnecessary outside of small elite circles within an academic environment.

From a western perspective, Balinese musicality may be seen by many to be rather 'regimented'. Regimentation in performance, however, can be experienced as either difficult or accessible depending on the needs of the individual. Popular music may seem to some to be an over-regimented realisation of a given environment, and others may exalt in the freedom offered by a musical form which gets them moving on stage. Regimentation is particularly significant musically, in other words experiencing regimentation can be dynamic when realised in performance. Prime examples include strident military music played by a marching concert-band or pounding *house*-music in a disco; some people may feel restricted experiencing the march live or revel in the freedom offered by the disco environment.

We have also explored the potential multi-levelled complexity of musical texts. During a *Wayang Kulit* performance which involves the explication of certain ancient texts, the audience is subjected to much more than simply words. As a result of the orchestration of different media, they are affected by the patterns of meaning conveyed by the various dramatic components. The *parekan*, or clown characters mentioned above play a similar role to the other readers in the *Sekehe Bebasan* who provide spontaneous translations of the text. The *dalang*, however, provides a particular depth to the *parekan* who are the characters responsible for linking the textual nature of the performance with the symbolic necessities of the audience. The *parekan* are responsible for uniting all the media involved, bringing a variety of textual levels including the musical into unison in such a way that the audience is provided with extra levels of signification. No performance of *Wayang Kulit*, of course, is ever quite the same: we can refer here to the old Balinese phrase *Desa Kala Patra* which exemplifies this Balinese cultural ethos. Balinese musicality is essential to these situations which are realised in real-time environments. It is an integral part of the multimedia event which is brought to life in a living environment.

Chapter Three: **The Musical Text as an Embedded and Embodied Sign**



"But you must never forget that the Doctor's philosophy is not so much transcendental as incidental. It utilises all the incidents that ripple the depthless surfaces of, you understand, the sensual world. When the sensual world unconditionally surrenders to the intermittency of mutability, man will be freed in perpetuity from the tyranny of a single present. And we will live on as many layers of consciousness as we can, all at the same time. After the Doctor liberates us, that is. Only after that." (Carter 1982: 99-100)

Chapter Three uses the *Musical Text* introduced in Chapter Two as a basic medium from which a living or performative cultural *sign* can be developed. This involves similar theoretical concepts to those introduced in Chapter One and Two, although in this chapter a different method is used to explore even closer instances of living texts as they are realised in practice, and the complex process of *semiosis* which takes place when the living sign is brought to life in 'performance'. These dynamic signification bearing vehicles are called *embedded signs*, being set off against the popular structural concept of the *transcendent sign*. *Transcendent signs* are considered to have meaning external to the context of their realisation, such as the words of languages or the letters of the alphabet. *Embedded signs* only have meaning when they are realised in temporal and spatial environments. Meaning is applied to these signs by the participants actively involved in the process of semiosis. This chapter begins questioning existing approaches to the sign and how *embedded signs* differ from the pervading model. This is followed by a description of contrasting approaches to semiosis, presenting a model which emphasises the importance of the participants taking part in the significative process. We then take a closer look at *embedded sign* theory based on rethinking Peirce's model in terms of suggestions made by Jakobson. After this we extend the *embedded sign* by exploring Bourdieu's notion of *Habitus* which attempts to understand human behaviour through contextual factors. The issue of *embodiment* and the repercussions this has on the sign forms the second major topic of this chapter. Turning to the work of Lakoff & Johnson our understanding of signification is revealed to be based on a set of metaphors closely related to our bodies. This theoretical development leads to a description of the organic nature of Balinese *embedded* and *embodied* 'musical signs'.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the musical text is viewed in terms of culturally generated 'signs', a term which has become one of the main tools of a movement in contemporary theory known as *semiotics*. The sign evoked in this chapter, however, differs from the sign which forms an essential tool in the armoury of the structuralists; here we view it as an activation of the musical text, which becomes in particular environments inscribed or reinscribed into the present. The sign is viewed as an important *tool* for observing cultural phenomenon and *not* the 'object' itself, building the *flexible* episteme and the musical text developed in the first and the second chapters respectively. We create a dynamic system of analysis which attempts to include both the cultural act as it takes place and the *embedded* context in which it occurs for the specific purpose of viewing Balinese multimedial musical expression. To achieve this goal, providing an alternative answer to positivist semiotics, the whole notion of *cultural embeddedness* is brought into focus; the importance of *enactment* in understanding how the embedded sign works is discussed. The problematic of looking at cultural data in this way is then entered into, and conclusions are made about both the problems and the advantages of an 'embedded' approach.

Johnson suggests in his work that we have bodies directly connected to and constantly interacting with nature, demonstrating that "consciousness and rationality are tied to our bodily orientations and interaction in and with our environment" (1974: xxxviii). Our embodiment is "essential to who we are, to what meaning is, and to our ability to draw inferences and to be creative" (ibid.). In other words, our experience in an environment and through our bodies in that environment is directly tied to our general conception and understanding of the world; there is no possible way for us to understand the world if we do not have some kind of interaction with it. The classical positivist approach to meaning is based on a set of principles which is born into individuals and which are shared due to essential factors which unite them. Johnson's use of shared metaphors which are individually and dynamically created suggests a far more vital image of individual variation and application to real-life situations related to the body and nature; it stands against the simplified dichotomies suggested as the basic guides to human understanding in positivistic and structuralist science and philosophy where one is forced to "compartmentalise and fragment life, and to ignore the certainty and indispensability of embodied imagination in life and thought" (ibid.). In the following unit the intention is to develop an approach to human semiosis which accepts these dynamic aspects of embodiment in signification.

To help us develop a sign which extends the static possibilities offered by structuralism, we turn to the work of Bourdieu. He distinguishes 'subjectivism' from 'objectivism', seeing both as insufficient forms of analysis on their own. Bourdieu's work questions bodies of theory which take as their foundation any type of pure *objectivism*; he considers subjectivism therefore to be an equally valid way of studying culture. The main shortcoming of objectivism is that, by failing to reflect rigorously on its own conditions of possibility, it cannot grasp the link between the knowledge it produces and the objective relations and structures it elucidates, on the one hand, and the practical activities of the individuals who make up the social world, on the other. Bourdieu attempts to bridge the gap between abstracted structure and dynamic practice. Saskia Kersenboom has developed a theory for cultural analysis based on the subjective experience of individuals within culture, using as an analogy cultural practice as a type of *performance.* In her theory the existential realisation in performance is used as an analogy for human comprehension; here the world *is* a stage, and the dark space beyond that stage is that part of the world which is only perceivable according to the rules of comprehension dictated by the performance environment. Her theory reveals objectivity to be a form of 'wishful thinking', an unfulfillable fantasy which attempts to comprehend human practice as merely the result of an expression of a *langue*-like theoretical whole. Subjectivity on the other hand sees human experience as an 'embodied perspective' which is "chiselled into cultural coherence through the praxis of language as three: as word, as sound and as image" (Kersenboom 1996: 78). As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the subjective entity—the performer on the stage—uses as his/her tools these three major elements for cultural communication. Rather than as simply the 'end product' of a 'message', the performance becomes the means by which the performative sign is realised; here the 'meaning' is dependent on these factors rather than *vice versa*. *Embeddedness* is experiencing the very nature of being which individuals become involved in according to the tenets of *Dasein*; understanding "embeddedness" means learning to comprehend how we are embedded in the context of social life in a complex 'performative' environment which we interact with in the process of everyday existence. *Embeddedness* is an awareness of the importance of subjectivity, i.e. the perspective an 'embedded' participant in a culture has. The *embedded sign* is a dynamic one brought to life by people and enacted in spatial and temporal environments. Van Damme refers to the 'sociocultural constellations within which [given signs] are embedded' as the *contextual* emphasis in anthropology (1996: 7). The *embedded* approach to the sign within semiotics is a demonstration of an approach which empowers the individuals who bring signs to life. As discussed in the earlier chapters, this involves a multimedial approach to the sign, one which recognises the physicality involved in a human understanding of meaning.

One of the first major steps in understanding the *Embedded Sign* involves recognising the subjective reality experienced by those whose interaction with the world brings the *Embedded Sign* into existence. This realisation is noticeable in many different practical aspects of anthropology. Wikan, writing about an embedded Balinese environment, notes the importance of reckoning with "actors with multiple, compelling concerns and previous stakes to defend" (1990: 14). In her work, the sign is never considered something which has its own character: it is individuals who bring the sign to life, and it is individuals who have compelling personal concerns which result in the necessity or desire for the sign to signify. Thanks to the parameters of space and time signs can signify in some way to living individuals. In ritual signification, it is not the 'idea' of the ritual which is enough to signify. The doing of the ritual act is an incredibly important part of the signification. *Rites of Passage* rituals can only signify to those involved when they perform the acts within the ritual process: knowing about how the ritual works or what it signifies is of course no act in itself. Aspects like the olfactory or the aural are only possible to consider if the enaction of the sign is considered. Classen, Howes and Synnott comment on the fact that the unconscious *registration* of smells plays an important role in the whole process of semiosis (1994: 2). Like dynamic Austinian speech-acts, *Embedded Signs* are considered to 'do' or to 'achieve' something through the process of their

enactment. Tambiah, an anthropologist who is well-known for his work on ritual communication and significative enactment, refers to the 'indexical value' inherent in staged performance, where individuals 'experience the event intensively' (1985: 17-59) thanks to active processes which function to enhance meaning through performative enactment. I will contend that this is an important aspect of the musical sign.

Peirce's extended matrix of signification types which attempted to classify all different forms of semiosis is impressive but insufficient on its own for analysing significative *acts* (rather than just signification). The broad intention of the theory supporting the *Embedded Sign* is to recognise such complexity. Our actual perceptions of beings, places and times are the result of a myriad range of 'signs within signs' which our senses internalise and our cognition attempts to create something out of. Very often this signification process goes on without our consciously thinking about it. Smells, gazes, touches, brief fleeting images are all part of that complex sign which makes a link to the past.

The whole concept of 'connectedness' behind the Balinese notion of 'kaîket' says a great deal about how embedded Balinese life actually is. As mentioned, the greatest fear of many Balinese people is to be banished from their *banjar*, which is the worst punishment anyone can receive. Balinese embeddedness is indeed a shared one: when people are accepted into the *banjar* community, their problems become the concern of others, and the community comes together to help people in difficulties. An example is the difficult and expensive task of performing rituals such as cremations, tooth-filing and other rites of passage. Through team-work, different individuals in the same community, often from a contrasting age group, caste and family, take advantage of the chance to have the ceremony performed, which is lucky considering the great time and expense that goes into organising such events. Theory related to the notion of an *embedded sign* suggests that the signification of signs is highly dependent on the experience had by the parties to whom the signs signify. In a performance of Balinese *Arja*, for example, a tourist may enjoy the dance and the melodic sound of the strange dialogues, whereas a Balinese person's appreciation will depend on the sort of education they've had: someone who has spent their whole life working in a big city but has participated in basic Balinese ritual life may understand some of the higher caste language, but will most likely be there for the entertainment, whereas a Balinese child living among a family of musicians who has heard ancient Sanskrit texts sung from a very young age will have an entirely different intuitive approach to the performance. The context in which the embedded sign signifies is also important. If the viewers appreciate the performance at home on television, or if it is raining during the performance, it will signify to the individuals differently. In conclusion, it is clear that an *embedded sign* is a complex given which allows many different factors individual to different circumstances to be taken into account.

3.2 The Embedded Sign

In this chapter division the intention is to discuss in more detail the important role the individual plays in realising the sign. Some basic principles taken from phenomenology and semiotics are included here. The nature/culture distinction is an important one in phenomenology: nature is that part of reality which we attempt to fathom by interacting with the world. Culture consists of the systems we set up to try and come to terms with nature, which usually results in us overcoming it in some way, at least figuratively. The complex sign systems set up so that individuals are able to fathom the nature they are surrounded by is what makes cultural anthropology such an interesting area of study. We begin with the notion that 'reality' is essentially unfathomable; the prime function of the self is to create signs to help approach that reality, to make the isolated *Self* a part of the cultural whole. Our experience of nature is the closest we get to the 'real' reality, and that is thanks to our senses. We believe what they tell us; we have to because the minute we stop believing is the minute our relationship with culture begins to crumble. The process of sign creation is very much a shared communal activity in that we know that there are (or may be) others who treat the sign in a similar way. It is an important activity which unites us with our phenomenological world; it is also thanks to semiosis that we can comprehend the ultimate *Other* of nature. 'Nature', itself, is a difficult concept which is realised culturally in contrasting ways; it is not necessarily a permanent given as many of us assume. The Javanese, for example, don't even have a word for the concept of 'nature' as we do in English. The very notion of a 'return to nature', or even to 'search for natural states' does not exist: the closest Javanese word or concept is *alam* which actually defines that part of the Javanese conception of human experience which describes the existence of the natural. For our culture nature is not that which is inconceivable, it is very much a part of our reality and will, eventually, be entirely classified. By applying labels to natural phenomena, our culture has been able to create elaborate symbolic systems to deal with nature. For human beings, however, empirical rules are simply not enough. They have to be constantly convinced and reconvinced of a fathomable reality in a cultural context. Hence the importance of ritual behaviour which continually demonstrates aspects of *Dasein* or 'being-in-the-world' and which functions to remind us where nature stops and culture begins. Balinese signs have meanings which are shared, at least in that certain significant kinds of *symbolic form* are realised in particular situations which are understood by individuals in similar ways. This occurs thanks to the mutual context of education in contemporary Bali. That is not to say that the Balinese are all taught to think

alike. Each individual helps to make that reality unique; in this case culture helps to 'mould' (but not pre-programme) the individual.

Frank Smith, a pedagogical psycholinguist who supports this phenomenological approach to semiosis, has developed a theory based on the concept of the brain 'as an artist' standing opposed to the prevailing approach which sees the brain simply as an 'information carrier': "My metaphor pictures the brain as an artist, as a creator of experience for itself and for others, rather than as a dealer in information" (1985: 195). Smith in effect views the brain as a creative being which actively interacts with the world. As Langer suggests, "the brain is following its own law; it is actively translating experiences into symbols, in fulfilment of a basic need to do so" (1953: 41-42). The traditional approach has been to define the brain as either an information processor involved only as a tool receiving and analysing the data which is fed in via the senses, or as an illogical and essentially flaccid and unreliable tool performing functions which a computer would be much more successful at doing. Smith demands a new approach in which our brains are seen to contain a 'theory of the world' (1985: 199). This 'theory' is basically a set of expectations we have about our surroundings. When our ongoing experience fits these expectations, everything is fine, our experience acts as a reinforcement for what we have been led to believe by interacting with the world in the past. The new experience, in other words, makes sense; we are able to comprehend it. If, however, our experience doesn't fit that set of expectations, the theory we have of why, where and how things happen in the world, then we have to adjust those theories to suit the new information. Here individuals are empowered: they are not seen as passive beings which take in and classify information, but as parties actively involved in creating the world as part of a dynamic and continually changing process. This *theory of the world* which is the dynamism of cognitive processes within individuals is an important part of human culture. Our *musical episteme* is part of this 'theory' and I would like to posit that it is embedded musical signs which provide, among other things, a link between our epistemes and the way we conceive of *nature.* As introduced above, Kersenboom uses the performing arts as an analogy to represent the conception that the limits of our experiences are bordered by what we realise on the human 'stage' of cultural experience; the performance space becomes a metaphor for human understanding. This is a metaphor which has great hope for human culture and appreciates its intricate richness.

> All that we can achieve or know, we perform or learn in that 'clearing'; it constitutes our garden, our stage, our opportunity. This performance is the effort to feel intuitively the world around this stage and the audience that might be present there, it is our effort to express and open ourselves to an answer. It is limited, in space, in time and in means; nevertheless, we try to make the best of this opportunity; it is ever unique, acute and fresh to our individual experience. On that stage of our lifetime, lit by the lights of real-life circumstances, we chisel our presence with the limited means we can dispose of. Our bodies are quite capable of such performance: words, sound and images are all we have, but how rich they are! They form the media of expression as well as the model for a successful reception of our urge. The space around the stage, however, remains dark; it can be felt but not assessed. Still, we act, reaching out... again and again exploring different trajectories. (Kersenboom 1996: 78)

Geertz's approach to Balinese culture which attempts to reduce it to a series of busily performed activities which have no other function than to keep the Balinese occupied is simply insufficient in this context. The process of "perpetually weaving intricate palm-leaf offerings, preparing elaborate ritual meals, decorating all sorts of temples, marching in massive processions, and falling into sudden trances" (Geertz 1973: 175) is an important part of being Balinese. It is through living in that world that they make it real. It is only within this environment that the *embedded sign* can signify, richly contextualised in a spatial and temporal context. Music plays a very important part of chiselling our place in the world and is perhaps the most tangible of all cultural tools. The musical element of the sign is brought to life in performance by individuals; it doesn't exist outside the context of its realisation, and is possibly the closest that culture gets to 'nature'.

3.3 The Process of Semiosis

How do we understand reality? By creating signs. How do we substantiate this reality? By testing our signs, often in the form of performative acts. How do we test these signs? By comparing the objectively sensed reality with our symbolic conception of it. The world is always in a constant state of change, and for these signs to retain an embedded cultural value we constantly update them to suit our conception of reality. These concepts are essential to understanding Jakobson's model of the sign. One of the main fathers of semiotics Peirce provided Jakobson with the tools he needed to build his image of the sign. Peirce's work belonged very much to the *fixed* structural school of thought, although many contemporary theorists make use of Peirce without realising its positivist origins. Peirce developed three major terms to refer to his sign: *icon, index* and *symbol.* An *icon* is a sign that "conveys an idea by virtue of its very close reproduction of the actual object or event" (Gottdiener 1995: 12). Here the icon makes direct unmediated contact with human cognition. An example of a 'pure' icon is a canvas painted red which only communicates the colour red directly to the cognition of the living party involved in the semiosis. An *index* "is established as a sign in the mind of the interpreter through experience or pragmatic understanding of the material world" (ibid.). The deictical pointing finger is considered to be a common 'index', examples of which could include a spire on a church showing the wind direction, or a dramatic musical cadence directing the attention

of the audience to a conclusion. In comparison to our first example, the red painted canvas signalling 'danger' to a given individual through an indexical relationship between *red* and *blood* could be said to be communicating using an 'indexical' sign. The *symbol* involves the connection between a sign and its signification. In comparison to the first two levels it is perhaps the most familiar kind of sign which we relate to language: abstract sounds become connected with specific meanings. Words are of course perfect examples, although human beings communicate with thousands of non-verbal symbols daily through gestures and other bodily signs. Our red canvas could be 'symbolically' evoking to the individual viewing it the Russian Constructivist school of art or the work of Malevich.

Jakobson, in interpreting Peirce, takes note of the importance of contextual factors to the process of semiosis and suggests a reinterpretation of Peirce's sign. Rather than the icon, index and symbol being different types of sign, in Jakobson's model all three terms are considered to be essential. His model involves a temporal rather than a transcendental approach to semiotics. The *icon* is seen as something which represents the past (through our memories), and the *index* the present through the physical actions we perform to realise the sign. The grave of a saint, relics or church 'icons' are links to the past and could therefore be considered sacred examples of Jakobson's *icon.* In comparison the physical act of making a pilgrimage or lighting a candle to respect one of these artefacts could be considered to be *indexical*. The *index* involves 'deictics' or the act of pointing, the dynamic process of doing something which results in some form of direct signification. Rappaport provides a clear example of an act of indexical communication, be it among monkeys and not men: "When one baboon presents his rump to another he is signalling submission, when the other mounts he signals dominance… the ritual is only *indexical*" (1979: 79). The *symbol,* in contrast, represents a personal 'potential' in that it involves what we personally bring to the sign as it is interpreted; like *Dasein* it has an element of both the past and the future. Jakobson refers to this as a 'loi-cadre' ['frame of reference']: «*A l'oppose de l'indice comme de l'icône, suivant la théorie de Peirce, le symbole n'est pas un objet, mais seulement une loi-cadre qui donne lieu a différentes applications contextuelles de fait, les occurrences*» (1980: 91). Here, the *symbol* is a potential, or all the choices that are available to an individual. It is at one and the same time the cognition and the possible cognitive processes an individual can make use of in the process of the realisation of a sign. Thanks to the creative powers inherent in the *symbol*, the process of semiosis becomes unique for every individual. In fulfilling an *indexical* act the joy of providing respect, or the feeling of satisfaction of having completed a pilgrimage could be considered to be *symbolic* forms of signification. In Bali, *indexicality* can be clearly witnessed in terms of caste distinction. One's caste can be immediately related to one's spatial relationship to another. If one is of a lower caste ('sudra'), one is obliged to respect the upper caste by positioning one's self lower physically. This is a clear indexical realisation of the Balinese spatial sense of height and religious superiority. The *indexical* part of semiosis involves human behaviour which communicates vital information to those participating in its performance, and therefore musical acts are automatically of an *indexical* nature. How these three levels can work together to produce powerful *embedded signs* will be developed in the following paragraphs.

The institution of marriage is very much an *embedded sign*, one which is brought to life by the active participation of individuals. This institution within our culture has a long and complex heritage to bring order to male-female coupling and to provide them with religious significance. In addition, it also has signification on a practical level, i.e. people really *feel* married after they have undergone the necessary rituals, often taking place within a church. Individuals obviously have a choice to make use of this institution: no one is obliged to get married, but there is a whole system of beliefs and symbolic structures which make it worthwhile. The individuals involved make the ceremony their own, applying their own signification. The *icon* in this example is therefore the institution itself which is generally only available to male-female couples within our culture. The *index* is the act of realising marriage, which can be a powerful event, literally functioning to completely change the societal status of two individuals. The *symbol* is the complex array of emotional and legal *interpretants* individuals receive from the process. One of the people interviewed for this research commented on the fact that she had special reasons to remarry: in this personal case the 'legal bond' of marriage helped her to maintain a certain control over her life. The iconic meaning which is a 'bridge to the past' is, therefore, the aspect which plays its strongest role in her realisation of this institution. This demonstrates how differently *embedded signs* can signify to different individuals, and how complex such processes can be.

Another example of an *embedded sign* is the ritual invented to mourn victims of AIDS. AIDS is a disease which has developed a whole range of sociocultural stigmas in our society concerning male homosexuals and drug addicts who suffer from it. Friends and loved ones of people who die from complications resulting from AIDS have had a reduced possibility to 'culturally' express their sorrow. AIDS is still a disease which people don't like to talk about publicly in Europe and unfortunately many homosexuals who die of it have to cope with a sense of shame because of their sexuality, as do many of their families and friends. The AIDS memorial service is an 'invented' ritual where speeches are made, blankets are ritually laid out on the pavement, music is played and

balloons are set free with the names of the dead. It is considered by many to be quite emotively powerful. In essence the gay community have created their own ritual to help mourn their dead. This is a clear example of how important 'ritualised' behaviour actually is in intensifying our experiences and helping us to understand certain stages in our lives. Perhaps what is most interesting is the fact that many people can be moved by an event that has been 'recently' invented. In this example, the *icon* is the funereal event which is recognised by many people who associate with gay culture. The *index* refers to the ritual acts which are undergone during the ceremony, such as laying out a blanket, releasing balloons and the performance of music. The *symbol* is what each and every individual realises in the event, the most common being the shared feeling of strength to face the future and at the same time a means to adapt to the loss many of the participants have had to cope with.

In Western European culture, certainly in terms of 'scientific' research, we have the tendency to accent only one aspect of the sign. This is particularly true for certain approaches to music because of structuralist tendencies within the field of 'musicology'. In western music, largely as a result of our *musical episteme*, there have been movements in which the accenting of the *iconic* or the *indexical* elements of the embedded artistic sign has lead to the creation of artistic texts which are difficult to 'set in motion' in the Barthesian sense. This includes the pure iconicism present in western serialism, a movement which developed in the first-half of the twentieth century, and pure indexicality which received its strongest expression in the form of aleatoricism as part of the *Fluxus* movement in the sixties. Schönberg (1874-1951) attempted to create music which would ensure logic and unity in atonal music. This resulted in him creating the *twelve-tone* system in 1923. In this system the intention was to create musical compositions which could produce pure meaning, something which did not 'evoke' the past by relying on existing tonal systems. It was a product of its own age, created during a period in which Hüsserlian phenomenology and early structuralism reigned strong. Interestingly, as a compositional tool it did not produce a pure system of communication, but became connected with the German expressionist movement evoking images of angst, violence and general estrangement. Although it never attracted a large audience, it was a clear expression of western epistemological goals (pure musical communication abstracted from its context), and is therefore still taught in many musical institutions as a tool of experimental music-making. Olivier Messiaen and Pierre Boulez have taken serialism further, including other elements of music to be treated in serial fashion such as dynamics and instrumental tone to create completely abstract musical forms. While *serialism* attempted to reach pure musical knowledge through the total serialisation of all elements, another movement in contemporary art was taking place on the other side of the world. Aleatoricism or free improvisation was introduced by John Cage and his school; musicians and non-musicians attempted to play absolutely freely. This is nothing at all like the improvisation which takes place among jazz musicians. Jazz improvisation has an iconic and indexical element which an audience can relate to. Free improvisation in the Cageian (*aleatoric*) sense involves an attempt at spontaneous realisation of musical sound with absolutely no connection to the past. This was the expression of a desire to discover 'pure' *indexicality*. The musical texts produced by these movements were to most people, unfortunately, inaccessible and therefore didn't catch on. The early days of totally free improvisation are long gone and the quest for pure iconic or indexical expression is not generally the primary goal of most contemporary composers and performers. We are beginning to realise that for music to communicate potently, musical processes have to involve iconic, indexical and symbolic aspects.

3.4 Understanding *Habitus*

Bourdieu revitalised the Latin term *Habitus* which involves the parameters around which we develop our (Smithian) 'theory of the world'. Our culture provides us with a basic set of behavioural manners both through social institutions and the interactions we have with our cultural environment. These institutions help us to make sense of the world. *Habitus* is a complex organic structure consisting of on the one hand a set of rules (such as laws) which are offered by one's culture or society, and on the other *generative principles* open to an individual. Although we as members of the human race have the possibility to do *anything*, the fact that we don't is thanks to rules which are imposed on us through a process Bourdieu refers to as cultural *inculcation.* This is a sort of process which gives people the idea that only certain choices are available by making other choices difficult or impossible, for example 'sinful' in a religious sense or 'unlawful' in a legal sense. The term 'habitus' stems from ancient Roman use, although Bourdieu adopts it in a distinctive way: "The *Habitus* is a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (Johnson 1993: 56). In other words, *Habitus* refers to a field of potentials which function to generate practices or forms of human behaviour without the individuals involved thinking they are being influenced; it is a way of acting 'normally'. It will become important in our development of embedded and embodied sign theory. No individual is forced to obey the constraints of *Habitus*, although most do because it has become indeed 'second nature' and any behaviour which is unlike that contained in the *Habitus* is considered strange. The training processes inherent in culture which help us form *Habitus* are long and complex ones, always leaving marks on the mind and the body of individuals. Transcending *Habitus* leads only to the void of uncertainty. Like the realisation of *kaîket*—the Balinese sense of feeling connected—events and circumstances

created by *Habitus* feel right for most of us. The intention here is to demonstrate how important music is to the creation and maintenance of our *Habitus.* Bourdieu refers to three major fields to describe the parameters of *Habitus*: *generative principles, objective conditions* and 'improvisation'.

The term *generative principles* takes as a basis the fact that objects of human knowledge are not 'passively recorded', but instead are constructed by individuals. *Generative principles* are the elements of culture which allow an individual to make choices in certain cultural situations. Bourdieu has referred to his *generative* principles as a 'feel for the game' or a 'practical sense' (*le sens pratique*). Here he is referring to the tendencies individuals have to make certain choices because they *know* they are the right ones. Another important level of *Habitus* is the often regimented set of rules which provide us with what Bourdieu refers to as *objective conditions.* Here it is cultural institutions which perpetuate a set of rules which we use to justify our behaviour, or explain the behaviour of others. Music in our culture has a strong set of *objective conditions* within out culture, for example the laws of harmony or the set of conventions that structure jazz improvisation. Sometimes the *generative principles* described above are insufficient in providing us with the right answers in which case these *objective conditions* can become useful tools. They are basically a set of understandings on which we can build a more formal type of comprehension of the information we are provided with, for example 'science' or the whole empirical tradition which we learn about as part of our education. These principles are not organic, and we do not generate them ourselves from material present in *Habitus.* Rather *objective conditions* are the formal rules which we learn as specific sets of abstract information. A typical example of *objective conditions* is the Indonesian *Pancasila.* This is a system of rules about life which is propagated by institutions. Although it is artificially imposed by the Indonesian government, its existence does provide individuals with a source on which they can base their understanding of certain abstract structures such as 'society' or 'religion' or 'economy'. Geertz and his colleagues presented a rather passive image of culture: Geertz is famous for his 'spider-web' model of culture which has individuals blindly following cultural rules without considering them. Wikan so aptly notes that not everyone is involved in the spinning of the web, some are just 'caught' in it: "A view of culture as webs woven into a coherent structure assumes a fictitious harmony of shared interests" (1990: 12). The *objective conditions* are not devised to please every individual: no person finds a culture which 'fits' perfectly, and spends normally his or her entire life trying to adapt. The third part of Bourdieu's *Habitus* cycle involves the 'improvisation' individuals make during the process of semiosis; such an 'improvisation' can be formed from the *generative principles* created by individuals to interpret culture. Music plays an important role in the process of 'improvisation' as it has such power in connecting us to the present moment and is at the same time a vital link to the past. Thanks to a series of *objective conditions* taught by culture and *generative principles* formed by individuals, 'theories of the world' can be tested by vital *improvisations* in real spatial and temporal environments. *Improvisations upon reality* help us progress and change, providing us with the opportunity to question the world we have created, and to adjust our *generative principles* accordingly. It is here that the vitality of musical realisation can help us to realise this 'improvisation'.

Kersenboom finds a common point between her *embedded sign* and the *Habitus* of Bourdieu. The *improvisation* can be compared with Jakobson's rethinking of the role of the *index* in understanding the process of semiosis. The *generative principles* we form help us to act 'normally'. This can be related to the *symbol* in Jakobson's model: these principles form the boundaries for our conception of reality, and are related very often in an organic way to the world. The *objective conditions* can be related to Jakobson's interpretation of the *icon* where specific elements of the past are recontextualised in given cultural applications. In this situation, however, the *objective conditions* can refer to any symbolic structure which members of a culture have the choice to interpret in their own way (although individuals are usually confident that fellow members will make a similar choice). The *objective conditions* refer basically to the choices that an individual can make based on his/her societal and epistemological background.

In the following passage I observe musicality as a dynamic realisation of *Habitus* in terms of the *embedded sign*. Musicality is a unique form of expression of the *embedded sign*, inextricably linked to the parameters of *Habitus*. There are a myriad array of contrasting forms of expression for musicality, matched by an equally multivarious amount of ways of experiencing it. In earlier discussion we have mentioned the *poeisic* and the *esthesic* processes within the arts. In the case of multimediality, the *poeisic* process is involved with the practical side of musical expression, whereas the *esthesic* process refers to the internalisation of this artistic phenomenon. In terms of our model for the *embedded sign* the *improvisation* is able to signify thanks to the *symbolic* potential individuals can apply to the sign thanks to their experience in the past, the social inculcation they been influenced by and the *bodily hexis* which teaches them how to react and behave musically. The *esthesic* and the *poeisic* process can, of course, take place at the same time, i.e. a dancer in a disco *esthesically* enjoys the pounding of the music which evokes a particular way of moving oneself on the dance floor (*bodily hexis*), and in doing so creating *poiesically* a performance which is enjoyed or at least observed by other people. Action and interaction are two important words

here. In his article, Clarke recognises the necessity to avoid a 'too cerebral and abstract approach' to music-making which characterises contemporary musicology. We have to redress the balance, as Clarke notes, adopting an "*embodied* nature of musical thinking" (1993: 271).

Using *Habitus* we can better hope to understand many different forms of symbolic behaviour such as ritual and musicality. Rappaport talks of specifying "the conditions under which rituals which ordinarily convey both symbolic or iconic and indexical, referential and pragmatic meanings" and how they "take opposite turnings: to the right when they begin to lose their semantic component and come to serve mainly the pragmatic interest of authority, privilege, and sheer conservatism; and to the left when committed believers, faced with a decline of referential meaning but with a surfeit of manipulated 'implicatures' strive to induce purified meaning into traditional forms, as often happens during the effervescence of religious revival and reform" (1979: 166). Here change in the *iconic*, *indexical* or *symbolic* meaning can lead to other changes within the form. Rappaport refers above to a decrease in the iconic meaning of the text—restriction of knowledge only to a select few—which means symbolic *interpretants* for the individual will be required to change, and possibly indexical realisations of those signs (*improvisation*). In other words, the *objective conditions* are reduced to a few by conservatism meaning that the *generative principles* could come to rely on different factors to signify. He also refers above to a reduction in referential meaning which leads convinced believers to find greater meaning in the *objective conditions*, often reducing the *improvisation*, the performance method involved in realising the *index*. Symbolic meaning, or the *generative principles*, change depending on what signification is read into the *objective conditions* (which are considered as fact). Further on I hope to demonstrate other examples of how the results of iconic, indexical and symbolic change can have major implications for the way an *embedded sign* signifies.

Like our model of the *embedded sign*, the Balinese notion of 'meaning' is dependent on where and when the event takes place, and the specific context in which the event happens. We have already witnessed in Chapter Two the importance of the 'enactment' of Balinese texts: in *sekehe bebasan*, the text is only considered to signify when it is 'recited' live, and the signification is discussed in the group after the recital has taken place. This suggests that the Balinese *Habitus* is based on the acceptance of change. The *objective conditions* which the Balinese learn as a system of rules is based not in *fixity*, but in *flexibility*. This means that the Balinese *generative principles* are built on this concept. Constant *improvisation* which results in the rethinking of existing texts is also an important factor. This is particularly noticeable in their approach to musical composition. Most new works are 'improvisations' upon existing material which can be traced back to the most ancient forms of gamelan. The ancient melodies hold their influence precisely because the tradition allows them to be revitalised in a new context. Very often, however, new realisations of textuality are based on someone else's improvisation upon already existing material. Borrowing melodies and techniques from one another is not considered 'stealing' in the western sense, and the whole concept of copyright is sometimes difficult to apply to a Balinese situation.

A perfect example from Balinese culture of the importance of the 'objective conditions' and their interpretation via an individual's *generative principles* is through the Balinese notion of *Taksu*. In Balinese culture, *Taksu* is a generally known category which through education has direct implications and applications in Balinese life. It is learnt firstly as a kind of state reached in performance which has specific characteristics: firstly the performer is considered to have been entered by the gods, playing a strong sacred role, and secondly to have made a connection with the past, having achieved a good contact with the model of famous 'archetypal' Balinese characters (gods, heroes and aristocracy). This model of *Taksu* is taught in a cultural context and belongs to the category of

'objective conditions'. For performers and other participants, achieving *Taksu* means so much more than what its *objective conditions* suggest. In addition to the model provided above, the performer does not only make contact with the past, but is also considered to make a unique connection with the present, a performance that is in its own way entirely 'new': tradition and innovation are unified in the concept of *Taksu*. Here, the *improvisation* is what plays the most important role; this unique variation upon a theme emphasises the importance of an *improvisation* in the presence of the performer. *Taksu* becomes a state where the performer communicates with the gods and entertains an audience. The *generative principles* which allow an audience to understand the characteristics of performance are made all the more special when a performer reaches *Taksu*, presenting a unique and unforgettable *new* performance based on archetypal figures from the Balinese heritage. It is the ultimate state a performer can reach and is highly important to Balinese performers.

Existing cultural structures with given *objective conditions* can be interpreted by one generation in a certain way, and by the next generation totally differently. The 'improvisations' which bring the *objective conditions* to life are in a constant process of change. It seems evident that each new generation could have an entirely new set of *generative principles* which are based on the organic sensory data an individual attains in his or her interaction with daily existence. A clear example is *Wayang Kulit* performances. In the past, it had an educational function in reclaiming and translating old Sanskrit texts and synthesising out of these texts a system of general ethics. These days, a growing middle-class is enjoying *Wayang Kulit* performance more as a form of entertainment, and also for the music. To keep up with their audiences, the *dalang* are beginning to both lengthen the entertaining sections, and to directly pass over to the exciting battles.

An interesting example of changing the form of ritual-based 'improvisation' to realise *objective principles* is the creation of the *Sendratari* form for Balinese theatre performances. *Sendratari* was created by I Wayan Beratha, a prominent Balinese composer. This new multimedial form was invented by Beratha in 1962 and was designed to form part of a general movement towards pan-Indonesianised art forms which could impress an international audience and communicate to all members of the Indonesian state. Beratha was at that time a principal teacher, choreographer and composer, and created the well-known *Sendratari* composition *Ramayana*, being influenced by the *Ramayana* dance which was first shown at Prambanan in Central Java in 1961 (Bandem 1981: 135). In the beginning it was a state-level recontextualisation of the Hindu epic in a form comprehensible to the Balinese, and it was enormously popular when performed in villages all over Bali. Some Balinese people were so enthusiastic about this performance that they got together to produce the work for their own entertainment (or for tourist performances). The unique way it was used, and in some places is still used, was as *Bali-balihan*—dances used for entertainment in the outer-most part of the temple—for their *odalan*. Here the Balinese have chosen a new performance form designed for secular purposes for both a mundane and a supernatural audience. Here the 'improvisation' may change, but the symbolic function remains the same. For the Balinese the important issue is that the performances in question are entertaining, realising that gods also need to see new and exciting performances.

Another example is the change in the structure of *Gong Kebyar Kreasi Baru* music. Through the last century, there has been a gradual change in symbolic meaning which entered Balinese music at the turn of the century. Balinese music of the old style was repetitive, representing a cyclical view of temporality, and always accompanying some religious function for the aristocracy then in power. With the new century came colonialism and the downfall of the feudal system, which has led to the formation of a new music style. New symbolic meaning has become attached to musical form due to dramatic change in a delicate musical fabric. Here the opportunity to 'improvise', to realise *generative principles* in an embedded environment, has changed radically to keep up with new changes in Balinese environmental and epistemological existence.

3.5 Musical Signs and Embodiment

The following discussion involves primarily definitions of what *embodiment* is in terms of contemporary approaches to phenomenology and the process of semiosis. This includes the work of Lakoff and Johnson who have become pioneers in their field; they attempt to demonstrate that the human sense of meaning and rationality is closely involved with the physicality of the human body. Historically, embodiment is a philosophical conception which came into the general vocabulary of phenomenologists after its introduction by Merleau-Ponty. His major work, *Phénoménologie de la perception*, is a detailed study of human perception, influenced primarily by Hüsserl's phenomenology and Gestalt psychology. In terms of embodiment, all experience of language is interpreted in terms of bodily or sensory expression. This begins with the notion that language is not something which exists in a dictionary, but something which is experienced as a whole bodily process: gestures, sounds, facial expressions and movement: "Spoken words are always modifications of a total, existential situation, which always engages the body… Bodily activity beyond mere vocalisation, if not adventitious or contrived in oral communication, but natural and even inevitable" (Ong 1982: 67).

Embodiment is a dynamic phenomenon involved with multi-levelled cultural issues, and is extremely complex. During the course of this discussion, I hope to provide an insight into certain aspects of Balinese embodiment as it relates to performance. Through mediation of the body, we are able to interact with the world and to understand it. Human behaviour is very influential to the way we comprehend things, and through observing behaviour we ourselves are led to imitate it. The body is a living expression of what we are. According to Bourdieu it is through our bodies that certain attitudes and approaches to existence are taught. His notion of *bodily hexis* is a direct statement of this approach: how we think, feel and move is an expression of our phenomenological presence. *Bodily hexis* is basically a name for human behaviour which is restricted by a given individual's *Habitus.* Bourdieu defines it as follows: "*Bodily hexis* is political mythology realised, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (1980: 69). Without knowing it just by interacting with the world in everyday existence we are expressing the basic ideas which lie at the foundations of our culture. In this part of the chapter I hope to demonstrate how *bodily hexis* is very much a part of both European and Balinese culture. Music and dance are viewed as 'heightened' forms of behaviour, expressing thoughts, feelings and understandings which are inherent in a given culture but which are implicit in the behaviour of the members of a culture even in the context of everyday life. Musical realisation as an expression of behaviour is an important concept within this work.

In philosophy the notion of e*mbodiment* is generally seen to represent the subject's own view of his or her body as it has to be lived with subjectively. Merleau-Ponty describes the body is a "*une spontanéité qui m'enseigne ce que je ne pourrais savoir autrement que par elle"* (1980: 89) [a spontaneity which teaches me what I could not know in any other way except through it]. First and foremost it is thanks to embodiment that we can interact with the world. Merleau-Ponty notes in this way that we are shaped by our environment: it initiates us but we play an active role in its initiation in our reality. Bourdieu also considers the body to be an essential part of human understanding and important to the perpetuation of human culture. His notion of *bodily hexis* as a particular way of passing on cultural traits bodily, defining a way the body has of learning and experiencing cultural information, is vital in his theory of human practice. According to Bourdieu, "Le corps croit en ce qu'il joue : il pleure s'il mime la tristesse… Il ne représente pas ce que il joue, il ne mémorise pas le passé, il *agit* le passé, ainsi annulé en tant que tel il le revit" (Bourdieu 1980: 123). Bourdieu means here is that one is not what one has, like an academic degree, but what one is, the way they are taught to behave: here 'teaching' refers to Bourdieu's process of social inculcation which happens as a gradual process in social life, both at home, with friends as well as in social institutions. Embodying cultural knowledge is a difficult task, it takes years of training, years of existing among other people and gradually taking into one's body and one's behaviour a contrasting way of interfacing with the world. 'Embodied knowledge' of this kind is difficult to teach, and it is difficult if not impossible to forget; it is a way of being which is essential to our sense of self. Bourdieu helps us gain an insight into what sort of information the concept of 'embodied knowledge' is referring to, as will be discussed below. His terms *social inculcation* and *bodily hexis* are particularly important in this regard. *Social inculcation* refers to behavioural patterns which become ingrained in our very nature as a natural result of participating in our society. *Bodily hexis* refers particularly to the knowledge about our environment which is expressed through our behaviour; it is a specific type of non-verbal bodily knowledge. A social institution is nothing without the people who perpetuate it in society, just as the idiosyncrasies of a culture are only realised thanks to the active participation of individuals. Semiosis, the process by which signs signify, is influenced by socially instituted processes such as *inculcation* and *bodily hexis* just as the signs themselves are the result of culturally instituted learning processes.

The traditional approach to language learning has dominated the field of psycholinguistics for quite a while, primarily because of the strong application of structuralist conceptions of language acquisition which was so clearly expressed in the work of Chomsky. He attempted to create a 'universal grammar' that would transcend all existing grammatical forms and declared language learning a type of reflex action rather than a human social function. What is referred to as the 'information-processor' model is questioned in the work of Frank Smith who defines the brain as an artist rather than simply a tool which files information schematically and plays further little role in the construction of language. Lakoff & Johnson refer to this as the 'Chomskyan person' "for whom language is pure syntax, pure form insulated from and independent of all meaning, context, perception, emotion, memory, action, and the dynamic nature of communication" (1996: 6). The basic implication of the information-processor model is that children passively generate language skills by following a particular genetically formed pattern by simply 'hearing' the surrounding environment. Campbell refers to this as the "arid stimulus-response formulations" (1980: 283). It is true that children follow a particular pattern in language learning and that there are some factors which are similar, but the new psycholinguistic paradigm suggests that each individual child finds his or her own dynamic way to realise language through a process of embodiment, and language learning is very much to do with interaction, experimentation and enaction, far more similar to Smith's image of the *brain as an artist*. The implications of this new paradigm which sees language learning as an embodied phenomenon has

consequences for this study. For an 'embodied' perspective on the musical sign, such a practical approach to understanding meaning is highly important: we have both the natural force to learn by being creatively constructive on the one hand, and on the other social inculcation where certain behavioural patterns are 'inculcated' and subsequently effect the way we think and move.

The enactive process is very much a part of learning in music as well, especially noticeable in music without notation. In music taught 'by ear'—orally: through repetition and/or interaction—the complex dynamism of learning is involved very much with *enactive* processes. In the world of "classical music" we have a complex musical notation system which plays a role in 'objectifying' or 'disembedding' our music. In contrast, this second category is involved with the *enactive* process of learning, even if the Western European *musical episteme* inculcates in the minds of the participants in the production of formal music a disembedded or transcendent musical paradigm. The important element in this belief is that the embodied musical sign is not complete without its performance, in fact the sign does not exist until it is brought to life, meaning the 'score' is insignificant to the *signification* of the sign to individual audience members. As we have discussed in Chapter One, we shouldn't be fooled by 'end-products': the learning process from which the participants have emerged deeply effects the way the musical sign will signify, which means of course that the *symbolic* aspect of this sign will depend on certain *objective conditions* provided by society brought to life after becoming personally realised as *generative principles.* In other words, the source of *generative principles* which includes a performer's or listener's background in music-making will have an enormous influence on the way they find meaning within the embodied musical sign.

An analogy can be made with the institution of flute-playing. We can propose an example from three different schools of flute performance: the French-style, the modern (American) school and the Balinese style of flute-playing. Although a certain melody can be played which sounds (almost) the same to a given listener, i.e. a particular 'act of flute-playing' which is process-based may on the surface sound familiar, the people who it signifies to may have totally different ways of interpreting that symbol because the attitudes that went into the education of the three flute-players could be so entirely different. In the first case, the French method of performance involves strict regulation of the tone through restriction of the air in the upper-neck. Its style is characterised by strict rigidity creating perfect technique, and allows the performer to produce a tense 'neck' vibrato. This style can evoke for the performer who is aware of this set of conventions very different symbolic nuances to the more relaxed school of flute-playing which is involved with control over the diaphragm and a deeper, well-supported vibrato. In the former style, virtuosity and immaculate technique stand above all others, whereas the latter style accents comfort, a positive relationship between instrument and body and in general a more organic approach. Here the very physical element of creation, i.e. the sign embodied in a particular way in a temporal and spatial environment, can deeply affect the sign's signification, creating for each individual a contrasting symbolic universe depending on the types of experiences they have already had, the 'theory of the world in the head' which they apply in a particular style of flute-playing. If the Balinese *suling* method is introduced we have a totally different epistemological ball-game. Their cyclical breathing technique is called *Ngunyal Angkihan* which is inculcated during the learning process. Rather than 'completing' melodic passages with a climax, giving the performer a chance to breathe and then continuing with the next musical 'sentence', the Balinese flute player plays continually, evoking more the mediaeval drone than attractive western flute passages. This could have implications for the way the music is perceived by Balinese people in contrast with Europeans, and is representative of both the continuously recurring musical aesthetic and at the same time the sense of 'many' contrasting musical discourses which can occur simultaneously independent of one another, similar to the role played by Balinese singing. Summing up, it is combinations of embodied signs realised as behaviour that can influence the way musical experience signifies. Examples such as these could have implications for how the Balinese conceive of their musico-temporal environment.

Spatial orientation in Bali is a particularly good example of how the Balinese are socially inculcated to have the tendency to behave in a certain way. In the Balinese culture, one's position in relation to the mountains is particularly important. Here the distinction between 'high' and 'low' is inculcated for religious purposes, although its realisation through the body in a real spatial environment is quite striking. The sacred analogy is as follows: the gods are considered to live in the heavens, and therefore the top of mountains is both a highly sacred and a dangerous place. It is not surprising therefore that the mother temple *Besakih* is situated on the top of a hill. In contrast, the lowest point is in the sea. Underground is where the demons live, and the sea is also considered a very dangerous place; rituals involving offerings being placed on the ground are logically for demons and those placed above the ground (the higher, the holier) are intended for the gods. What is particularly striking however is the complex set of Balinese manners resulting from this particular set of *bodily hexis* parameters. People belonging to the lowest cast ('sudra') generally have to make sure they are never positioned higher than people belonging to the higher castes to avoid possible sickness or injury. Because the feet have the closest contact with the ground and the

ground is spatially the closest place to the underworld, it is considered extremely bad-mannered if you point your foot at someone or step over something sacred (such as a musical instrument); feet are considered to be 'kotor' or dirty. For most Balinese people, a sense of spatial whereabouts is important; knowing where they are in relation to the sea and the mountains provides a sense of well-being. Losing these parameters can bring about disorientation, confusion and sometimes even an inability to perform certain tasks (such as dancing or making music).

The gender issue is also of considerable significance: being male or female most certainly affects one's behaviour on Bali. Being a woman is far more restrictive behaviourally than being a man. The Balinese are generally inculcated so that they do not show their emotions to the outside world: they believe that looking happy and joyful makes your heart pure and communicates happiness to others. Balinese men, however, are allowed to demonstrate their emotions in some situations, such as cock-fighting or at funerals, whereas women—retaining a constant image of feminine grace—are generally not. Wikan demonstrates clearly that the graceful, smiling poise of Balinese people (especially women) does not always reflect the true emotive state of the individual: every day could be a potential battle to remain composed. This forms an important part of Balinese inculcation. Men also have other advantages: they are free to perform on musical instruments, or alternatively to explore both their 'masculine' and 'feminine' sides in dance (men can and often do perform or educate the dances of women). Although there are no 'rules' forbidding it, women are generally inculcated by Balinese society in such a way as to consider playing music (or dancing male characters) too masculine. Even though today some women have formed their own gamelan groups, there is a message from certain levels of Balinese society that this is not socially acceptable for all: the PKB for example in one of the last festivals in Denpasar banned a women's group from participating because it was feared that they would be considered 'too unprofessional'. Living up to the *bodily hexis* expected of Balinese people, especially women, is no easy task, no matter how many years the processes have been inculcated. The Balinese ethical code is structured specifically around the Indonesian terms *sopan-santun* or *tata karama.* This is the ethical code of moral precepts and norms which children live with from the earliest age and which regulates all interpersonal conduct" (Wikan 1990: 44).

One of the other characteristics which is sometimes striking for westerners is their mannered cast; it demonstrates how controlled Balinese behaviour seems to be. Geertz tried to comprehend this constant awareness of being watched that the Balinese exude, describing this attitude to interpersonal relationships, this 'the fusion of rite, act and courtesy', as a sort of 'radical aestheticism'. He considered that this structuredness present in their behaviour was because of a strong desire to "please as beauty pleases" (Geertz 1973: 400) in relation to one another, the Gods and themselves. Geertz's interpretation, however, represents the limitations of the structural anthropology of Geertz's time. Wikan's interpretation makes more sense in terms of a behavioural model: the pleasing outward appearance is at one and the same time an expression of joy towards the beauty they produce, but also a mask used to hide a constant awareness of the possibility of witchery or black-magic. By being truthful with one's suspicions, one is quickly revealed to the dangerous powers of *leyak*, witches and demons which could be hidden behind every friendly gesture. Individuals do not like the idea of losing their 'masks'. When Geertz uses the term 'stage-fright' I assume in his own way he is realising that there is more to Balinese behaviour than 'to please as beauty pleases':

> "Whatever its deeper causes, stage-fright consists of a fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps by mere accident, an aesthetic illusion will not be maintained, that the actor will show through his part and the part thus dissolved into the actor." (Geertz 1973: 402)

This form of fear is referred to as *lek* in the Balinese native language. To us the origin of this behaviour can be explained in terms of the 'artificial-self' the Balinese create to hide their own self in a crowded world of forced intimacy. This is another expression of a general Balinese *episteme*, retaining a rough middle ground between 'higher' and 'lower' forces. Hidden behind placid, structured bodies are individuals aware of their complex place in a busily structured whole. Wikan describes the subtlety of Balinese behavioural interaction as follows:

> Body language is dead serious and part and parcel of one's *moral* social performance. And thus norms of social conduct appear deceptively clear when they are not fleshed out with the subtleties of rigorous nonverbal codes by which actual appearance is judged. (Wikan 1990: 68)

The Balinese create for themselves individual masks which function to retain an image of placid happiness to the outside world to protect themselves against evil influence or becoming ill. This is why the Balinese are considered to be *always on stage.* Through a complex process of social inculcation, this strict behaviour becomes a standard way of moving, speaking and interacting with others, a *bodily hexis* which remains an essential part of Balinese existence. Music is an extremely potent form of inculcation and is an important tool in the creation of a special type of 'behavioural mask'. Such musical behaviour is inculcated in Balinese society by major forms of mass communication and music education at home, but also by large-scale music institutions such as conservatories or universities. The problem with defining musical inculcation is that it is so complex, so rife in our own society and in such a complex fashion interlinked with other sorts of social inculcation that it is sometimes difficult to define. Perhaps most importantly, it is perpetuated within the context of musical institutions which very often—like

Bourdieu's discussion of French artistic culture—prioritise one sort of behaviour above another. These approaches become so inherent in one's behaviour that it is no longer considered a point worthy of discussion: *music is as music does*. Accepted truths within musical culture in our society, a music which belongs to the elite and to them only, is sometimes difficult and dangerous to question.

Music and dance are perhaps the most ritualised forms of all human behaviour. They are both involved with enactment of symbolic structures, and are inculcated during a lifetime of experience and complex learning processes. It is only thanks to years and years of practice that the ability to understand the way a culture expresses their musicality in either dance or music can be inculcated in an individual. In our culture the end-product is only the icing on a complex cake which has developed into a system of social inculcation. Music and dance express heightened states experienced in complex patterns of behaviour, fusing the individual with models provided by their culture. Further, dance and music tradition limits the way we move, or ways that are socially acceptable in certain environments. Within western culture, we often feel that we are totally 'free' in the movements we can make, and therefore that informal communal dancing we do in a disco is in some way liberating. The movements we actually end up dancing, however, often resemble remarkably closely the movements which those around us also choose to do, and people who do not hold themselves to these conditions are sometimes avoided with scorn or intolerance. In such situations we are also restricted by the *bodily hexis* which has been inculcated by our society. Furthermore, the sorts of music which are used for such informal dance are often highly regimented musical texts, comparable to military marches whose intention is to produce exaggerated synchronisation for particular forms of social control. Of course performance can help to work against regimentation by producing or encouraging 'chaotic' or 'anarchic' states although one must never forget that a feeling of chaos is often more restricting than regimentation if that regimentation allows a little personal choice: you might as well have *no* choice if you have every choice because ultimately freedom is only possible if you know what restriction is. The way we are inculcated to experience music helps build some of these boundaries and limitations; in short to produce *bodily hexis*.

In some senses, the Balinese world can become somewhat claustrophobic for its participants, and so it's not surprising that there are a number of behavioural habits which help to work against this close bonding. A major form of positive social inculcation that counteracts the claustrophobia is referred to as *ramai*; it provides an alternative to the regimentation, destabilising it momentarily under the control of the Balinese who recognise the necessity of achieving such a state on an overpopulated island. It can be described as the way of achieving a "momentary escape from the regimentation" inherent in daily activities (Bakan 1993: 337). During large-scale events such as the PKB or even a cock-fight, the Balinese individual can "briefly escape from his everyday world of controlled constantly evaluated self-presentation to one of momentary wildness and freedom (relatively speaking), balancing his customary *halus* composure with a sudden burst of *keras* vitality" (ibid.). *Ramai*, also a socially inculcated form of behaviour, works against the regimentation of the individual who becomes immersed in activities of everyday life. In rituals, also, the Balinese find themselves almost swimming in a plethora of musical signs. As Wallis puts it, "the ordinary peasant congregant is saturated with auditory (as well as visual) sensations, and these he can perceive as mapping out a whole set of historical, religious and societal associations" (1980: 55). Inculcation provides the Balinese with social and physical means to deal with this inundation of sensory and cultural information. There is even an Indonesian term which refers to people who *aren't* able to keep control in the light of this particular ontology: to run 'amok'. It means to go crazy, possibly on a murdering spree, and is an expression of escaping these cultural shackles in a violent way, something very particular to Javanese and Balinese culture.

Through the inculcation and realisation of Balinese music particular behavioural patterns are realised which function (among other things) to make people distinctly Balinese. Although there are no pretty points of convergence between their music and their culture, we can make an attempt to draw some conclusions about the ways in which the Balinese realise musicality as behaviour. The melodic and rhythmic patterning style based on interlocking rhythms and division of melody between performers known as *kotekan*, for example, is a very Balinese phenomenon. This playing style appears in many different forms of gamelan, and requires the inculcation of a type of collaboration which is essential to keeping everything running smoothly in a *banjar* community: i.e. the only way the two performers will be able to succeed is by trusting each other's skill completely. Like in any collaboration, a sense of trust and mutual understanding has to be present, and this is inculcated in the context of Balinese village life. Although the way individuals make *kotekan* their own in performance provides no permanent given, it could be suggested that this is type of musical behaviour is a reflection of a very particular Balinese form of social and practical interaction that takes place in daily life. Another important behavioural pattern which is significant in Balinese music is the well-known dynamic theatricality of the *kendang* player (Balinese drummer). Firstly, the contemporary *kendang* player dynamically interacts with the audience, the members of the gamelan orchestra and the dancer(s). With the audience, the

theatrical flamboyance is important: it creates a sense of excitement. With the orchestra, the drummer is an essential conductor providing all *angsel* (points of musical climax), changes in tempo and other vital cues. His interaction with the dancer is perhaps the most important. The drummer participates in the performance with standard *kendang* movements, but also sometimes with extraneous physical movements and gestures. This sort of performance style is a very important part of the Balinese musical tradition, and is inculcated to create a sense of dynamism and flamboyant interaction which makes Balinese musical life so unique. It becomes embodied by the drummer in a performative sign, and it signifies to the audience because of their own bodily experience as dancers, musicians, or participants in Balinese rituals and other performances which make use of similar techniques. We can take this further in order to demonstrate how complex this whole issue is. The Balinese *suling* (flute) performance introduced above uses a cyclical breathing technique known as *Ngunyal Angkihan* which doesn't end melodic phrases with neat phrasing and cadences like many forms of western flute music. Considering that in European music the way melodic phrases fall conveniently with places to take breaths impacts the way the music signifies, this could also have implications for the way the music is perceived by Balinese people. Summing up, embodied signs realised as behaviour could very well influence the way music signifies. Examples such as these could have implications for how the Balinese conceive of their musical environment.

Inculcation of dance is a complex process. Like many 'traditional' dance forms, most dances in Bali are learnt by the embedded participant from a young age. Beginning young, the body can be literally 'moulded' to fit into certain dance templates. From a very young age children also perform, both for tourists, general amusement or ritual purposes. Balinese dance is indeed an extreme example of *bodily hexis,* behaviour which demonstrates more than simply the movements of the dance, 'teaching' the body how to think. In Bali women's bodies are moulded into figures of extreme daintiness and beauty; it is likely that their experience of dance plays a role in their behavioural development. Through a combination of social inculcation and dance practice, women are trained to express primarily graceful images of womanhood such as the unquestionable femininity of *Sita*, the loyal princess from the *Ramayana* Hindu epic. Male characters, at least in terms of character roles which are specifically 'male', can be comparatively ungraceful, especially servants and demons who are buffoonish and ugly. It should be noted here, however, that in Bali (as in Java) a type of male 'refined' character is sometimes considered too graceful for male embodiment. In the old Javanese court dances it was most often women who performed the 'refined' men's dance genre, and I have seen performances of the *Ramayana* where *Rama* (the archetypal refined prince) is played by a woman in both Java and Bali. This demonstrates that although gender boundaries are relatively strict in Balinese everyday life, in the performing arts the lines of ambiguity between gender are not specifically connected to the sex of the dancer. In the performing arts, as in everyday Balinese life, however, men can be 'effeminate' in that they are permitted to perform movements characteristic of female dances, whereas a woman acting in a buffoonish, unrefined 'masculine' manner is far less common. In any case, there are many examples in Balinese dance of the body 'thinking' almost independently of the mind. In Balinese dance the body truly believes in what it plays at: when Balinese women perform movements characteristic of 'welcoming' dances—such as the *Pendet* and *Gabor* dances—where the Gods are welcomed into the temple, the Gods really do descend at least in a figurative sense, and a whole range of embodied emotions are experienced by the dancers. This is thanks to certain movements, stages of tension and release and actions such as the throwing of flowers to sanctify the space the dance is performed in. Such experiences of heightened emotion can occur even when they are not actually involved in welcoming gods. Movements can be 'borrowed' from sacred dances into new secular performances, although for the dancer it is one and the same *indexical* realisation: a sign which truly signifies in performance.

A primary level of 'embodiment' in Balinese performance is made explicit when the musicians depend on signals from the dancer to know when certain musical developments can take place. Many compositions of a religious nature which are derived from ancient ritual compositions for pre-*Gong Kebyar* gamelan are dependent in structure upon the movements of the dancer. Examples of these types of performance include the well-known dances *Baris* and *Barong*. In these performances, using a language of signs and dance-based gestures the dancer communicates directly with the *kendang* player who in turn communicates this directly to the other musicians. The whole structure of the music is based on the embodiment of the dancer's movements, and this is certainly a factor which affects the way the sign emerges in performance; there is a complete connection between music and dance structure. Balinese music is made up of the almost all-pervasive *triloka* structure, a Sanskrit term which refers to the 'threeness' inherent in almost all levels of Balinese life. Within each of these three major divisions, the music is again divided into a number of smaller sections or gong cycles, sometimes patterns which repeat *colotomically* which some consider to be the result of the pervasive Hindu belief in the cyclicality of life (*samsara*). These smaller divisions which end in gongs adopt musical passages which reach climactic points referred to as *angsel.* The building-up towards these *angsel* is indeed an embodied phenomenon determined by the movement of the dancer, seen visually by the *kendang* player and felt by all as the sound of the dancer's feet on the floor becomes louder and quicker. The look in the eyes of the dancer becomes more tense, alert and dynamic as his or her whole

body starts to stiffen or stretch as the *angsel* may indicate, until the sudden moment of climax is reached and the dancer returns to a familiar tempo, guiding the music and being guided as part of a unique mutual process. Here the connection between music and dance becomes complete: each is totally dependent on the other for realisation.

The embodied musical sign is one which is realised as an act in performance, one in which any 'signification' from the sign is involved directly in the dynamics of its performance. Here, the individual who witnesses or participates in the performance event—be that as a 'passive' spectator or someone dynamically involved in the performance—is brought back into the model by recognising the involved parties as 'artists' (in a Smithian sense) who express in the form of a cultural performance symbolic potentialities or choices which give the sign its multi-levelled nature of meaning. The semiosis of the 'embodied' musical sign is one involved with the parameters of space and time, parameters which are removed in an objectified approach to musical meaning, an approach which is unfortunately still pervasive in contemporary western musicology. Signification in the embodied musical sign is dependent upon dynamic choices made by individuals as the sign is recognised, felt, sensed, moved, or interacted with in any human way.

3.6 The Adaptive Nature of Balinese Signs in Performance

We have discussed the durable force of *social inculcation* and *bodily hexis*. It is thanks to *social inculcation* that certain bodily 'attitudes' to music in our culture are perpetuated. The radical *bodily hexis* brought about by new forms of movement and dance have literally and figuratively changed the way we interact with musical space. Examples include the behavioural phenomenon brought about in the early days of rock which witnessed a totally new way of relating to musical sound and moving the body in space, an aesthetic which represented for many a kind of freedom. Another more contemporaneous example is the *punk* movement which provided youth with a radical new aesthetic breaking boundaries which didn't even exist in the early days of rock. Further in this document we will be looking at different kinds of cultural change which necessitate musical developments like those listed above.

In the following discussion, the intention is to focus on three major types of change: *iconic, symbolic* and *indexical* change, which are derived from Jakobson's interpretation of Peirce's well-known semiotic sign trilogy. *Iconic change* refers to a change in *objective conditions*; *symbolic* change refers to change in the *generative principles*, and *indexical* change refers to change in the 'improvisation' or performance-based element of a given cultural sign. Iconic change can refer to change which takes place because the underlying *generative principles* can't be encompassed anymore by the *objective conditions* which are taught by the culture. It is a common cultural event, but usually doesn't occur spontaneously as it means a whole rerouting of traditionally accepted media. This seems to happen a lot in Bali, probably thanks to the tenets of *Desa Kala Patra. Indexical* change can be brought about when the sign itself becomes too purely 'iconic' in signification, having lost its connections with specific significations (natural or artificial). As such, the sign will decrease in popularity or be forced to change by the arrival of new forms in reaction to its stasis. This is common in cultural institutions, such as musical academies which place emphasis purely on the musical product and not on the performance and where the students are taught a specific sociocultural agenda. Reactions to this, such as radical musical experimentation, can force the institution to change. Such radical experimentation is of an *indexical* nature. Symbolic change involves a natural reaction to developments in either the 'indexical' or the 'iconic' aspects of the sign. This means that *symbolic* change is a natural reaction to developments in the way things are taught—the icons provided to individuals by their culture—or the way they are realised in action—the 'indexical' or performative element of the sign. These are all natural cultural processes and will be related to specific instances of Balinese and Western European performance further on.

As it was demonstrated in Chapter Two, to understand Balinese 'texts'—both written and performative—one has to realise the importance of performance, the *doing* implicit in the textual act. The Balinese believe that the performative act has power and potency not attainable in any other way. As Geertz comments, "the Balinese, not only in court rituals but generally, cast their most comprehensive idea of the way things ultimately are, and the way that men should therefore act, into immediately apprehended sensual symbols—into a lexicon of carvings, flowers, dances, melodies, gestures, chants, ornaments, temples, postures, and masks—rather than into a discursively apprehended, ordered set of explicit beliefs" (Geertz 1980: 103). *Taksu*, the Balinese notion of strength in the performing arts which unites the newness of every performance with the energy attained in reaching a distinct contact with the past, expresses clearly the importance of the *index* in understanding Balinese embedded signs. This dynamic newness implicit in every new performance is part of the pleasure enjoyed by the Balinese in the performative act. Barthes referred to this textual 'pleasure' as *jouissance.*

It is thanks to the adaptive nature of the Balinese sign that so many 'traditional' performances have been preserved. Without this ability, many of these ritual performances would have been lost. These performances are the 'icing on the cake' for complex embedded signs. What the tourist sees, of course, is only a small part of the whole ritual context in which many performance events are realised. To retain or develop upon a traditional

performance form, in other words to retain the *indexical* element inherent in an embedded sign, the *objective conditions* behind the institution and/or the *generative principles* built up by the individual have to develop. This provides a significative background which makes sense of the embedded sign in a new light. For example, the individual has to be taught different significative meanings behind a work, learning therefore new *objective conditions* behind the music which he or she can allow to influence his or her *generative principles.* In contrast, our culture has not been able to keep many of its 'performances' up-to-date; for many some have become merely 'museum'-like representations of a time gone by. Many cultures which were colonised, however, have been able to use some of the *objective conditions* taught by the colonising culture to form new performances, such as the alternative symbolic signification of Roman Catholic icons in Latin America. Another example of a culturally successful *embedded sign* is spiritual singing by Negroes which has involved the retaining of *objective conditions* of the protestant church while changing its *indexical* (performance-based) realisation. Balinese creative design in general has been influenced by changes in their environment. Here we can refer to the adoption of Chinese coins, Dutch patterns and Delft china as decorative material in temples. This is a demonstration of *iconic* change, where the visual *icon* is adapted to new traditions. A striking example from the performing arts is the well-known *Barong* dance which is considered to be related to the Chinese 'lion dance' tradition (Bandem 1995: 104). I've also been directed towards Tibetan 'Brong' performances which are very similar in performance style and spiritual content to Bali's *Barong.* What makes this more believable is the fact that the Tantric Buddhist tradition of Tibet already had a firmly established connection with Indonesian history.

Indexical change, in contrast, is often brought about when environmental conditions make an existing performance form impossible, meaning that vital change is made necessary. A very broad example is involved with the change in performance conditions which took place before and after the colonisation of Bali by the Dutch. Before the Dutch invaded, feuding between different Balinese regions was an important social, epistemological and economic tool used to retain power over the members of the feudal state. After the Dutch colonised Bali, however, the borders dividing these states lost meaning and the aristocracy who survived the *puputan* became pawns for Dutch control. The constant rivalry between the regions was no longer possible, so a radical *indexical* process of change was brought about where instead of fighting with weapons, a greater emphasis was placed on competing with music. What was once used as rituals of *war* during the Geertzian 'theatre-state' era were transferred to forms of *play*: symbolic action which deals with a similar sort of conflict but which doesn't kill anyone in the process. The change in the 'improvisation' is here very clear. The expansion of Denpasar has also witnessed forms of *indexical* change. This type of change occurs when the very environment in which a given event occurs forces people to think of new ways to realise the *objective conditions* required by ritual. A clear example of this is the situation that arose in Denpasar as many satellite *banjar* began to form around the periphery of the city. Because of the absence of standard ensembles required for ritual purposes in these new *banjar*—such as *Gong Gédé, Semar Pegulingan* and/or *Gong Angklung* which were far too expensive—newer (and poorer) *banjar* were forced to adapt the way their rituals were realised. Instead of these large-scale expensive orchestras, new simpler forms of gamelan—namely *Gong Baleganjur*—were introduced to fulfil a similar function, meaning that through *indexical* change the realisation of important *generative principles* was possible. *Baleganjur* instruments have the added advantage of not taking anywhere near as long to learn as the larger ensembles which require years of intensive training. In Denpasar many young people work full-time which means they need more time for relaxation than in the Bali of the past. This change in *indexical* expression provides the contemporary Balinese man with more time for himself. As Bakan notes, the Balinese ability to develop has allowed them to be satisfied with the fact that "as long as the proper gamelan repertoire can somehow be performed on the appropriate occasion, the Gods will most likely be satisfied and will not bring undue harm to the community;" (1993: 182) thankfully the Balinese believe that the gods will accept this new 'improvisation' upon a more complex theme.

A clear example of *symbolic* change can be observed in new functions attributed to dances originally composed for secular purposes. A well-known dance composed for welcoming visitors to Bali known as *Panyembrama* uses movements originally taken from some of the most important ceremonial dances such as the *Gabor* and *Pendet*. For Balinese dancer Wirjati performing this dance gives her the feeling that she is walking towards the temple in order to give offerings and to pray, and finally to welcome the gods into the temple. This demonstrates the strong *indexical* nature of Balinese performances. Although the dance was composed for secular purposes originally, the work would most certainly have changed in signification for both the dancers and the (mundane) audience after this contemporary work was taken back to the outer realm (*Bali-balihan*) of the temple.

Hildred Geertz in her writings on the development of Balinese culture demonstrates a particularly interesting case involving the Balinese dance-theatre form *Topeng.* The *Topeng* form is used for particular societal purposes where the *objective conditions* are changed for specific functions. The instance she documented took place in 1947. A new kind of performance was presented, which took advantage of *Topeng* which the Balinese could identify with and to which they associated great ritual power. Geertz describes it as follows:

> First there was a performance of a masked play with music; then the audience lined up and beat six young men of the village with cactus sticks and rubbed a fiery pepper lotion on their bloody wounds. The play was of a traditional kind, a *Topeng,* which is frequently an important part of certain rituals. It was commissioned by the village authorities, and the performers as well as the audience were local people. A prince from the regional royal house was there and so were some uniformed policemen. The six who were being punished were political dissidents, members of the armed rebellion against the Dutch colonial power, fighting for the independence of what is today Indonesia.
> (Geertz 1991: 165)

Here, the Balinese aristocracy acting under the control a Dutch colonial system took advantage of the performative (*indexical*) power of Balinese performance to teach the villagers a clear lesson. The *Topeng* performance, with its elaborate costumes and masks, royal characters and servants, demonstrates the power and unbeatable strength of the aristocracy. This was accented by *indexical* change in that an additional element was inserted after the performance where the dissident people are literally tortured. The most striking form of change, however, is an *iconic* one, where the traditional *icon* of princely splendour is used to change the 'rules of the game': *Topeng* functions to instil fear in standing against the aristocracy rather than celebrate its glory.

Another example of change in the Balinese performing arts is the *Berutuk* performance which used to take place only in the Trunyan village where it is held on the shore of Lake Batur in a temple—Pura Pancering Jagat ('navel of the world')—in the province of Bangli (Bandem 1995: 3). The costumes are dried banana leaves sewn into skirts: each dancer wears two, one around his neck, the other around his waist. Though all the dancers are male, half the masks actually represent females, being differentiated through colour alone (brown or red for males and white or yellow for females). The spectators—other members of the village (because no-one else is permitted to attend)—shout and tease the 'Berutuk'. Some try to grab at its banana leaves in the costumes, attempting to avoid at the same time the painful strike of the whip held by the *Berutuk* figure. Although in the past this performance was only held in the one place, it has been revitalised in an open Balinese context (not intended for tourists). In 1989, at a festival organised by the Walter Spies Foundation, a new 'Berutuk' was performed in which a Hindu legend was grafted into the old ritual to 'explain' the banana leaf costume. This 'new Berutuk' was conceived not in Trunyan but in the village of Teges and acts out the 'Lubhaka' story, a myth derived from India and the cult of Shiva which tells how a hunter was out one night when it got dark and he became afraid. He climbed a tree and, to keep himself awake during the long night, pulled off the leaves and counted them. He also had no food. He did not know that the tree he had climbed was sacred to Shiva, nor that it was a night holy to Shiva, nor that, at the foot of the tree where his leaves fell, there was a Shiva 'lingam' (the phallic stone representing the god). But, unknowingly or not, the hunter had performed a holy rite in honour of Shiva and when he died and Yama—the God of Death—grabbed for his soul, Shiva intervened and saved him. What has happened? A pre-Hindu sacred ritual has been transformed into a Hindu dance-drama. Here the performance has remained relatively the same in an *indexical* sense, although the place of the performance has changed. What is the most striking is the change in *iconic conditions* explicit in the iconic process of change which took place: new lessons about the Hindu religion are added to a performance form which in the past simply didn't exist which amounts to a vital enhancement in objective conditions. Thanks to these *conditions,* a whole new range of symbolic potentialities are possible, providing individuals with a new way to generate meanings.

The *Kunti Sraya Barong* of Singapadu is also a unique example of embedded change. In the 1930s three prominent Singapadu artists, namely Cokorda Oka, I Made Keredek and I Wayan Griya, "managed to integrate certain elements of different dances into a new dance." In this example, these artists were attempting to use cultural elements from the performing arts to create a sort of collage which involved the fusion of a number of different parts to create an entirely new symbolic vehicle for Balinese performance. They integrated certain elements of traditional *barong* dance with the *legong* and the *gambuh* dance. This is clearly a change in the *indexical* level of the sign. They were searching, however, for a contrasting *iconic* element of this performance-based sign. This means they wanted to find a totally new mythical significative vehicle in which they could wrap the performance. According to Juniarta, they finally "found *Kunti Sraya,* a story about the youngest of the Pandawas [known as] Sahadewa, who was sacrificed to the goddess of the Durgha Cemetery" (ibid.). Because of its new significative environment, its framing in the context of the *Mahabharata*, totally new meaning-based *symbolic* potential has become possible for a new generation of Balinese people.

Barong Landung can be seen every Balinese New Year which has the ritual objects being carried down to the sea. They are ten to fifteen feet tall, so it's difficult not to see them, their faces huge and striking. They are carried by young men in procession from village to village, dancing, singing, telling bawdy jokes and accompanied by a simple gamelan. At each new village, a short play is performed invoking some kind of comic domestic argument. Its origin is a mystery, dating back as it does to ancient forms of theatre which have been perpetuated from generation to generation according to the oral tradition. A possible explanation is that the performance is a recreation of a meeting of Indian and Chinese traders and colonisers. Thanks on the one hand to the Balinese who are quite happy to allow the *objective conditions* or 'rules' of a textual vehicle to change radically if the newer

makes more sense, and on the other thanks to support from the Walter Spies foundation, this drama is 'explained' in a totally new way at present, demonstrating the Balinese ability to constantly recreate their own culture and myths in a new context. In 1989 the famous mask-carver, Ida Bagus Anom of Mas, carved a new set of 18 masks for a modern masked dance-drama (*Topeng*) which tells the story of the origin of these figures and also 'explains' the enigma of a little Chinese temple found in the temple at Lake Batur. Here we observe firstly *iconic* change in that the 'objective conditions' under which the work is rewritten is provided with a totally new narrative (which may have nothing to do with the 'real' origin of the dance). Next, observers and participants will inevitably adjust their symbolic set of *generative principles* through finding new ways to observe the performance considering a narrative is applied to the work which never existed before.

Balinese culture provides its observers with constantly new surprises and interesting developments. A programme is now broadcast on Balinese radio where texts are 'sung' in the traditional Balinese fashion so that people listening at home can call in to discuss their meaning. This is an interesting contrast to the physical contact usually found when men who are members of a 'sekehe bebasan' get together or when a *dalang* recites text in a *Gender Wayang* performance and then provides translations through the *penasar*. Astita and I discussed a programme called 'Dagang Bantal' played on the RRI-Denpasar radio station. *Dagang* meanings 'trade' or 'commerce' in Indonesian, and *Bantal* refers to a kind of Balinese cake which is wrapped in coconut leaves. *Bantal* also means pillow, because the cake is wrapped in coconut and thus resembles one. What the term actually refers to is the sale of the little cakes and snacks which accompany all sorts of Balinese group-based activities such as the recitation of texts (*sekehe bebasan*), cock fighting and other events at the *bale banjar*. The name of the show refers, therefore, to social situations, creating an ideal metaphor for a Balinese discussion programme. According to Wallis, the programme began in April 1991 as just a 10-minute show. Now it is a daily programme from 11:00 AM to 12:00 AM broadcast live in a small permanent studio at the radio station. Visitors are welcome, and there are usually 5 to 15 fans in attendance; they seem to come from all ages and social groups. The show is almost completely in Balinese, and has a very social feel to it: local events are often discussed and some are even organised via the programme. The hosts are proficient Balinese performers (of traditional works) and radio announcers. The audience often interacts with the hosts, sometimes singing their own poetry on air. According to Astita, the programme is designed to give the audience the chance to talk about the signification of the ancient texts in relation to contemporary Balinese topics, including art. Traditional texts such as the *Geguritan* are particularly popular. Audience members can take part in the programme by calling from their home, and they sing the texts over the telephone and then discuss with the radio announcer and others present the interpretation of the text (and the quality of their singing, and/or their recitation of the text). Astita considers this a highly positive development for the young people of today because it uses contemporary technology, and acts to perpetuate Balinese culture. It speaks, therefore, in a way no other medium can to young people, but it is so full of tradition that it also has something for the older members. Many of the communal and cultural aspects which together make up the *generative principles* and *objective conditions* of Balinese culture have been made more accessible to a new group of Balinese listeners thanks to an *indexical* adaptation to the way this particular form of cultural perpetuation is performed in a real-life temporal context.

3.7 Organic Nature of the Musical Sign

Instances of human musicality are often considered to be similar to rituals which also involve the performance of structures in action and sound which can't be 'translated' into another discourse but which cannot be communicated in any other way. Through the gradual process which takes place in cultural development, certain activities are developed to fulfil particular functions. On the one hand it is our conception of the musical sign based on certain metaphors provided by nature which become stylised in ritual performance, i.e. the natural power of the voice, natural rhythms and sounds which we encounter in daily life, and on the other it is an expression of the epistemology of the culture which creates the music, i.e. we have a great deal of control over the music we hear and make; 'musical technology' has been part of our music-making process for thousands of years. The degree to which musicality is balanced on the one hand by our sensory experience of nature and on the other musical technology communicates something about our culture. Thanks to musical understanding we are able to interface between our culture and the natural world. Our whole subjective reality is woven like a fabric made up of thoughts, emotions, imagination and sensory perception strung together in a musical fashion which 'makes sense' to us. These metaphors are expressed in both organic and inorganic nature. Perhaps the two most closely organic metaphors for musical rhythm is the beating of the heart—the primeval rhythm we can even feel in the mother's womb—and the breathing process—inhaling and exhaling and the increase in speed the faster we expend energy. In inorganic nature there are also various natural phenomena which influence our conception of musicality. A prime example of a musical metaphor from inorganic nature is the bouncing of a ball which represents the physical aspect of gravity holding us on the earth's surface or a dynamic realisation of rhythm exemplified by the ticking of a clock. Other examples external to the human body include the breaking of waves or the swinging of a pendulum.

As children we become aware of other such metaphors which form part of our 'musical reality' such as the rhythmic sounds made by insects and the calling of birds. Our sense of musicality is moulded by the way we experience both organic and inorganic natural metaphors. It is these metaphors that we use to make sense of music, just as we unconsciously apply these metaphors to make sense of sensual information which is processed 'musically'. Musicality, in this way, can act as a tool to help us make sense of our environment. Ritual processes similarly involve the mapping out of abstract experience through a series of acts which function to make sense of potentially disparate events experienced in daily life. The ritual provides means for these experiences to be both understood and transcended. The musical sign, then, helps us to connect the fragments of our reality, linking together nature and culture. It is a tool in the sense that by participating in it, certain actions and events are interpreted musically: it is a type of *knowing* that makes the unknowable sensible and comprehensible. Kapferer confirms this by noting that "music and dance, through their structuring capacity, can render as copresent and mutually consistent those dimensions of experience that might appear as distinct, opposed, even contradictory, from the rational perspective of the every day world" (1986: 199).

Perhaps it would be better to say that ritual is a *type* of musical experience. One of the important characteristics that joins the two together is the fact that they often involve the communication of non-verbal narratives. Music, like ritual, attains signification especially well when it is performed 'correctly', i.e. to the satisfaction of its audience according to a given set of conventions. We somehow get the feeling that it has not communicated at all if the performance is bad: the clarity of the message we read into the musical text has been disrupted in some way. This is very similar to ritual experience; the ritual only completes its task if it has been done correctly, i.e. a half completed sentence has the potential to communicate at least part of the mesage, whereas a half-completed ritual is generally worthless. An example of the ambiguity between ritual and musicality can be found in the well-known Balinese dance composition *Panyembrama* which was developed by Beratha in the twentieth century as a result of a new necessity to make dances for secular purposes so that sacred dances would remain in the temple. As a result of this, the composers collected the most beautiful movements and sounds from the best ritual compositions, and formed together pieces like *Panyembrama* and *Puspawresti.* The work, then, is entirely secular in spirit, but for the Balinese musicians and dancers who perform it, it is far more than that. Like ritual, this composition is only 'successful' in communicating its messages when it is performed completely. Wirjati, a Balinese dancer living in Utrecht (the Netherlands) told me that the Balinese "use movements which have rules." To bring the performance successfully across to the audience, one has to connect to these rules in order to 'bring the dance to life'. Here, the dance is realised both in terms of musical and ritual patterns, where success is based on the quality of the message rather than on the message behind the sign. The narrative here is involved with a series of encounters between the dancers, musical developments, climaxes, speed-changes and reactions echoed by the music and the dance, and sudden rich musical entrances. It is a complex narrative which the Balinese musicians and dancers know how to tell and interpret.

It seems appropriate here to consider two elements inherent both in music and nature: that of power. We have a whole range of adjectives in our language to refer to the sort of power that is reached in natural and musical communication, such as *earth-shattering* or *thunderous*. Unfortunately, as Barthes so correctly notes, music criticism is stuck in a language of adjectives which can never sufficiently *explain* what music communicates, and unlike what we hope to achieve in science, there is no one simple answer to the 'power' of music. We could continue to develop and decorate new metaphors because there are no limits to the way we describe things we experience. The power of music and nature as metaphors to distinguish different types of expression of human energy does seem to evoke a dynamism which we can achieve by comparing the systems we have for observing aesthetically woven acts such as music and ritual. We can even refer to experiments which have included 'natural' elements in contemporary composition: the whole notion of *soundscapes* is built on this common experience of sound in music and sound in nature as communicatory phenomena. It could be said that some musical signs assist us in comprehending 'nature' in that through having natural sounds presented in a format we can comprehend musically it is in a sense 'tied down'; it makes sense to us in a way that raw unmediated nature can alienate. Music and nature, then, have not only in common a similar sense of power; music is an attempt to comprehend nature in its entirety. This may be ultimately impossible, but it certainly makes our world a much more special place to live in. This leads directly to our next discussion which is involved with the different ways musical signs can communicate

One of the primary features of musical experience is the pleasure it provides us with as performers or audience members, an emotion that gives rise to a cogent feeling involving the joy of existence. This seems to be one element which unites most cultures in their music or dance traditions, although joy is obviously not the only emotion which it can evoke. By experiencing the embedded musical sign in a temporal and spatial environment, an individual often undergoes an emotional transformation which functions to prove or justify his or her existence, and sometimes functions to close the distance between the *Self* and the *Other* through creating a sense of

communal joy, emotions which are shared by others. It seems to me that Bateson sums up this experience in his description of the famous Balinese work *Panyembrama*:

> The God will not bring any benefit because you made a beautiful structure of flowers and fruit for the calendrical feast in his temple, nor will he avenge your abstention. Instead of deferred purpose there is an immediate and immanent satisfaction in performing beautifully, with everybody else, that which it is correct to perform in each particular context. (Bateson 1972: 117-118)

During an interview with a Balinese dancer who performs this dance, I was very much reminded of the constant sensory experiences which the Balinese go through in a day of worship, performances, rituals and meetings. Ritual dances are very much a statement concerning one's phenomenological presence, sharing beauty and communally enjoying the music made and the movements performed. Joy of music and pleasure in all sensory experience—including smell and touch—is an important part of Balinese life, and it helps us realise what an important part of the musical sign this 'proof of existence' is. Perhaps in our culture 'joy' is not necessarily the correct term for the way we celebrate our ontological state, but I think looking at this level of musical experience is an important one.

Another important quality of the musical sign is its deictics. As referred to in this chapter while discussing the function of the 'index', the term deictics refers to 'pointing'; the indexical function of language which directs the speaker towards a specific type of event, thing or person. The musical sign also plays a deictical role in pointing to particular objects or directing someone's attention to particular activities. The most common form of deictics in music is 'reflexive' deictics, music pointing to itself. Here we have elements of the embedded sign which communicate information such as 'I am a symphony, this is the second movement' or 'I am an overture, the performance is beginning'. These are of course examples from western classical music, although in terms of the 'musical experience' model which involves musicality as a 'multimedial' form of behaviour, the possibility for deictics is increased considerably. In Bali one of the primary functions of music, dance and ritual involves directing the attention of supernatural forces to the performance. In terms of our model of the *embedded sign*, the deictic function can be related to that of the indexical element of the sign: during the performance of music, iconic elements which have, for example, religious significance and are perpetuated within the Balinese culture are brought into the vital and sensual world of the present thanks to the deictical pointing function of the index. The deictic function makes musical texts sensual and understandable to a contemporary audience making it organic by placing it in a dynamic spatial-temporal context which surrounds the audience and fills the world with sound. In *Wayang Kulit* performances, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, the musical text plays an important role in bringing iconic elements of the text into the present, and it is the *dalang* who in this process tries to bring his text up-to-date, presenting it in a form which will become more real for the audience because they can relate to the balance of musicality and narrative-style textuality which are intertwined. The musical element plays an important role in bringing the text into the present. Herbst notes that the *dalang* "concentrates on sensitising [the audience] to the present moment, situations, using the story as a simple reference point, giving them some personal sense of orientation in the world and the cosmos" (1997: 92). Another deictical function of musical signs involves its ability to 'create' a space and to make it communal, uniting the people within; it 'points' to the fact that the involved parties are within some demarcated area such as sacred consecrated ground, a theatre, concert hall or disco. In many forms of sacred Indian theatre for example there is a similar evocation of space through ritual processes, often involving filling that space with music and odours. One of the most important examples of music which plays the role of filling a space and making it communal is in social situations where people meet, such as in discothèques where individuals are surrounded by music, sounds, and smells that communally function to make that space specifically tied to the event in question. Here the music functions clearly to transform a space into one in which all those present can at least to an extent feel that they are in a recognisably 'musical' environment.

The content of musical or ritual narratives is often about conflict and resolution. Balinese rituals, in particular, often involve maintaining balance between opposing forces; their resolution usually results in a Batesonian 'steady state' retaining a balance between 'good' and 'evil'. This is most clearly represented in rituals such as the *Barong* dance (introduced in 1.82) which involves a fight between 'Good'—in the form of the *Barong*—and 'Evil'—in the form of *Rangda*, the witch; in the dance, neither of these sides wins. Also in music, this notion of balance can sometimes be deeply embedded in the structure. Traditional colotomous (cyclical) gamelan music generally subscribes to a similar *episteme* in that the performance never really attains completion or resolution.

The embodied musical sign can involve human behaviour, conflict/resolution narratives, the phenomenological 'realisation' of certain spaces and the application of natural metaphors. Culture, through its complex forms of social inculcation teaches us different ways to behave musically, to move our bodies in reaction to or collaboration with a group of people or a single partner, or interact with a lifeless piece of wood or metal (a musical instrument). The embodied musical sign is very much dependent on live interaction, creating dynamic moments of 'improvisation' (in the sense of Bourdieu's *Habitus*) which provides us with a vital way of experiencing a spatial and temporal environment. To experience certain realisations of the embodied musical sign, we make use of our spatiomotor system. Baily comments on the fact that "instead of viewing the spatiomotor component in musical

cognition as a lower-level process through which auditory images are translated into sound patterns called music, it may be better to treat auditory and spatiomotor modes of musical cognition as of potentially equal importance" (1985: 237). Sound and movement are both part of the complex behavioural system we call music, one which we learn through our social environment and which provides us with unique insights into non-verbal aspects of reality.

3.8 Spatial and temporal aspects of the Balinese Embodied Sign

Music has a particularly unique relationship with both spatiality and temporality; without space and time music cannot be realised. This vital factor is one sometimes missed by western musicologists—especially ethnomusicologists—who have scores and CDs which can fool the user into adopting a transcendent approach to the musical sign. When sound emerges from a sound source it fills a space (be that small or large). For the perceiver the way that sound is encompassed by the space influences the force of the signification. The whole experience of hearing music in a studio, for example, is very different to hearing it in a church because the spatial dynamics contrast. Space makes sound vital just as sound makes space vital; they have a mutual relationship. Temporality is also an essential part of the human experience of musical events. It is thanks to its continuous forward motion that we can appreciate music. Although time in itself can not alter the music, the musical experience can alter the way we experience temporality in a given environment; we feel as if time stretches and contracts. As introduced in Chapter One, Javanese music with its gradual transferal between *irama* levels can induce the appreciation of a contrasting sense of temporality. In western music, the dynamic development towards a cadence can give an enhanced or heightened sense of temporality, just as time may seem to stop for a brief instance at a dynamic moment of silence which is reached after a dramatic climax as the listener waits for further musical development; embodiment drives home the point of articulating the musical sign in terms of space and time. The human body emerges as the medium without which such articulation cannot take place. To search for meaning beyond the event itself seems meaningless to the Balinese, whereas this endeavour is one of the ambitions of the pervading structural school of western musicology. Music and dance are tangible and cogent experiences of space and the environment embedded in the present, often involved with the rediscovery of existing forms of movement that are regiven contemporary meaning through the dynamics of the performance.

In the following discussion the intention is to explore the relationship between musical structures and temporality. We'll be particularly looking at the way the Balinese 'play' with time in their music. The roots of the Balinese religion are to be found in age-old animistic beliefs from a time when the island was filled with forces beyond man's control and understanding. Man, poised at the very centre of this dangerous cosmos, believed he could actively gain the good will of the gods—and demons—by performing certain rites and sacrifices. Gradually he developed an elaborate system of ceremonies all aimed at maintaining equilibrium. Over several centuries this animistic faith evolved into Balinese Hinduism, an evolution which was inevitably sped up by the sudden transferal of the *Majapahit* empire in the 14th century. The Hindu-Balinese religion requires gamelan for the successful completion of most of the tens of thousands of ceremonies undertaken yearly. Possibly as a reflection of the importance of reincarnation in Hindu belief, it is accurate to classify musical time as cyclical or regenerative. One of the earliest Balinese gamelan ensembles for which written descriptions exist is the *Gong Gambuh* which plays music structured colotomically to a specific series of gong tones in a continuous cycle. Accompanied by the *rebab* (a bowed-lute), four deep-voiced *suling* (flutes) play haunting melodies in a kind of fuzzy co-ordination that have a distinctive ghostly sound. The musical principles evident in these compositions are still very much a part of modern Balinese music. The utilisation of a firmly grounded core melody, propelled onward and controlled for speed and dynamics by a pair of drums (*kendang*), and punctuated cyclically by gongs, comprise the backbone of most Balinese gamelan forms today. The colotomic gong structure supporting this music was thought to reflect a very particular aspect of the Balinese *musical episteme*, as introduced in Chapter One where the cyclicality of gamelan reflects the Hindu approach to temporality and particular aspects of Javanese and Balinese life, such as rice-planting and harvesting. Balinese contemporary music began to change direction, however, at the beginning of the twentieth century with the creation of the *Gong Kebyar* gamelan form as discussed in Chapter Two. This is a controversial area of discussion because in Bali, Javanese music is still taught and the Balinese often search for their inspiration in Javanese and Balinese sources, often creating new *Kreasi Baru* compositions from melodies taken from *Gambuh*. Questioning the original cyclical function of the music, or suggesting that the gong structure itself has been overridden by current musical developments, would probably not be taken kindly by a new level of Balinese academics who still interpret Balinese music in terms of ancient ideals. There is no doubt, however, that the way colotomic gong structures communicated in music during the feudal times and the way it works in the music of today revolves around a different set of epistemological parameters, as dictated by the *musical episteme*. In the *embedded sign*, then, the change involved with the signification of gong structures involves their 'symbolic' nature, whereas the 'indexical' and 'iconic' parameters have remained the same. There is, in any case, no harm in continuing the gong patterns for its use as both a musical tool to demonstrate the entrance of new sections of music, and also as entertainment for an audience which can recognise or relate to older musical structures.

In the English language we have many analogies for the transformation of time to describe particularly boring or exciting moments in our lives, i.e. *it just took ages*, or *it went like a flash*, or even *time flies when you're having fun.* Although these English clichés are not directed towards music, one can make a comparison: the way we experience temporality is dependent on circumstances which surround us. Music, in its all-encompassing capacity, plays unique games with the way we experience time. In the Balinese sense, music as described above can both stretch and reduce time intervals dependent on the music being performed and the epistemological function of the music. Balinese music is often related to rituals and involves a contrast between 'standard' time and *ritual*-time which is often of positively heightened intensity. *Selonding* music is a very ancient form, dating back to the twelfth century, and is played by the Bali *Aga* people. They were relatively conservative tribes in that they were not converted to Hinduism when it entered Bali in the island's ancient history. Schaareman refers to the unique conversion of sound into *ritual*-time in the following passage:

> ... there is also an element of *time* involved here. It is only during *ritual* times that people go to the temple, an action that involves crossing the border between secular and sacred grounds, and invites the gods to descend and take part in the ritual ... (Schaareman 1992: 189)

The Bali *Aga* communities do not allow some melodies to be recorded as they are considered to be 'too sacred' to be let out of the village, meaning that the sacred atmosphere created by the music is only possible in certain spatial environments and in certain ceremonies: music retains the function of transforming a temporal duration into sacred time in certain specific ritual contexts (Herbst 1997: 124).

Embodiment in Balinese music, as mentioned, is a complex topic because of the essential connection between music and dance on the one hand, and the whole physicality of Balinese instrument playing on the other; bodily communication between the instrumentalists is of the utmost importance. This is particularly true for the *ugal* and *kendang* players who help to form and gauge the vitality of the performance. Music and dance, therefore, can be seen as tangible and cogent ways of experiencing spatiality and the environment embedded in the present. As suggested music and dance act continually to give new meaning to existing *iconic* structures by re-performing ancient forms of movement and sound. The musical sign is embodied in the performer and the performance. In this sense we observe the sign as it emerges from the performer's physicality, and we recognise that it is in this embodiment, this sensual *firstness*, that the musical sign receives its 'meaning', that it transmits its 'knowledge'. Temporality is uniquely 'embodied' in Balinese music through a state of *suspension* present in the dance. Many forms of Balinese music reach states of sudden crescendo climaxing in jolting and violent phrases and conclusions which are followed by deathly silences. These 'angsel' produce moments where the silence indeed seems suspenseful for those who are familiar enough with the music; time seems suspended for a moment which becomes embodied in the movement of the dancer who fills this tense moment with physical dynamism through bodily and facial expressions.

Balinese performance has other particularly unique devices for influencing the way individuals experience *temporality*. In some forms of Balinese theatre, such as *Arja* (Balinese opera), *Wayang Kulit* (Balinese shadow-play) and *Topeng* (Balinese masked-dance drama) a number of different temporal planes exist simultaneously. Most prominently there is the ancient time in the iconic stories represented by aristocratic and godly characters; they embody stories from the great Hindu epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (in the case of *Wayang Kulit*) and stories taken from the *Geguritan* texts (in the case of *Arja*). The characters existing in these time frames are distinguishable through their use of ancient and highly sacred languages such as Sanskrit, Old Javanese and Old Balinese. At the same time there is the temporal plane of the present made dynamic by musical performance (Herbst 1997: 55). What makes Balinese theatre unique, of course, are the characters who can move between both temporal planes and communicate information to the audience by contextualising it in a form which is significant to the current environment. Not only do these characters make the ancient texts comprehensible, but they can also interact with the audience in a dynamic fashion. This accents the significance of the performance as it relates to Balinese daily life. Herbst notes the following of the *bondres* half-mask comic characters who perform this function in *Topeng*: "They also are free to enter the 'real-time' of their audience, joking about people watching the show or even extending the actual performance space by wandering out into the audience" (Herbst 1997: 89). Other theatre forms which make use of characters who can mediate between the temporal modes of the audience and the characters in the drama include Balinese *Arja* and *Wayang Wong* (traditional dance-theatre), and to a lesser degree *Sendratari* (contemporary dance-theatre).

Performance of *Gong Kebyar*, be it with or without the accompaniment of dance, is very much a physical realisation of space. This awareness of space is an important element within the performance and is directly represented by where the instruments are positioned. The preset positioning of the instruments often reflects basic Balinese musical structures: rhythmic patterns played by different instruments which combine to form a whole, becoming through this unique interlocking more than simply a combination of the parts. As introduced in chapter division 1.81 this is a unique type of musical unity called *kotekan*. The exact origins of this form are unknown and

ethnomusicologists consider that many different historical or situational possibilities could have influenced its origin and development. *Kotekan* is structured by two different musical parts, one known as *polos* and the other as *sangsih*. The important fact here is the necessity of the realisation of *kotekan* in a physical-spatial situation. The basic melody is decorated using the *kotekan* form by a group of instruments known as the *gangsa.* They are usually arranged in a particular geometrically symmetrical way so that a *polos* performer sits next to a *sangsih* performer, just as the *polos* performer usually sits in front of someone playing *sangsih* and vice versa. Although a western ear would hear this as 'one melody', and would be inclined to interpret it as such, the dynamics of the unity involved in the musical performance force us to realise that the spatial dynamics of *kotekan* certainly affect the signification of Balinese music in a performance setting, affecting both the performers and the listeners who are aware of the spatiomotor-based physical realisation of *kotekan.* Here the embodiment of a purely musical structure is seen in relation to its realisation of space and its embodiment in a physical action.

Another performance form which involves a special realisation of space is known as *Baleganjur*. Evolving from a form of processional gamelan used in ritual performance that had a long procession of people moving along Balinese street has developed into an incredibly popular form outside of the context of the ritual event. This new form is known as *Kreasi Baleganjur*. Particularly characteristic of this new style is the enhanced theatrical behaviour reminiscent of the *Kreasi Baru* aesthetic that takes advantage of movement. In a competition known as *Lomba Baleganjur* which has developed into an institution which produces adaptations to contemporary *Baleganjur* musical texts, they even have a category for evaluation called *gerak* which is based on the performers' spatial interaction with their environment and one another during their performance. Performers holding drums (*kendang*), gongs and cymbals (*ceng-ceng*) proceed in a procession along the street. The cymbal players are divided into two groups, each which play a *kotekan*-like rhythmic structure. In this musical form, signification is intimately connected to the motion of the performers in space and in relation to one another. Weekly street performances and competitions of *Kreasi Baleganjur* have become regular and popular events in Balinese life, providing a major new form of expression for young Balinese men.

Spatiality and the embodiment of certain forms of inculcated 'musical behaviour' on stage are most certainly an important part of Balinese contemporary music. All of the composers I spoke to in this regard, including composers and choreographers from the middle and new generations (who will be discussed in Chapter Four), provided me with detailed information in this regard, including Astita, Dibia, Wenten, Windha and Wardana. Four elements were of particular importance to all of the composers I spoke to. Firstly, the positioning of the instruments on stage played an important role, both in terms of *Kreasi Baru* and *Musik Kontemporer* compositions. These composers noted that they all had special ideas about where the instruments should go because it would affect the sound they made. A clear expression of this is of course the *kotekan* structure which creates a remarkable effect by interlocking two melodic lines which are produced successively, meaning the melody comes from two places creating a rhythmically exciting melody. Secondly, the composers considered the way their performers behaved to be of particular importance, evoking either a strong sense of theatricality, or successfully expressing through movement certain 'abstract narrative'-style structures. Thirdly, the way the performers looked, i.e. what costumes they were wearing, how the dancer was dressed and made-up. Lastly, how and when the musical performers moved on stage. In many contemporary compositions, instruments from different gamelan ensembles are placed in particular spaces on stage, meaning that sometimes players have to change positions by moving to new instruments (sometimes moving the instruments, although instruments which are not portable such as the gong are generally left in one place). Here some composers placed the accent on the *way* they moved rather than just the movement itself.

In Balinese performance, creating a sense of space is an important dynamic, especially in ritual. Herbst comments on the fact that this happens in Bali "not through depiction and description (as with much mime) but through internal energies." (1997: 87). Here he means that Balinese performers have the strange ability to do this thanks to the way they interact with their spatial environment, through the subtle movements of the eyes, the flickering of an eyebrow or a sudden tension in the shoulders of the performer. Balinese performance, including music and dance, is very often based on stages of growing tension and sudden release, and it is through these interactions that one gains an insight into what *kind* of space the Balinese performer is moving in. Herbst notes that "these ways of dealing with invisible forces permeate all Balinese performance…" (ibid.). In terms of Balinese social and ritual life, the question is whether a space has to be made sacred for the performance of music or musical performance actually functions to transform a given spatial environment into a sacred one. It is mostly the former: before instruments can play, both the space they perform in, the performers, and the instruments themselves have to be properly treated in ritual ceremonies which includes short prayers and the dishing out of *tirta* (Balinese holy water). Entrance into a Balinese performance space means literally crossing a border separating two worlds. According to Herbst, "a sense of invisible demarcation of spatial factors is occasionally expressed in stylised utterances by characters" (1997: 88) to create the effect that they are arriving like gods from an ethereal world,

entering into a space made sacred before the performance, or of course into the grounds of a temple which is in itself a sacred place. In Eastern performance traditions throughout Asia, a sense of respect and religious reverence for a space which will be performed in is important, and making these spatial zones into potential performance spaces during ceremonies or other acts is an essential part of the tradition. Music itself has a strong ritual background, emerging as it did primarily for the accompaniment of ritual. A place filled with music in Bali, therefore, is a potentially sacred space. In Bali, the *slendro* scale is the most sacred of all scales, so gamelan such as *Angklung* and *Gender Wayang* are preferred for holy rituals. Sacred space is a mental construction or condition accepted by an audience, but it is of such strength and importance that it cannot be treated lightly: like a performative *speech-act*, when the ritual or act is performed that makes a space sacred, that space literally *becomes* sacred in every sense of the word.

The Balinese states of *trance* and *Taksu* both involve embodiment, and in this process they render unique particular moments of time in particular spatial environments. One of the things which both states have in common is the fact that they often involve the embodiment of the gods in human form. In the case of *trance*, the Balinese believe that individuals in a heightened state are taken over by a given deity (or an ancestor) to communicate a message: for example, a god may deign to enter a human because a gamelan orchestra is not receiving the necessary rituals, or someone's forefather may descend to communicate information about unfinished business on earth. *Trance* and *Taksu*, however, are different in that *trance* can overcome a relatively large percentage of the Balinese population, including a performer, whereas *Taksu* is a state reached by an individual (performer) during a performance, and the individual is considered to have reached a 'godly' state by achieving *Taksu*: there are no messages for the audience external to the performance itself. In any case, *trance* and *Taksu* are both unique experiences of heightened human behaviour of a potentially 'musical' nature. Blacking observes that the Balinese speak of these states as 'the other mind', where people "become keenly aware of the true nature of their being, of the 'other self' within themselves and other human beings, and of their relationships with the world around them" (1976: 51). This means that at one and the same time individuals become embodied by an external force, and achieve a state of enhanced understanding of the world. All the afflictions of mankind—such as the emotions, hunger and thirst, old age and death—become 'transitory events'. This also helps to explain why remarkable feats of daring are possible during trance-states. More particular to the subject at hand, the individual involved in the process ceases to experience time according to the laws of the earthly plane, being in the 'timeless now of the Divine Spirit' (ibid.). These states change the way both time and space are experienced, as often is the case with any type of heightened behaviour where the 'normal' sequence of earthly events are interrupted. Reaching such states can only be alluded to verbally because one has to have achieved them to know what it is like. Music often helps to induce such states, as is most certainly the case with the Balinese, where 'trance-dancing' is a common event and where every performer attempts to attain *Taksu* in each new performance, something unique which he or she shares with the audience. In Bali, trance is more than simply a state; it's a way of being. As a Balinese person, you either have the tendency to fall into trance, or not; not everyone on Bali is destined to experience trance states. It is not something individuals choose, it is almost as if it is chosen by destiny. Balinese people generally accept the ability fatalistically which depends on particular qualities of individuals. We can compare this to the ability to be hypnotised (or to fall into a hypnotic trance) which also depends on each individual within our culture. In *Sanghyang Dedari* young girls are able to spontaneously fall into trance and perform complex dances without previous training. This ability has been the subject of western research ever since the Dutch colonised Bali. *Trance* itself is a complex phenomenon: it can be induced both spontaneously and purposefully, and it is used in many different aspects of Balinese life. *Balian*, Balinese traditional doctors, for example, use trance-states to answer questions offered by their Balinese patients. They may become gods with particular demands from individuals or their community, or relatives who may have specific tasks which need to be fulfilled or completed in their mundane absence. Balinese people fall into trance most readily, however, during performances and rituals. The continuous rhythmic repetition of the *kajar* and the sound of certain forms of gamelan music are considered to help induce trance. Although we see it as a psychological state, in terms of embodiment we have to view it in terms of what the Balinese themselves believe: they are embodying gods, evil spirits or ancestors who have specific tasks to perform in the Balinese world, such as setting things right, organising events, improving temple conditions, offering advice or causing general havoc.

Taksu, in contrast to *trance*, is generally involved exclusively with the performing arts. One *achieves Taksu* in performance; it can't spontaneously happen like trance. It does have in common however the spiritual embodiment in the individual of supernatural beings or ideas. With *Taksu*, however, a heightened state is reached and information is communicated to the audience. This information far transcends forms of semiotic 'communication' we generally recognise within our culture. The traditional model of communication sees a 'message' originating from a source (the 'composer'), passing through some medium (the 'performer') and arriving at a destination (the 'listener'). Messages communicated via *Taksu* are far more complex and momentous, being at the one and the

same time from an individual *and* a supernatural being. *Taksu* embodies here something highly important in Balinese performance: it is not about the *performer* acting purely as a medium for the gods to communicate (as is the case with *trance*), here the performer is involved intimately in the process of creation, so that at one and the same time the performer through his or her unique realisation of a traditional work becomes at one with god, communicating both a part of his or herself and the almighty powers which provide the basis for the performance (tradition). When one asks a Balinese person how they evaluate their performers, it is never according to a kind of conformity to an impersonal model: it is according to their *Taksu*, which means their unique ability as an individual to embody something cultural. *Taksu* refers, therefore, to an individual's *charisma* as a performer, to their ability to connect with unseen forces such as ancestors and gods, an ability to connect to an audience, and an ability to embody uniquely at a given space and time a part of Balinese heritage. Within western theory perhaps the closest that comes to *Taksu* is Barthes' notion of *jouissance* (1984: 79) which refers to an experiential knowledge of production and a sense of emotional pleasure.

The vocal arts are, of course, a primary source of embodiment where the very expression of the voice becomes a vital expression of an individual and at the same time a powerful form of performance which affects us all thanks to the fact that we each have vocal chords which can produce similar sounds. In his influential article on the power of the voice, Barthes attempts to find a term which can encompass the multitextual, embodied element of this level of musical communication (which in his own words) is far more than simply the *timbre*: "la signifiance qu'il ouvre ne peut précisément mieux se définir que par la friction même de la musique et d'autre chose, qui est la langue (et pas du tout le message)" (1982: 241). Here, his definition of this level of communication has to be extended from the simply musical to the linguistic and the bodily through his notion of the 'grain' of the voice. This term certainly seems appropriate for Balinese vocal embodiment where vocal training involves extremely physical interactions between the voice and nature; examples of the voice being pushed to the 'grain' include extending vocal capabilities by screaming into the waves or eating excessive amounts of piping hot chilli. In Bali singing and vocal recitation—terms which are in many cases ambiguous—require many years of concentrated effort, a photographic memory and a remarkable linguistic talent. In Europe, of course, a similar amount of dedication and time is necessary for anyone wanting to become a professional singer, although the primary difference arises when one observes the extreme physical exertion required of Balinese vocal chords. Signification in terms of Balinese singing, therefore, has a special relationship in terms of stretching the abilities of the human body. One must remember that singing is an activity always intertwined with other forms of aesthetic expression such as dance, music, poetry, story-telling, shadow-puppetry, and theatre. The Balinese vocal arts produce a particularly important embodied level of performance. An example of particular notions embodied within the Balinese voice include their belief in keeping physical and metaphysical forces in balance. According to Schumacher, this maxim is expressed in musical terms in performances of *kakawin* "by means of a cyclically closed form of melodic contour" where "the direction of melodic movement does not aim at dynamic development but rather at a well-balanced 'swinging' within a clear-cut frame" (1994: 14). The Balinese art of singing is an important and influential form of musical communication which embodies both information about an individual as well as the culture which was responsible for inculcating the bodily aspects of the singing tradition.

3.9 Change in the Balinese Embodied Sign

In Bali the environment has been changing at a very rapid rate. As we have demonstrated in the example of the embedded sign, change to the environment is part of a sensitive system around which other cultural change occurs. This infers that change in how one experiences time and space has lead to different ways of behaving and interpreting behaviour, and different ways of applying one's *generative principles* to specific cultural aspects of one's life. The change in aural environment (referring to the sounds one is surrounded by) can lead to an alternative way of comprehending specific situations. I have attempted in this work to demonstrate how important a familiar aural environment is, and how this aural environment helps specifically to provide us with an identity, and to give us the means for dealing with certain aspects of our reality. Changes in this regard cannot be underestimated. In this part of the chapter we explore spatiality and the boundaries of the performance space. This includes a discussion of the process of music amplification on Bali which is a type of aural adjustment caused by new technological 'advances'.

In Bali, there have been some major changes to the spatial environment which have occurred in the last twenty years and which have had major consequences for the Balinese *musical episteme*. The Balinese have noticed and are continuing to feel a diminution in space, brought about not only by natural population growth, but also the loss of land to the tourist industry which is taking more and more place for the development of hotels and other tourists facilities for tourists. This has had its repercussions for the Balinese population. This reduction in space has quite striking implications for the Balinese. A song called *Inguh* by *Koka Studio* (a Balinese pop group) for example, deals specifically with issues involved with a decrease in the amount of land available to the Balinese (Astita 1998). This type of diminution is echoed in a figurative sense since the eighties as a new generation of young

people are gaining access to motor vehicles of their own: what was once a two hour journey home on foot is becoming a fifteen minute drive. Epistemological change has also led to spatial dynamics in Balinese performance. A typical example of this is the semi proscenium arch or horse-shoe shaped stage with a raised platform which has become quite popular since the seventies in Bali. Dibia notes that with this modern stage the audience is distanced quite far from the performance space, which contrasts greatly to traditional performance which generally still involves close contact between audience and performance. In order to fill the space of the stage (which is larger), more dancers are required and a great deal of subtlety is lost (Dibia 1994: 56). The change in spatiality also affects the dance itself, however, because the choreographer has to adapt to an audience that is positioned differently in relation to the stage. To reach the audience which is positioned so far away, amplification is used which changes the whole live dynamics of music and text: spatial orientation is lost. Herbst describes the relationship between loss of spatiality and what he refers to as 'audio mediation':

> Sometimes accompanying audio mediation is what I would call spatial mediation—the increasing use of proscenium stages, promulgated by the larger arts institutions, with many villages following suit. The intimacy of traditional staging, with 270 or 360 degrees of audience seating is lost, bamboo chairs are arranged in rows, and audiences are stationary, in contrast with the fluid audience, which would take in the performance as part of a larger ceremonial environment. Choreographic ideas are adapted to become frontal and presentational. New staging formats often create an extreme distance between performers and audience. This has also already changed the nature of Balinese choreography, since flicks of the hands and fingers, eyes, and facial expression are not seen, while a larger space must be filled. (Herbst 1997: 138)

Herbst also notes that indoor buildings are causing a recontextualisation of dance performance: proscenium arch-theatres indoors changed both the spatial and the audio dynamics, particularly affecting the drum (1997: 138-139).

The whole process of amplification involves the way music fills a given space, although in the Balinese context this issue is particularly influential to the way contemporary musical signs signify. Amplification is basically a product of twentieth century technology which has brought changes to Balinese performance, particularly music. It represents such a strong potential because it totally changes the dynamics connecting the performers and their audience. As discussed earlier the loud and expressive sound of *kotekan* and the dynamics of the tuning create a truly spatial musical experience thanks to the positioning of the instruments: they are designed for this purpose and represent in general a particularly strong Balinese musical aesthetic. Amplification, however, completely removes this dynamic because a sense of stereo spatiality is lost. Even though it can probably be heard from further away more clearly, the performance communicates in a contrasting fashion because of what the process takes away from the gamelan music. We explore in the following paragraphs some different aspects of this problematic area in Balinese performance

In *Sendratari*, the music-theatre form which uses dancers in the place of puppets, a 'narrator' referred to as the *juru tandak* who sits away from the action and uses a microphone plays a similar role to the *dalang*. Here a clear sense of 'distanciation' is created between the *juru tandak* and the performers (and by extension the audience), where in the past the voices of the puppets, the musical instruments and the narrator all arose from the same person. This 'distanciation' is created by amplification of the voice of the narrator and the separation of the characters into different roles. The 'servants' are still present who interact between the timezones of the audience and the godly characters and provide commentary upon it in their interpretation. Unfortunately these characters have very little to do in *Sendratari* which has lost many of these functions in order to create larger and more impressive performances. According to Herbst, the *dalang* of *Wayang Kulit* have caught up with the *Sendratari* by using their own form of amplification, which they often consider necessary to 'keep the attention of their less-focussed contemporary audience', although they at the same time "recognise a difficult trade-off with the sound blaring from a loudspeaker, rather than the body of the *dalang,* changing the corporeal and spiritual nature of performance" (1997: 138). Several *dalang* have pondered whether the *dalang* is losing his real voice, and whether *kawi suara* (the transcendent, spiritual voice of the *dalang*) can exist in such a disembodied and detached form.

One of the primary problems brought about by amplification, its theoretical and epistemological consequences aside, is a physical one. Herbst notes that doctors told him about the clear fact that there has been a lot of cases of premature deafness among musicians performing in academy-based gamelan ensembles. According to Herbst, "even in small village performances for an *odalan* temple festival, amplification is set at full-volume, with accompanying distortion and often incredible feedback" (1997: 139). The 'great electric hum' of feedback that lingers over a performance without the Balinese appearing to notice its unpleasant presence suggests that the Balinese feel this to be the inevitable expression of a new and noisy age of performance in which the technology is playing an increasingly important role (ibid.). Amplification of the music is different, however, to the amplification of the voice of the *dalang*. As mentioned above this is done to attract the attention of an increasingly impatient contemporary audience, and loudness seems to be the way they go about doing this. For many people—including western observers—this is a highly unpleasant development as the noise created by the amplification is

even more difficult to tolerate than the amplification of the music. Hammock noted that "if the *dalang*'s voice is amplified as it was in Ubud, it totally robs the play of its overall intimate feel and it drives people away."

Microphones and loudspeakers have become common in Balinese performance, including *Topeng* and *Arja* in addition to the forms we have already mentioned above. The primarily loss is the whole dynamic sense of live musical realisation. Balinese instruments are particularly dependent on their positioning for the creation of affects such as the slight tuning differentiation between paired male/female instruments and of course the *kotekan* which produces interlocking passages where two instruments are essential for the production of the whole. All of this is to some degree lost in amplification. The *ombak* or acoustical beats which are produced by the close-tuning of instrument pairings is not entirely lost, although according to Herbst, "when the sound passes through microphones, you are hearing acoustical beat merely as pulsations in time, but the kinetic element of [these] vibrations in motion is eliminated" (1997: 137-138). Another noticeable negative impact is the fact that amplification—especially low quality amplification which characterises Indonesian technology of this type—chooses what the audience hears: microphones hang from the roof and the speaking characters move in and out of its range allowing the audience to hear only a small section of the performance, largely because everything else is hidden by feedback-noise and other unpleasant distortion. According to Herbst, amplification produces vocal problems as well:

> …it also affects aspects of the vocal style that are specifically geared toward spatial considerations, removing their kinetic meaning and purpose within live performance environs and reducing them to mere decorative play. More subtle aspects of the vocal style become irrelevant in the new context. (Herbst 1997: 137)

Considering that gamelan is intended for outside performance, the amplification of instruments seems needless, although often instruments are augmented because the narrator (*dalang* or *Juru Tandak*) has simply become too loud. According to Herbst, the horrid noise created by amplification and its feed-back could be a 'statement of power'

> It may signify a certain resonance or sympathetic vibration with the overall environment, which, in Bali, is growing rapidly into modernity, with modernism's inherent characteristics—air pollution from automobiles and motorcycles, degradation of the environment, loss of trees that had provided shade and animal habitat, hence loss of birds, destruction of coral reefs from industrial pollution and the digging up of reefs for limestone to build new roads, vast quantities of garbage without sufficient landfills or any alternative, and noise pollution from automobiles as well as from such sources as loudspeakers in stores and public events. (Herbst 1997: 136)

This suggests a further expression of *Desa Kala Patra* where a change in the 'environment' leads to a change in indexical *improvisation*, in its own way playing a role to help the Balinese make sense of an environment which is becoming increasingly more polluted and uninhabitable.

3.10 **Conclusion: *the Organic Musical Sign***

After the discussions which have taken place in this chapter, it doesn't seem difficult to conclude that the embedded musical sign is 'organic' in that it involves the use of physical spatial and temporal parameters which function to realise a vital ritualised act. In the use of instruments, objects or electronics the musical sign may in some cases involve non-human elements in its creation, but this must not mislead us into thinking that the musicality itself is inherent in the *action* and not the *static material* involved in its realisation. Musical experience points towards the natural when it refers to non-verbal, non-synthetic reality realised in an organic, existential presence; something living and vibrating. It is a tool we use to bridge the gap between the rational thought of human beings and the non-verbal natural environment which surrounds us. Beyond the borders of the metaphorical stage on which the human performance takes place, we try to conceive of what awaits us there, and we do so with the active participation of musical signs which are in a complex way a part of all *embedded signs* involved with human creation. Furthermore, the *embedded sign* with its dynamic musical element embedded in the present allows the inclusion of change as a vital part of its very nature. Balinese signs are a primary example of the model presented in this chapter to encompass cultural change necessitated by the developmental nature of the sign consisting of the *icon*, *index* and *symbol*; as each of the elements is forced to adapt to a changing environment, the others are necessitated to follow. Thanks to the relative stability of *iconic* elements of the Balinese sign, i.e. figures which represent some basic ethical *objective conditions* such as characters in the Mahabharata which are connected to specific concepts which remain stable, *symbolic* and *indexical* elements of the sign are free to develop and change as is necessary. The musical element of Balinese organic signs becomes primarily *indexical*, bringing the performance event or ritual into the present and making it real and dynamic for those attending. Wayne Vitale describes this organic element of Balinese music below:

> This image of organic process seems to permeate Balinese music. One reason for this is that Balinese musicians have traditionally felt no inhibitions in borrowing from other pre-existing pieces. Sometimes an entire section is lifted intact, only its frame is newly composed. Little motifs, or orchestrational tools and tricks become popular for a day (or year, or decade) and make the rounds. Often the diffusion is so fast that it becomes almost impossible to trace the element back to its creator. The result is that compositions evolve in an almost genetic manner, splitting off, recombining, permutating, and continually transforming. The music tradition grows more as a single cultural organism than as the sum of full formed and 'unique' works. (Vitale 1996: 16)

The Balinese are intensely creative. This explains the high importance of the 'indexical' element of the *embedded sign*: they are constantly using and reusing musical ideas to suit the rapidly changing aesthetic needs required by their audience. The need for 'Taksu' probably explains another puzzling fact about the constant creativity of the Balinese. *Taksu* helps to demonstrate that mere technical mastery is never enough: there must always be some special quality in the performance, some inspiration if the ancestors' powers are to be seen to be active in the dancer or musician's body. What this means is that every performance is in a constant state of development. The *embedded* and *embodied* musical sign in Bali are often realisations of dynamic moments shared in a vivid presence.

Chapter Four: Balinese Musicality as a Sociocultural Tool

> *Minister (intransigently):* A societal structure is the greatest of all the works of art that man can make. Like the greatest art, it is perfectly symmetric. It has the architectonic structure of music, a symmetry imposed upon it in order to resolve a play of tensions which would disrupt order but without which order is lifeless. In this serene and abstract harmony, everything moves with the solemnity of the absolutely predictable and - … (Carter 1982: 35)
> *Ambassador:* You are in the process of tabulating every thing you can lay your hands on. In the sacred name of symmetry, you slide them into a series of straitjackets and label them with, oh, my God, what inexpressibly boring labels! Your mechanical prostitutes welcome their customers in an alien gibber wholly denied to the human tongue while you, you madam, work as an abortionist on the side. You murder the imagination in the womb, Minister! (Carter 1982: 37)

This last chapter examines musical experience under a contrasting analytical light to the other chapters. Chapter One took a broad epistemic approach to Balinese musicality, whereas Chapter Two viewed individual musical acts in terms of *textuality,* the systems we have to help us comprehend 'musical texts'. Chapter Three focused on individual realisations of these texts in terms of *embedded* and *embodied* signs which are realised in dynamic spatial and temporal contexts. Chapter Four, in contrast, explores a particular aspect of musical behaviour: its ability to both reflect sociocultural situations and to provide individuals with 'sociocultural tools' to react and influence their environment. Particular examples are demonstrated of this approach to music and sociocultural change taken from contemporary Balinese culture. The intention is to demonstrate an approach to cultural change in terms of what I call *Top-Down* and *Bottom-Up* artistic influence. In the context of this discussion these two terms will be defined in more detail, but to provide the reader with an idea of their signification, *Top-Down* refers to the influence a society has on its artists to curtail or adjust their work to suit particular social and/or political environments, whereas *Bottom-Up* refers to the impetus behind the work of artists who have developed their own 'artistic' language to provide a possible answer to social ills. This is a societal dynamic which exists between change precipitated by individual artists and change in the work of artists brought about by some kind of social pressure. I use 'Top-Down' and 'Bottom-Up' in terms of a spatial metaphor towards progression and height where 'low' [*bottom*] refers to the dynamic origins of art in the work of individuals and 'high' [*top*] refers in the extreme to art produced purely as sociopolitical propaganda. Indonesian culture (including Bali) demonstrates countless examples of tendencies towards these extremes, many of which will form part of this discussion. The complex contexts in which art works become social tools are explained in terms of contemporary approaches to the social role of the arts and particularly music using the groundbreaking work of Bourdieu, Attali and other theorists who have attempted to broach this topic. Important areas of discussion include the way Balinese artists have become responsible for the perpetuation of an ideal Bali to an outside world [thanks to *Top-Down* influence] or dynamic movements in contemporary music which took place around the turn of the twentieth century after the gamelan had moved back into the hands of the villagers and which precipitated radical and irrevocable cultural change [from the *Bottom-Up*]. We will be exploring how this is affecting given cultural 'texts' as well as how they are realised in dynamic environments as *embedded signs* in Bali. These two contrasting forms, adding to the methods

presented in the first three chapters, are intended together to demonstrate an additional way music can influence certain aspects of our lives.

4.1 The Pervading Musical Paradigm

In this opening section, I would like to discuss the underlying implications embedded in cultural institutions and structures which perpetuate our musical heritage. The intention is to make clear the possible prejudices our own culture inculcates in the way we approach music. The intention of this is to 'reanthropologise' our own behaviour, making us aware of some of our approaches to musicality which we may consider arbitrary (but which may be intimately attached to occidental musicality). Particular points of importance here include our 'disembodiment' of music which I will later consider in terms of *Top-Down* sociocultural influence. This approach to musical understanding uses the theory of Bourdieu and Attali to help us define the role of the arts in society, to question the agenda-ridden structuralism of traditional musicology which is a reductive approach to musical meaning. This type of 'reanthropologising' our own systems for musical understanding is not at all purely to criticise our culture; rather it is a way to encourage viewing our musicological environment as a sociocultural institution with a distinctly political agenda. It also teaches our culture to understand better how this social level of musical experience can influence the development of culture, standing against the pervading school of musicology which has the tendency to see music as merely a static reflection of a social given.

In artistic circles external to those involved with (classical) music, including much post-structural academic theory, one looks upon pervading musicology as either an area of specialised knowledge which can only be entered into by an elite group of specialists, or an academic arena ten years behind its cousin disciplines in the arts. In essence, musicology has been partitioned off from any other form of study. Peacock referred with a comic metaphor to this tendency for scientists to partition complex cultural performance idioms; here the *mole-faced* social-scientist "who can only hear" is the western musicologist *par excellence* (Peacock 1968: 10). How can it be that a discipline like musicology still today has the tendency to perpetuate this relatively static approach to musicality? To answer this question, we can turn to De Smet's image of the individual who longs for stasis in a world which is constantly changing:

> Our appreciation of art remains, for a large part, static. This goes with the understanding that the majority of people choose permanent values, which means they choose famous or well-known art and are unwilling to accept new tendencies and new artistic communication forms. In itself this is an absolute misrecognition of the essence of art in itself because as societies evolve, art also evolves. (De Smet 1998: 4-9)

In this work, I use the term 'musical experience' to represent the dynamic (and hence 'flexible') *process* which individuals go through as 'music' is realised in given environments. The *fixed* approach to musical analysis does not consider this aspect of musicality; it is analysed according to a 'neutral level' of said truths about how music communicates. I have previously suggested that such a disembodied approach which considers the only analysable form the 'product' (i.e. the score) is comparable to a theory of the qualities of printing ink for the study of poetry.

Through the last years as our approach to the study of 'ethnic' cultures has changed, the distinction made by academics involved with the study of music separating 'musicology' from 'ethnomusicology' has become increasingly more problematic. These days many academics who would have been called 'ethnomusicologists' are shunning the term, replacing it instead with the term 'world music historian' or alternatively 'music anthropologist'. We cannot deny the fact that a new generation of music academics have been for some time protesting against a positivist approach to music signification which ascribes a set of signifiers to a couple of hundred of years of western thinking. The Schenker system of analysis is perhaps an example of music structuralism at its most unsettling. The kind of thinking that wishes to retain the paradigm of security and constancy in music reminds me of an image presented by a Javanese cultural paradigm which sees 'straight-line' or methodological thinking as unnatural. This seems an appropriate metaphor for discussing the contrast between South-East Asian and western ways of conceiving reality. In his paper on epistemology in Javanese *Wayang Kulit*, Becker notes that doors in Javanese houses often have a "flat wall or screen a few feet behind the entrance gap in the outer wall, so that one cannot go straight in but must pass right or left" (1979: 234). It is impossible, therefore to enter someone's house by moving in a straight line. Seeing that Javanese demons evidently think in a methodical, straight-line fashion, one could suggest that this form of thinking is considered in a less positive way by Javanese people, even though it is the ultimate aim of western positivism.

The intention in the following discussion will be to question structuralist approaches which exist regarding the notion of 'beauty', particularly the ethnocentric approaches to musical beauty embedded in western musicology. I'm questioning an approach to aesthetics which views sensual knowledge as a kind of truth. Van Damme demonstrates that this approach to aesthetics was coined "within an eighteenth-century western philosophical context with respect to western (and sometimes Eastern) cultural traditions only" (1996: 5). To counter-act this broadly accepted theory which is perpetuated by many of our musical institutions, I would like an alternative which is based on a dynamic approach to musical experience.

The generally accepted view of aesthetics as a 'theory of beauty' contains many problematic assumptions some of which I hope to elucidate in this brief discussion. It is generally accepted that the term 'aesthetics' as it is used today refers to a philosophical discipline involved with the perception of the senses, and was introduced by Baumgarten, even though the etymology of the word can be traced back to ancient Greece. Plato, for example, believed that certain types of artistic behaviour were more valuable than others, and Kant believed that essential beauty exists external to the sociocultural context in which the work is created, leading to the controversial concept of *art for art's sake.* This *fixed* approach corresponds to the specific form of positivism generally perpetuated in the field of musicology. With the advent of cultural anthropology as its own study and particularly movements in post-structuralism which questioned positivism in all its forms, traditional western approaches to aesthetics were dramatically altered. I hope to demonstrate, however, that much western musicological theory is still embedded in an outdated interpretation of aesthetics, functioning to limit the appreciation of 'art' within our culture to an elite few rather than recovering its practical and communicative functions.

In both academic and practical terms, we have the tendency to assume that 'music' is a universal social fact. We mostly consider it reasonable to assume that *all* cultures at least to some extent have a system for structuring sound, and that systems for structuring sound communicate a significant amount of information about a culture on its own. The major problem here, however, is our assumption that our own system of 'musicality' transcends its cultural context, in other words can be interpreted as having transcendent signification external to a time and a place. Another major misunderstanding is that the 'sound object' itself as it is realised in a score is the place to look for meaning. A *flexible* approach experiences music not through its *sounds* or its notation, but through *what it does*, the complex role it plays in helping us to make reality 'real', giving life to time and space and emphasising the importance of sound in our lives. An important realisation resulting from a *fixed* to *flexible* paradigm shift is that we often experience music as being in some way limited simply because we aren't epistemologically equipped to give an opinion on the matter, in other words that we just don't know where to look to find the signification. Musical meaning is based as much on the *process* of its realisation in culture, in other words, the process which moulds the way we *behave* musically. This is connected directly to what I have defined as 'sensual knowledge', replacing the static image often applied to 'aesthetic' meaning: revealing essential qualities of given art-works. Here musical experience is seen as behaviour learnt in the process of *social inculcation.*

In terms of 'folk knowledge' in our culture, certain types of music have been raised in status in relation to other forms of music. The music which has been raised in status in terms of culturally determined norms is in our case 'classical' music which is often considered by certain members of our society to have universal and timeless appeal. For a surprisingly large percentage of the western population this musical presence has little contemporary resonance; we see it as a kind of antique. Many of us assume that this music is distanced from us in terms of time in a historical sense, or of physical distance; nonetheless many of us feel that it is still worth preserving. Does this assumption have a specific purpose in our culture? I would say that it does: we are lead to believe thanks to a process of social inculcation that certain types of musical knowledge are available to certain kinds of people, which in terms of many European and colonial countries, is connected sometimes to social class and education.

Further than music as a form of social division, another major assumption on the part of a general western musical *episteme* is that musical meaning is implicit in the sound produced and the sound alone. This assumption has led to a whole history of musicology searching for meaning in the physical complexity of tones. According to a number of composers, musicians and theoreticians subscribing to a structural method the importance of the 'complexity' of sounds of classical music (as opposed to the relative 'simplicity' of almost all other forms) is strongly emphasised. This is perhaps the ultimate expression of structuralism in musical composition which implies that the more complex a musical sound is, the greater the possible reward to the (properly educated) listener, and that musical education should 'free' young people by teaching them how to listen to more complex sounds. This proposition assumes that 'simpler' music is somehow less significant, and even suggests that participating in this type of musical behaviour somehow retards the intellectual growth of the participants. There is of course absolutely no evidence to prove that this could be true, seeing that the most intelligent among us don't know 'how' to appreciate serial music in the way Boulez would like us to. Langer describes this as the way 'aesthetic' theorists and philosophers have been attempting to apply general epistemological concepts inherent in western culture to musical givens:

> Attempts have been made to explain musical invention by the physical complexity of tones themselves, and find the laws and limits of composition on a basis of rations or mathematical sequences to be exemplified. There is no use discussing the sheer nonsense or the academic oddities to which this hope has given rise, such as the Schillinger system of composition, or the serious and elaborate effort of G. D. Birkhoff to compute the exact degree of beauty in any art work (plastic, poetic and musical) by taking the 'aesthetic measure' of its components and integrating these to obtain quantitative value judgements. (Langer 1953: 104-105)

The vital point to be made here is the assumption that a work of art exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art. Any assumption which assumes that the work of art

exists because of essential qualities it attains, is subscribing to what is considered by many to be a relatively outdated paradigm. Unfortunately, as I will demonstrate in this work, such views are still being perpetuated by our artistic institutions. I would like to suggest that this should be positively worked against by encouragement from a theoretical world which actively interacts with musical *practice* (rather than the analysis of musical *products*). At present, musical 'theory', meaning here academic theory and not the training of music notation as the term is also understood, does not form an active dialogue with musical practice.

In many of our musicological environments such as conservatories, theory is taught which functions to 'disempower' the performer, the composer and the listener by 'disembodying' the whole process of musical creation. We are literally culturally inculcated not to understand music as anything more than orderly notes on a page, ignoring any meaning that could come anywhere but from the essential set of signifiers retained in the score. This results largely from the fact that music specialists do not consider it necessary to be educated in any other field; classical music has an automatic 'universal appeal'. In contrast, it is believed by many that 'simpler' forms of music such as *pop* or *ethnic* music lack the quality and universal appeal of classical music. These assumptions are based on complex processes of negative social inculcation towards certain types of music which occur both in institutions and as a result of interaction with everyday existence; in this context the comparable 'worthiness' of classical music for analysis seems to be based on problematic assumptions.

As Attali discusses in his important work *Bruits* ['Noise'], sound is an incredibly powerful medium in society, and the party maintaining control over the distinction between *sound* and *noise* has a great deal of cultural influence. Artistic and creative thinking in general are considered to be both threatening and dangerous. It is the artist who is the first to be censored—or even eradicated in some extreme senses—in times of political conflict, and sometimes the composer is the most feared of all. As Ong demonstrates in his groundbreaking work *Orality and Literacy*, the power is where the sound is, and not the image: we can close our eyes to the image, but we can't close our ears in a similar way (Ong 1995: 32). The image can be static, whereas the sound is always vital.

Just as music can signify conformity to accepted socioaesthetic beliefs, it can also be used as a tool to represent a rejection of conformity, and it is often through an expression of independent identity against the norm that results in musical immortalisation. We can refer listen to Joe Cocker's song *N'oubliez Jamais* ('never forget') which involves directly the ability of music to capture dissatisfaction with the accepted norm and a desire for radical change. A great deal of musical power, however, remains in the hands of musical institutions. Power is not in the 'knowledge' implicit in the music itself, but in the hands of the people who have control over that knowledge. Bourdieu uses in reference to the arts specific patterns of social inculcation perpetuated by artistic institutions to embody a certain approach to the arts, one which sees the behaviour of a few superior to the behaviour of the masses. In particular, he focuses on the 'pure' gaze which is inculcated into our culture during the educational process. He demonstrates that this objective approach to art has little to do with the artwork itself, but is part of a social process connected to the *institution* involved in the perpetuation of this behaviour. In his own words: "l'expérience de l'œuvre d'art comme immédiatement dotée de sens et de valeur est un effet de l'accord entre les deux faces de la même institution historique, l'*habitus* cultivé et le champ artistique, qui se fondent mutuellement : étant donné que l'œuvre d'art n'existe en tant que telle, c'est-à-dire en tant qu'objet symbolique dote de sens et de valeur, que si elle est appréhendée par des spectateurs dotés de la disposition et de la compétence esthétiques qu'elle exige tacitement, on peut dire que s'est l'œil de l'esthète qui constitue l'œuvre d'art comme telle, mais à condition de rappeler aussitôt qu'il ne peut le faire que dans la mesure où il est lui-même le produit d'une longue histoire collective, c'est-à-dire de l'invention progressive du « connaisseur », et individuelle, c'est-à-dire d'une fréquentation prolongée de l' œuvre d'art" (1998 : 472).

Examples of the power of cultural institutions to perpetuate certain socially based ideals seems to be most readily presented in the dramatic and devastating imposition of European culture on ethnic cultures during the colonial period and the imperialist ethic which supported it. We don't have to look far back into history to demonstrate models of cultural devastation: *apartheid* in South Africa decimated the symbolic life of the indigenous inhabitants because all forms of cultural practice including rituals and music were simply destroyed, suppressed or ridiculed as inferior. Ballet, opera, and the European classical musical tradition were imported to help sustain the cultural existence of the white invaders, and the native majority were of course excluded mostly because of restrictions from the colonists, but also because it was simply irrelevant to the lives of the indigenous population. In South Africa, as in Europe, these art-forms excluded the black population because of the social status inculcated into them by the institution. These new art-forms themselves couldn't have had any intrinsic value anyway: people have to be taught to apply them with specific values, and the South African white population did not make a great effort to achieve this.

In the desire to inscribe all knowledge permanently in an otherwise fragile cultural fabric, forms of notation have been developed, particularly for musical texts. In looking across the last centuries, and at a break-neck speed in the twentieth century, new forms of notation have been put forward to determine the quality and length of musical

sound. In the middle-ages, musical notation was actually a product of the reading process: symbols which were present in the Latin text began to be used as memory tools for the melody of the chants. In that period forming melodies and reading written text formed part of the same process. Through the centuries which followed, the complex system of *neumes* became through a gradual system of abstraction the musical notation system we know today (although the search for more precise forms of musical notation had started earlier than this). Although they formed in the beginning one and the same process of reading, where meaning and music coincided at the moment of performance, the systems began to be viewed as arbitrary. This all formed part of the process of the literalisation of western culture: 'empty signifiers' playing a static intermediary process, a process which occurred very gradually. Early notation systems of the Baroque age were still highly embedded in practice. Factors such as the improvised chordal accompaniment and melodic decorations were filled in by performers. Even today a certain element of 'interpretation' still allows the performers to make the music their own, significant for an individual performance. As part of the general paradigm which evolved during and after the classical era, the disembedding of the musical text has seen ever increasing complexity in the twentieth century resulting in the performer becoming the shallow intermediary for the expression of an individual composer's will. An interesting comparison here involves an observation of the form of notation which has developed in Indonesia, generally used for recording Javanese gamelan melodies. This system, known as *balungan*, provides the performers with a basic melodic outline consisting of numbers ordered in groups of four. All the other elements, such as the colotomic (cyclically repeating) gong structure and all other instrumental embellishments which function to flesh out the music, is improvised according to traditions which are readily susceptible to temporal and regional change. This allows the music to retain both a strong connection to the antique Javanese gamelan tradition, and also new developments in instrumental style which come and go as fashion pleases. The complexity of the music is achieved through this elaboration, and is much more complex than the simple system of numbers the notation implies. The question of continued development of the *balungan* system and the standardisation of instrumental tuning (at the moment it is still difficult to find gamelan orchestras which have exactly the same tuning, even regarding intervals separating the notes of the scale) is still being debated in contemporary Indonesian culture; there are both Javanese academics who want to follow the western trend of standardisation of all instrument notation and those who want to retain the freedom *balungan* allows. I Wayan Sadra, a Balinese composer who has been living and working in Surakarta (Java) at the STSI (*Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia* – Indonesian Arts College)l comments on this quandary being faced by contemporary composers:

> We face a dilemma. On one hand we are concerned with the lack of an extensive notation for *Karawitan*, but at the same time we realise that notation is not very important. In fact, the absence of it enriches our tradition by allowing many possible interpretations… When using notation, the composer and the musicians must agree what the notation represents and how it will be used. (Sadra 1998: 22)

On Bali there seems to be far less problems in this respect. The only system of notation used there is similar to the one used by the Javanese, although the composers I interviewed were unanimous in telling me that they never used it: the only function was an academic one (it was necessary for them to use it for their end of degree compositions, although it essentially served no purpose outside of this). The Balinese oral tradition holds a vast array of traditional melodies in the collective cultural subconscious, although the playing styles have been continually changed throughout the twentieth century, becoming continuously more embellished and baroque in structure. The contrast between disembedded western musical texts and embedded Balinese texts seems clear. The western 'texts' which are perpetuated within the classical music institutions have been disembedded from a particular time and place thanks to our elaborate system of notation, whereas Balinese texts are able to adapt continuously to the changing needs of its culture. Our classical music has become a relatively elite and somewhat esoteric pursuit for many (in some places more than others), whereas Balinese 'classical' music remains strongly popular among a widely-ranged Balinese (and international) audience.

In our musical institutions of today, the 'score' is used in its non-performed format to discuss the way meaning is transmitted through harmony and musical structures which can be found in them. Western musical theorists continue to comment on the 'liberating' power of notation, in that it 'democratises' the musical experience: anyone in culture has the possibility to learn to 'read' music just as they can learn to read books, and become therefore musically 'literate'. Such comments, however, are highly problematic because they assume that musical 'literacy' is a basic given of musical understanding. Ethnomusicology has long ago demonstrated that we remain one of the only cultures in the world with such a regimented form of notation. I would like to posit that being brought up with a strict system of notation rather than a series of improvised guidelines influences the way we experience music. Rather than seeing our system of notation as 'democratising' music, it would be more appropriate to view it as a part of our *musical episteme* which can actually restrict us, limiting the way we can interact 'musically' with the world in certain situations. This became clear to me after viewing how much easier it was for students of Javanese gamelan who had never had any musical experience of the 'notated' kind than it was for musicians with a

formal background. The contexts in which musical notation is taught in our culture also has to be considered: Who is in control of the education of this musical system? Where is the power? Who teaches it? Where is it taught? Notation in our culture in many cases restricts the access of certain people to 'higher' musical knowledge, and allows those who do have access to it to maintain a *status quo* on what is considered to be truly 'musical'. Many of the Balinese people I have spoken to consider notation a 'waste of time', primarily because as soon as a piece is performed in a different spatial and temporal environment, it is *ipso facto* different. What would be the point of notating something which could be equally as easily remembered and passed on to a new set of musicians in a form which suits a new environment? As has been demonstrated here, notation is an important epistemological issue which has to be considered in any discussion of the disembedding process. We'll be reviewing and developing some issues involved with the embedded musical sign and text to explore the role of *Top-Down* stimuli and its epistemic realisation in the field of musicology.

4.2 Cultural Competence: *perspectives on music and society*

'Cultural competence' is a term introduced by Bourdieu to refer to the ability individuals have on the one hand to react to given works of art in a sociocultural context and on the other to create art to express the interactions they have with their environment. In this part of the chapter we'll be taking a particular look at these sociocultural 'interactions' and how they influence our 'cultural competence'. The discussion of music as a tool of social power has been introduced in terms of an oppressive *Top-Down* western musical paradigm. I will also be discussing the way music can be used as a dynamic tool by individual artists or groups (forming movements) who actively bring about cultural change. I refer to this as the *Bottom-Up* perspective on artistic or musical influence. In this chapter division the intention is to develop the *Top-Down* and *Bottom-Up* perspectives on the role of the arts in sociocultural change and to apply them to particular examples in Balinese culture. During an interview held in Bali, I Wayan Dibia (an important choreographer and academic based at the STSI in Denpasar) said that the composer bridges two important and contrasting poles. Firstly, the composer plays a vital role in perpetuating traditional culture. Thanks to terminology adopted from language education, I shall refer to this as the 'Top-Down' approach to artistic creation which involves 'outside of the head knowledge' (ibid.: 18). In other words, knowledge which is perpetuated for purposes not under the composer's own control, i.e. for the Indonesian state or for the interests of Balinese political goals within that state. Secondly, the composer plays a role in providing its culture with dynamic new models which are better adapted to a changed environment. I refer to this as the 'Bottom-Up' approach to artistic creation which involves 'inside the head knowledge' (ibid.: 63). We finish up, therefore, with a basis for the discussion of change in Balinese performance: to what extent does contemporary (Balinese) art work from *Top-Down*, i.e. as a sociocultural imposition on the artist who blindly perpetuates a certain way of thinking and experiencing reality, or from *Bottom-Up*, with the artist as a dynamic and active individual who questions the surrounding systems and presents his/her own image of that reality? According to Dibia, the composer retains a strategic position between perpetuation and innovation, a relationship which is never entirely easy to balance: if an artist's work has a tendency towards innovation, then he or she may have difficulty finding an audience. If, on the other hand, the artist has a tendency towards perpetuation, this could lead to stasis and eventual artistic stagnation. It will be suggested that cycles have taken place in contemporary Balinese art dependent on particular sociopolitical situations: forms emerging from the 'Bottom-Up', often with enormous popular support because of their dynamic nature, end up under the control of institutions and the state and become increasingly more influenced from the 'Top-Down', losing therefore their popularity and becoming elitist. It will be suggested that the cycle is continuing and that new forms emerging from the 'Bottom-Up' are being created by the Balinese youth of today. It will also be suggested that cycles have taken place in contemporary Balinese art dependent on particular sociopolitical situations: forms emerging from the 'Bottom-Up', often with enormous popular support because of their dynamic nature, end up under the control of the state and its institutions (such as the STSI in Denpasar) and become increasingly more influenced from the 'Top-Down', losing therefore their popularity and becoming elitist or 'sanitised' of regional variation. This cycle is continuing: new forms emerging from the 'Bottom-Up' are being created by the Balinese youth of today, just as forms which emerged from the 'Bottom-Up' have changed emphasis due to the imposition of society to become 'Top-Down' in structure, being today imposed by society rather than emerging from a dynamic context truly 'Balinese' in origin. We begin however with a discussion of the *Top-Down* restriction on musical behaviour inherent in western musical institutions such as conservatories and universities.

For the specific purpose of describing the way 'artistic' (and thus musical) knowledge is perpetuated in our culture, Bourdieu introduced the term *Cultural Competence* which can be interpreted as the ability to appreciate art and to perform other culturally accepted activities such as musical appreciation and performance. Here he is referring to more than simply the educational system that teaches particular artistic skills, but also the way society at large instigates an approach to art in all people, be that at home or in an educational institution. It represents a general feeling towards culturally accepted activities, and can be sensed in our society in a multitude of different

ways, depending often on how the individual is taught to appreciate art. Although we shouldn't forget the incredibly large diversification of attitudes (basically one for every individual), we can generalise about certain levels of *Cultural Competence* which are often connected to other social factors such as social class and income bracket, i.e. a member of the *petite bourgeoisie* would probably have more affinity with Mozart than the Sex Pistols. In his important work *Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception*, Bourdieu discusses the matter of social distinction, pointing out that very often what is perpetuated as being a 'natural' inheritance of certain basic human skills (such as performing European classical music) are actually dependant on the rules or specific processes of cultural transmission and training which are only available to a select few. *Cultural Competence* is, therefore, an acquired skill inculcated within society which is very often perpetuated as a natural ability. Our culture instigates a programme of domination by legitimising certain practices as culturally superior to others. The institutions, or rather the people representing them, assume that this superiority is *natural* and not a part of social instigation. Further, the inculcation of *Cultural Competence* negatively influences those involved in the creation of certain forms of art which are not socially legitimated (such as rock or folk music performance), forcing those involved to see their practice as inferior. Bourdieu demonstrates the way the perpetuation of *Cultural Competence* through the French educational system presents itself: "The role of the educational system…is particularly important…not because it offers systematic programmes in art appreciation…but rather because it tends to cultivate a certain familiarity with legitimate culture and to inculcate a certain attitude towards works of art" (1993: 23). An obvious example in our culture of the inculcation of certain—ultimately arbitrary—attitudes to cultural activities is the regrettable distinction which can still be sensed between popular and classical music. Some of these basic attitudes are still highly prevalent in musical institutions such as conservatories. If we turn the cultural telescope onto ourselves, the 'disembedded' musical textuality implicit in the performance of European classical music is often seen as being a 'higher' form of art.

I would now like to discuss the ways in which certain levels of *Cultural Competence* are taught, or how attitudes to art are restricted or encouraged by institutional systems in given societies. Firstly, spatial segregation plays a role in segregating art to particular environments. In our culture, 'art' is very often confined to certain culturally ordained spaces; for the graphic arts, this becomes the art gallery or museum, whereas for music, concert halls or theatres. A certain attitude to these places is socially inculcated to help a division of society feel 'in the right place' and the rest negatively inculcated to the extent that they feel out of place. Although spatiality forms an important part in the Balinese performing arts, segregation of the art forms in terms of negative social inculcation occurs to a much smaller degree than in western European culture (although it should be noted that women in Bali are generally not encouraged to be artistically creative in any field outside of dance). Art—especially music—forms a part of cultural activities which involve a large section of the community. Music is often used in combination with ritual-based activities, which makes it an essential part of the lives of all Balinese people. Apartheid in South Africa is a particularly extreme example of segregation. It involved the spatial and economic segregation separating the indigenous black culture from the colonial western culture. This provides us with an impetus to form a list of other important forms of segregation within the arts. I have noted a number of major forms of segregation which can be found in our culture, and there are probably many more. They are as follows: economic segregation, educational segregation, familial segregation, linguistic segregation and musical segregation. With economic segregation individuals are segregated away from certain types of performance because of the fact that they simply do not have the finances to attend the event. Economic segregation cannot be considered a major part in Balinese attainment of general *Cultural Competence*: most activities are free, and the community often work together to support their gamelan orchestras, dancers and other musicians. Educational segregation involves the way people are segregated from lifestyles or work environments because of what or where they have studied. Within our culture educational segregation is implicit in all forms of artistic segregation, and the educational system can have a direct influence on the attainment of *Cultural Competence*. In Bali, the type of education one has does play a role in the attainment of certain types of *Cultural Competence*. Students who attend the SMKI, for example, have a better chance of having a career as a musician or a dancer. Familial segregation is obviously another factor to be considered. As mentioned above, familial pressure can lead a student to be influenced in choosing a non-culture based, materialistic educational stream, such as economics and finances as opposed to the performing arts or languages. Familial segregation, however, has a more social function. Familial ties can restrict or encourage contact with certain cultural forms. Working class families are often unwittingly restricted access to certain art forms because of their social status. In Bali the caste system does play a role in religion and social life like in India so the caste system could be viewed as a type of familial segregation. In Bali, however, a large percentage of the population (around 95%) belongs to the lowest caste. Perhaps as a result of this, the arts generally remain open to them. With linguistic segregation, the way you speak can affect the type of culture you are 'permitted' to experience, although this is becoming a smaller issue in contemporary Europe. Bilingual countries adopt certain languages for certain contexts, which can form artistic segregation for those who are not

adept at using the language in question. Examples include English for the business world, and French for upper middle-class cultural activities such as classical music concerts or the opera. Finally musical segregation involves the segregation caused by your listening habits. People who listen to punk music are generally segregated socially from those who enjoy listening to Mozart. The music you listen to is closely related to your *Cultural Competence* as will be described in more detail further on.

Musical institutions such as conservatories and music departments at universities play a role in the segregation of the arts. Rigid traditions emerging from a few hundred years of western musical history play the dominant role in segregating music in a culture which supports many different types of musicality. The institution perpetuating classical music negatively inculcates people against their own practices. There are a number of factors which help to justify this elitist ideology: classical music communicates something transcendent of its environment, that this transcendent thing can be taught, that this type of music has special qualities which are not present in other forms, that the musical message is the same as it was when the music was created, and that only unique individuals have the capacity to compose or perform this music. Inculcating and perpetuating certain types of behaviour as superior to others justifies this elitism and helps perpetuate the notion of artist and non-artist which is so essential to the perpetuation of our culture. Here, music becomes an instrument of political power and repression, certainly in terms of the institutions which perpetuate 'age-old' music traditions, maintaining a *status quo* under an elite group. In Chapter One (1.91) we introduced a dynamic model to assist us in fleshing out the *musical episteme* which Attali developed to describe how music is used as an instrument of power in our diversified society. His model refers firstly to the way music is used to *make us forget* matters at hand ['faire oublier'], in other words to give expression to the desire for stasis in a society which changes so rapidly. Secondly, music is used to *make us believe* ['faire croire']. Here Attali is describing the attempt our institutions make to convince us to accept certain ideas unquestionably such as the natural superiority of the cultural icon in question, in our case western formal music. Thirdly, he refers to the mass-production of musical material in the popular music market which is used to *force us into silence* ['faire taire'] (1977: 39). An embodied musical sign embedded in the behaviour and beliefs of a culture signifies according to a set of 'socially moulded' rules that influence the way musicality is experienced. Many of those who choose to study music as a possible future profession accept a set of epistemological givens relating to what is and what isn't music, sometimes including particular value judgements relating to whether or not certain types of 'musical behaviour' are more relevant than others to be analysed in a disembedded environment, purely on the basis of its sound. In the case of the pervading western paradigm, that involves a specific period of western music spanning just a few centuries. During this period we developed our music notation system which has been taken on by many musicologists in a structural fashion; from some perspectives the score is believed to 'contain' the meaning of the music entirely independent of the performance of its performance. In interviewing Balinese young people, I discovered a set of beliefs which was almost exactly the opposite: their 'classical' music is considered in terms of *folk knowledge* to be a 'regional' phenomenon, whereas Anglo-American pop is considered to be 'universal'. This would suggest that a dialogue between structural (*fixed*) and phenomenological (*flexible*) methods could play a positive role in providing the musicological world with a more diversified set of tools for analysis. This epistemological division is still creating a schism between the disciplines of 'musicology' and 'ethnomusicology' which seem to be almost dichotomously separated into *product* and *process*-based approaches. Despite continuing effort on the part of ethnomusicological theorists to demonstrate how important musical epistemologies adopted in other cultures are in understanding *human* musicality, musicology as it is taught in western schools, universities and conservatories still to a large extent teaches its students to understand all music in terms of western musical givens. At the same time, this given is an essential part of our *musical episteme* and therefore it may remain resistant to change for a time to come. We have an elite class of individuals who understand music according to the set of rules and standards which are particular to western culture. An interesting observation, however, is the reverse side to this coin: in learning this theoretical apparatus, musicians "learn to renounce one's responses, to discover that the musical phenomenon is to be understood mechanistically, mathematically" (McClary 1985: 50). This leads to the realisation that non-trained listeners are prevented from talking about—or at least to be considered qualified to discuss—music, even in its social or expressive dimensions. On the same token, trained musicians are often prevented from talking about the social dimensions of music because meaning is considered to be embedded in the formal transcendence of musical rules abstracted from a living context, that "music is a strictly self-contained structure" (ibid.). What we are left with, then, is an elite class of specialists restricted by a very particular western *episteme*.

In Chapter One (1.4) my discussion of *multimedial* and *multisensorial* musicality was intended to demonstrate that both performers and 'listeners' play an active role in musical signification. The music has to be 'interpreted', brought to life for an individual performance; the performer is not simply reciting an existing text, but sensually realising it in a temporal and spatial environment. At best only in the conservative circles of western classical music and at worst as an aspect of general performance praxis, the viewer/listener of an artistic event is still seen

as playing a relatively passive role in the process of signification; as the 'meaning' inheres in the musical work the audience can only sit silently and wait for any signification to wash over them during the performance. Developments in the contemporary arts of the early twentieth century provided an active dialogue against this static view of musical communication. Thanks to the Dada artists at *Cabaret Voltaire* in Switzerland and in the simultaneous poetry of the surrealists in France, all of which took place at a turning point in artistic development in Europe, aleatorical (random) processes were introduced. Aleatory is more than simply the 'aesthetic' appreciation of random processes: it forced the audiences of the time to create their own meaning for the events which took place on stage. This was an artistic philosophy which completely turned inside-out all traditional ideas about a passive audience experiencing a static set of signifiers inhering in particular European works.

Movements like Dada didn't only function to demonstrate the importance of individuals finding their own meaning in performance. They also made use of ritual-like practice some of which demonstrated that unique types of mutual communion take place when the knowledge expressed in performance is in some way *shared.* It is thanks to such 'shared' textual models that cultures are able to perpetuate themselves, in other words it is what the participator recognises of him/herself in the art work which is of interest to the analyst, not transcendent qualities which remains the primary goal of much structuralist musicology. John Blacking notes the following on the shared knowledge implicit in much artistic communication:

> Art lives *in* men and women, to be brought out into the open by special processes of interaction. Thus the signs have no meaning until that meaning is shared, so that the *processes of sharing* become as crucial to the semiotics of music as the sonic product which provides the focus for analysis. (Blacking 1979: 192)

Because of a series of complex sociocultural factors the arts are not always treated in this way within our societies. Attali considers *Noise* to be the precise opposition to ideal and perfectly symmetrical cultural structures. By applying the metaphor to our lives, *Noise* is the ultimate state of disorder. We fear the potential chaos which lurks dangerously close but we constantly attempt to avoid it by inventing and reinventing recognisable sound. *Noise* is deliberately created as a tool against the *status quo,* to subvert the unquestioned acceptance of a regime. This is the exact reason composers and other artists are directly targeted in fascist regimes: they have the power to create and perpetuate *Noise* which is sometimes a strong tool for resistance. It is the power of the single voice against the *status quo*; the borders separating *Noise* and Music form the boundaries of the conflict between tradition, innovation and cultural change. As the reader will learn, this is artistic creation influenced from the *Bottom-Up.*

Each culture has its own unique way to 'make use' of musicality. Within our culture it has been used as a vehicle to transmit certain types of knowledge in a myriad array of different forms stretching from its adoption as *muzak*—a late-twentieth century term to refer to scientifically tested aural environments which supposedly help production in factories and other work-based environments—to the hypnotic dynamism of *House* music in today's discos. The cultural apparatus which creates these circumstances for the realisation of musical experience assume that certain traits are common among members of its culture. Comparing the activities of rap-musicians in the subway with Balinese secular gamelan compositions is not at all far-fetched: the cultural forms transmit information that its listeners want or need to hear. The potential of such multimedial musical events are used to the advantage of certain members of a culture. Within our culture the whole mass-media industry and its perpetuation of what Attali refers to as "une musique assourdissante et syncrétique" (1977: 39) is churned out for the economic advantage of the market which finances it. This knowledge can also be restricted to an elite audience or social class.

In a Balinese context, gamelan music is not about rebellion, just as the new fusion forms of pop combining traditional and pop-influenced music aren't necessarily about changing their culture in any radical sense: the Balinese culture may be overrun with western music, but it is being used in a dynamic sense and is not generally viewed negatively by Balinese society. As introduced in chapter division 1.8, the Balinese have two major terms they use to name the figure of the composer, titles which clearly demonstrate the presence of both *Top-Down* and *Bottom-Up* influence in Balinese music. These terms are *pencipta* and *penusun. Pencipta* can be translated as 'creator' and is most similar to our own image of the composer who creates individual works and uses his or her own style. This word derives from the Indonesian root word 'cipta' which means creative force or creative power. This can be clearly related to the individual western composer working from *Bottom-Up.* A *penusun,* in comparison, is a composer who uses already existing material to create new works, and could be translated into our language most correctly as 'arranger'. Here the composer is influenced by his or her surrounding musical discourse. This, of course, does not undermine the creative ability of either of the two types of composers; rather it demonstrates a clear recognition of these contrasting types of creativity that are strongly represented in Balinese culture. Also, we cannot forget the fact that the two labels can be applied to the same person as he or she performs different functions, i.e. someone is never necessarily always a *pencipta.* Artists in Bali can even perform the same role in the same composition, in other words be partially 'innovative' with totally new material and partially 'traditional' by using existing material in different sections of the same work. The contrast, however, comes in the nuances in signification these words possess. Both types of creativity are considered equally 'creative'. This is not

the case in our culture where an arranger is generally seen as a non-mediating party who performs a relatively static function. In the following discussion we will be looking at various contrasting expressions of both *Bottom-Up* and *Top-Down* musical change in Balinese culture, exploring the ways musical traditions have gradually moved from *Bottom-Up* to *Top-Down*, from the dynamic work of individual artists to the stifling environment of institutionalisation, after which new forms of avant-garde are invented from the *Bottom-Up* and the process continues.

4.3 The *Gong Kebyar* Phenomenon

The contemporary *Gong Kebyar* orchestra, the ensemble which is today viewed by the Balinese as 'classical' in as far as this term can be applied to Balinese music, has a long and varied history dating from early on in the twentieth century. It has certainly witnessed a dramatic and sudden shift from *Top-Down* to *Bottom-Up* impetus towards artistic creation, which was in turn followed by a gradual development towards *Top-Down* sociocultural influence. Before the introduction of what I'll refer to as the 'gong kebyar' aesthetic, Balinese gamelan music was relatively staid and processional, used for ritual purposes and as a form of entertainment for the Balinese aristocracy. Before the advent of *Gong Kebyar* music and dance forms were generally based on traditional stories, intended as an accompaniment to dramatic action; music and dance were largely subordinated to the dramatic content. In the early days of Balinese gamelan, music was very much dictated from the *Top-Down.* Around the turn of the century, tables were on the point of dramatic change. An important development within the Balinese culture, one which led to many changes in contemporary Balinese music, took place when the gamelan ensembles spread across the island began to be reclaimed by the Balinese before the Dutch could take them. This represented a major move from aristocracy to village culture and was to usher in a new musical movement on Bali. Before Dutch colonialisation there existed on Bali a complex system of patronage and performance which began at the highest aristocratic level and passed on down to the villagers. When the Dutch were finally to take-over the existing aristocracy, however, the complex system of ritual and performance did not simply disappear. It merely changed hands.

After the control of Bali passed completely into Dutch hands, a colonial administration was quickly introduced in Singaraja, the city in the North of the island which then housed the major port to Bali. The original Balinese nobility—those who hadn't participated in the *puputan* (ritual mass suicide)—became figureheads who were manipulated by the Dutch for their own interests. Patronage of the arts by the upper-caste families did not stop altogether directly after the Dutch administration was firmly in place, but it gradually diminished all over Bali and as a result of this a great deal of performing artists who were earlier supported within the walls of the palaces had to find their income through other sources. Many artistic heirlooms were intentionally destroyed by the aristocracy still present simply to avoid them coming into the hands of the Dutch. Those that were not burnt were passed over to the control of local villages, which meant that a great deal of the gamelan orchestras also ended up under the control of the people. Some of these old orchestras were kept in their original state, although many were recast in the form of a vital new type of gamelan which will be described further on in more detail. Many of the traditional ensembles enjoyed by the aristocracy and the village community alike were to become less significant and faded into the past. An important orchestra of traditional gamelan instruments known as *Gamelan Gong Gédé* was still played for traditional purposes by many village ensembles, although very often they were reduced in size (McPhee 1966: 18). The traditional repertoire remained a strong element of Balinese music and melodies originally played on the *Gong Gédé* are still performed, but these days in an adapted form on the *Gong Kebyar*, an orchestra which was radically new in the 1920s and 30s but which is now a considered a 'klasik' (classical) form of musical expression.

Although the Dutch had taken power, the horror of the *puputan* led them to deal with Bali as sensitively as they could and in any case wide-scale plantations for the purpose of profit for the Dutch were impossible because of the hilly Balinese landscape. Although many of the aristocrats still existed, they had become only symbolic pawns for Dutch control, meaning that power had passed into the hands of the villagers. As mentioned, the reduction of royal patronage was not all negative: many major ensembles moved back to the control of the villages and community organisations. What had begun as an elite art had become a popular one. Although the villagers had always had access to a great deal of performative literature, this development led to radical changes in how the arts were taught and the role they would play in Balinese life. Tenzer comments on the fact that music became an important symbolic activity in the life of every Balinese person: "As the role of music grew in secular life, aesthetic criteria and performance standards took on a new importance as gamelan clubs, sensing that a high level of professionalism was a great boon to outside reputation and civic pride in their villages, strove to acquire the best teachers, learn the most modern new pieces, and master ever-increasing levels of musicianship and virtuosity" (Tenzer 1995: 1). A new type of musical aesthetic had been born, one based not on the perpetuation of an aristocratic system, but instead on the symbolic expression of musical structures everyone could relate to. From the

Bottom-Up Balinese villagers had for the first time complete control over their music, and this was to produce radical textual change comparable to the *avant-garde musical text* introduced in Chapter Two.

In North Bali, where the new colonial government had been installed, there was a cultural storm of change and development. Many new gamelan clubs were formed and competitive behaviour between the groups became something which caught on, changing the way the different regions of Bali would 'compete', representing a sort of symbolic combat which performed a similar role to sports in the West. The flamboyant and vitally competitive nature of the new gamelan form became a great passion within the Balinese community, and some consider that a new gamelan was created in reaction to this development. As Bandem notes: "its inspiration was competitive pride" (Bandem 1981: 74). This was a vital new form of music which represented far more than simply a 'reflection' of Balinese culture at that time. It was a dynamic cultural force pushing from the *Bottom-Up* which was to irrevocably change the face of Bali. The word *Kebyar* can be literally translated as 'bursting' into flame (like a fire) or to the dynamic process of a flower blooming, which is an appropriate analogy for the music itself as it is filled with sudden bursts of sound and electrifying changes. It emerged in the period of artistic ferment in North Bali discussed above, and then spread at a lightning tempo across the island replacing the existing forms: older gamelan orchestras such as *Gong Gédé* were often melted down and reformed into the *Kebyar* groups whose musical style eventually was to become the basis for practically all contemporary Balinese music. A vital *Bottom-Up* influence towards change seemed to be encouraging individuals to express their desires musically, and in Chapter Two we discussed the dynamic potential of *Gong Kebyar*'s musical form *Kreasi Baru* to act as a 'Rite of Modernisation' on its own. The new *Gong Kebyar* musical style brought with it a breakdown of traditional forms, and represented an important epistemological development in Balinese musical thought. At this time music originally composed for the older orchestras was still performed, particularly in a ritual context, so it is not as if the Balinese people were totally rejecting their past. They were essentially rethinking traditional elements to suit a rapidly changing environment.

Summing up, the Balinese revelled in the excitement caused by the development of the new form. Rivalry between Balinese villages moved from armed combat to a more peaceful form of resolving conflicts: out doing one another in impressive large-scale musical contests became a generally accepted and greatly loved form of competition. From *Bottom-Up* thanks to a dynamic form of musical development an important alternative had been found for an outdated *episteme* based on a royal family which had been practically wiped out by the colonial intruders. Individual performers with impressive musical or dance technique in these remarkable events became 'mega-stars' in the sense of pop music idols in contemporary western culture; still today virtuosic individuals become the pride and joy of the villages they represent. *Gong Kebyar*, and its accompanying dance forms, was so much more than simply a musical form: it represented an entirely new way for the Balinese to relate to their environment and to one another. It became a useful cultural 'tool' in the sense described in Chapter Two to adapt to the rapid sociopolitical changes the twentieth century brought with it. In many ways it still plays that role, but unfortunately the form has developed to such a degree that its 'klasik' status puts it out of the reach of an average Balinese young person. The youth of today lack the specialisation necessitated by the music academies which have taken the role played earlier by the villages. These institutions have now become the place where musical innovation and change takes place. We observe, then, a move from the art forms subsidised by royal patronage external to the desire of individual artists (*Top-Down* enforcement) to artistic power in the hands of the villagers (*Bottom-Up*) with innovation in the hands of the musicians, and then back again to *Top-Down* artistic development as the power moves to societal control through the institution of the STSI.

So what did *Gong Kebyar* offer? How did it facilitate change? How was it made use of as a tool to incite development? *Gong Kebyar* music was freer in structure, and offered to the new composers and choreographers a great deal more creative freedom. McPhee who was in Bali during this momentous period describes it as "a connected series of melodies in different moods that are given new and glittering orchestration," referring here to the *Kebyar Duduk* music which was contemporaneous to the orchestra itself and had the same thematic background and musical structure (1970: 23). Instead of the music being moulded to an already choreographed dance, in this new style the "music and dance were merged together so that the changes in dynamics, the number of repetitions, and alterations in speed were fixed for both the musician and the dancer" (McPhee 1970: 61). Here the figure of the individual composer was introduced which was at that time new to Bali. This meant that individuals became famous for their art-works and were given the opportunity to teach their works in *banjar* around the island to whoever wanted to learn them, and they were sometimes even commissioned to write new works for particular events. As many of the old gamelan orchestras were melted down to produce the *Kebyar* ensemble, traditional works were adapted for this musical style, resulting in changes in the tradition but also a confirmation of influence from traditional music in the *Kebyar* style. There is no doubt that the rapid emergence of this new form irrevocably changed the face of the Balinese music scene, although a number of theories exist as to when, where and why this movement took place

The actual dates around which *Gong Kebyar* originated are difficult to pinpoint; there are many discrepancies among Balinese music historians involving time and place suggesting that there is some ambiguity as to its true origin. McPhee commented on the fact that little is known about early *Kebyar* music, although he does pinpoint the December of 1915 as the time of the first true performance. A number of different theories exist as to how, why and where the *Gong Kebyar* gamelan orchestra and its accompanying music and dance came into existence. I have included a summary of some of the major theories I discovered below. Although each one presents a different conception of the reasons for the origin of this music, because of the possibility of each of the theories being true it is difficult to make definitive solutions about which one is the most correct. I believe that each different theory has an element of truth, and that the ultimate story was in any case multi-layered, answering different needs and providing the Balinese with a new medium of musical communication, one updated to contemporary Balinese social and cognitive development. In my opinion, however, the advent of *Gong Kebyar* was primarily the result of a 'radical' cultural *model.* By *radical model* I'm referring to extremes in cultural expression which answer sudden environmental change, be that physical or circumstantial (this will be explained in more detail in chapter division 4.35). The theories are as follows:

4.31 *The 'times are a changing' theory*

This theory is probably the most common, and we have already suggested that the radical change brought about by the fall of the Balinese aristocracy and the following installation of colonial power has led to this change. The gamelan orchestras moved back to the villagers and for the first time villagers had great control over their performances. This led to an entirely new musical aesthetic based less on pomp, majesty and the perpetuation of an aristocratic class, and more on the dynamics of individual villagers who were able to express the sense of change inherent in this period.

4.32 *The Chamber Orchestra Theory*

The possible influence of classical western music on the development of the *Kebyar* musical style is quite an interesting one, although it is ultimately impossible to verify. Nyoman Wenten, a Balinese choreographer and composer living and teaching in California, communicated these ideas to me personally in an interview. Wenten considers the origin of *Gong Kebyar* to have arisen thanks to the presence of the European chamber orchestra which was brought to Indonesia (and thus Bali) thanks to the presence of Dutch colonialists in North Bali (in the port city Singaraja) which is where the first performances of *Gong Kebyar* are said to have taken place. Wenten refers in particular to the excitement brought about by European music among Balinese musicians. This is another example of the intercultural use of external art forms to help develop one's own—and perhaps contrasting—agenda. This view, which I have referred to as *self-reflexive interculturality*, stands opposed to a paternalistic approach which suggests that western art forms were 'forced' onto the Balinese in some way against the will of the Balinese people. Wenten suggests that the Balinese made dynamic use of an instrumental orchestra filled with new and exciting sound material, dramatic cadences and change in volume, all of which have become elements of the *Gong Kebyar* style. For those of us who consider 'classical' music to be tame, modest and staid there is a lesson to be learnt about how differently music can be experienced if it is perceived in a contrasting epistemological and physical environment.

4.33 *The Artistic Ferment Theory*

Another popular theory stands against the concept that the Dutch helped in any way to bring about the change. Vitale suggested in an interview that he had difficulties with the idea that Dutch colonialism was the 'reason' for the development of the *Gong Kebyar* tradition. He prefers to draw an analogy with Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps* ['the Rite of Spring'], whose origin can be brought back to a general movement towards the spiritual and ritual expressed in a breakdown of 'rational' approaches to reality. This questioning of western thought was a reaction against the rise of empiricism and positivism, and an attraction to primeval rituals which embodied the movement against the stifling rationalism of the pervading episteme. Vitale notes that the exact opposite was taking place around the same time in Bali, leading to its best expression in early *Gong Kebyar* works. The Balinese were (according to Vitale) reacting against the authoritarian aristocratic system and were searching for freedom through vital and independent artistic expression. Here the enormous pomp of Balinese ritual was questioned and a new form of musical expression was brought into existence which allowed individuals to express themselves musically in a way that was not possible in the past. Vitale's point here is that performances such as 'The Rite of Spring' or the early *Gong Kebyar* competitions, were representations of general movements in art which had been present for many years, reaching a final point in those performances. *Gong Kebyar* was one of the steps on a long journey towards cultural change and development, one that was nonetheless incredibly important on that journey.

4.34 *The Dismembering of the Feudal State Secularisation Theory*

Another perspective on the origin of *Gong Kebyar* is that which favours the secularisation of the feudal state. This theory considers that the Balinese at the beginning of the twentieth century were experiencing an 'accelerated free

fall' from the 15th into the 20th century. In the feudal state aristocrats of Javanese origin fought over Bali, which became suddenly interrupted by Dutch colonial rule. Having always existed in a system which favoured ritualised realisations of musicality, when the feudal state broke down, individualisation was possible within the villages and this necessitated the development of *Gong Kebyar* as both a musical form, an orchestra and a playing style. During the feudal period, music was staid and comparatively static. The dancers wore masks which represented particular aristocratic or godly characters. After the secularisation of this form of expression, the face was no longer a mask "but a screen which show[ed] a succession of expressions that match the temper of the mask—dramatic, serene, vivacious, or seductive" (McPhee 1970: 23). McPhee, who seems to favour this approach, was on Bali while this was all taking place and witnessed the changes. His justification comes most likely from his comparison between the old forms of performance such as *Baris*, *Legong*, *Topeng* and *Sandaran*, which became incorporated into a single performance, "selected purely for the sake of effect and contrast." Here the secularisation of previously staid forms is the clearest.

4.35 *The Radical Model Theory*

The 'radical model' theory was introduced in Chapter Two in relation to the *Kreasi Baru* musical text. Since changes to the *Kebyar* orchestra are usually synonymous with changes to the *Kreasi Baru* text, it is logical to consider the same model. There is no doubt that artistic developments of this type are the result of dramatic epistemological change, brought about in all of the examples above by the imposition or the transferral of power either to or from the villagers. This type of 'radical' adaptation to new epistemological circumstances is known as 'avant-garde' artistic behaviour. I think however that a theory of 'radical models' is more appropriate in the case of Bali because *avant-garde* evokes the image of the non-accessible text, while on Bali the 'radical' new musical experiments were enormously popular despite their sudden contrast to the past. In referring to 'models' I mean musical texts (as introduced in Chapter Two) which can be used as examples for musical works by each new generation of composers. A popular model within our culture is the *sonata form* which developed quickly through the baroque, classical and romantic eras. In the twentieth century, however, it reached such a level of complexity that it became difficult for composers to express themselves using it; as such it has largely fallen out of use as a text by contemporary composers. With radical models, however, I'm referring to extremes in cultural phenomenon, the sonata form of which is not a good example. Individuals react and interact with their culture, and participate in the constantly changing body of knowledge which the members of a culture share, iconic knowledge which is expressed in cultural textuality, individual 'improvisations' on a theme. In Chapter Three we created a model for the 'embedded sign' and how this results in the process of cultural change. The *Generative Principles* of Bourdieu refer to a set of rules which influence the behaviour of members of a culture, showing individuals what is appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. These rules only act as guidelines, and they are automatically updated with each new generation. Sometimes, however, these principles cannot keep up with development necessitated by environmental and/or sociopolitical change; the existing set of rules become old hat or out-of-date. Sometimes radical cultural change is necessary. Very often artists are active participants in this rethinking process, and sometimes the work of individuals will catch on, suiting the taste of an audience requiring quick and total satisfaction. It is my belief that this is the best way to describe what happened on Bali, and also other radical avant-garde movements which were successful in influencing or radically changing their culture. This need for change around the turn of the century led to radical artistic experimentation, and it was one of these experiments which took off, a type of text which people found accessible, which through natural affinity and/or chance made sense in a way that no other text had in the past, suiting the new circumstances. The artists that produce work of this type take risks, and many of them fail, never receiving any credit for the innovative work they produce. In the case of the Balinese situation, the radical model seemed to make sense. Clearly the Balinese were ready for such a radical change after their existing *episteme* had been so suddenly changed by the Dutch. A musical text had been 'set into motion' in the Barthesian sense, one which was simply unstoppable (as *Bottom-Up* stimuli often are).

From *Bottom-Up* a new and vital dance style was to surface as part of the same sociocultural phenomenon as *Gong Kebyar*. It contrasted with previously existing styles in that it is was 'abstract' in the sense that it wasn't based on a traditional story and didn't use any existing narratives or interpretations. *Kebyar Duduk*, the name for this form, is a roller-coaster ride through different moods and emotions, fitting so perfectly the *Gong Kebyar* aesthetic. The *Kebyar Duduk* gamelan form arose four years after the early performances of the new *Gong Kebyar* orchestra. The king of Tabanan commissioned the *Kebyar* orchestra to perform at an important cremation ceremony. The creator of *Kebyar Duduk*, I Ketut Maria was so impressed by the performance that he began to compose his own works in this style. Maria was perhaps the most famous Balinese dancer of his generation: like many of his contemporaries, choreography and musical composition formed part of the same process. In 1925 Maria presented his first performance of *Kebyar Duduk.* The word 'duduk' in the title means 'to sit' in Indonesian; the dance is actually performed in a sitting position. Like the *Kebyar* music, *Kebyar Duduk* has 'no narrative to tell': the Kebyar dancer "presents a range of moods—from coquettishness to bashfulness, and from sweet imploring to anger" (Ballinger

1995: 65) which rings true for the *Gong Kebyar*, suggesting again that the *Kebyar* phenomenon reflected a general need for adaptation to radical change all over Bali. Its development represents the same expression of a move towards vital change from *Bottom-Up*. Ornstein notes that the *Gong Kebyar* ensemble "seems to demand periodic innovation," (1980: 1) and that it is thanks to developments in the accompanying musical form *Kreasi Baru* that this is possible. These adaptations include transformations of sacred forms for secular use like in the work *Panyembrama*, theatrical compositions, performance, experimental tuning systems, new instruments, and found objects, among many other forms (although aleatoricism is not common). The basic structural tenets inherent in the *Kreasi Baru* form have remained pretty much the same throughout the twentieth century, although at the moment the developments are so ornamented that Balinese music seems on the brink of another 'radical model' type development, one which could very well be based on the fusion of western and Balinese (popular) music. All good things must come to an end, however, and new compositions for the *Kebyar Duduk* dance style gradually stopped being composed in favour of other developments. The dance, however, was enormously significant and made an indelible mark on contemporary Balinese performance, bringing out the best in composers and choreographers alike. The downfall of new work began in the 1950s as choreographers were asked to compose dances in the *Kebyar* style for tourist performances. The concert tour organised by John Coast, which put Bali well and truly on the international tourist map, was a first step in this process. Existing contemporary *Gong Kebyar* works were reduced to an accessible length for a foreign audience, and new works were composed specifically for this purpose. A prime example is Maria's great composition *Oleg Tambulilingan* ('Bumble-bees'). This work is still performed in the same way today as it was then, suggesting a general stasis in *Kebyar* style performances, just as *Kebyar Trompong* performances have become antiques for weekly 'restoration' in Ubud for a tourist audience, every time the same choreography and musical style. *Bottom-Up* creativity, of course, has not stopped; it is only coming from another source these days. The exact nature of this source will form a topic of discussion further on.

Perhaps the most striking factor made unique by *Gong Kebyar* is the unique sense of theatricality (introduced in chapter division 1.4) which is characterised by a dynamic flamboyance. This theatricality was not something inherent in the dance or in particular ways of interacting in a vocal sense, but in a musical fashion, a way of interacting with musical instruments and an audience, where the movements one performs on the instrument become exaggerated to a form of theatricality which is intended to amuse the public and give the performer dynamic musical fulfilment. Manik, one of the first composers who introduced the *Gong Kebyar* form, was well-known because of the theatrical techniques he used while playing *kendang*, influencing one of the most important composers of the middle-generation, I Wayan Beratha, who was impressed by his performance "blurring the line between music and dance" (Vitale 1996: 16). This theatricality is still an incredibly important part of contemporary Balinese music and has influenced the three major generations of *Gong Kebyar* composers, the first, second and third generations. The first generation includes the work of I Wayan Beratha who instigated many developments in the form: some of these people still teach at the moment at the STSI in Denpasar, although they are now considered by many to be symbols of a generation gone by. The composers of the second generation are responsible for baroque developments on the *Kreasi Baru* form for *Kebyar* instruments. I Nyoman Windha and I Komang Astita are two major composers of this school. The third school consists of the composers of tomorrow who have recently graduated and are busy making a name for themselves on the international scene, like I Made Agus Wardana who works at the Indonesian Embassy in Brussels.

Gong Kebyar, for a western observer, seems to unite both popular and classical music worlds: it has the crowds, excitement, and mega-stars of pop music, and at the same time it has the intricacy of style and complexity of development of form which pop music seems to lack. A relatively large percentage of the Balinese population had at least some involvement in its performance. Indeed, its origin was possible thanks to the fact that the old gamelan were taken over by the villagers after the fall of the feudal system. *Gong Kebyar*, and its accompanying dance forms, was so much more than simply a musical form: it brought with it an entirely new way for the Balinese to relate to their environment and one another, and it was used as a tool to adapt to rapid sociopolitical and cultural changes that the twentieth century brought with it. In many ways it still plays that role, but unfortunately the form has developed to such a degree that its 'klasik' status puts it out of the reach of the average Balinese youth. These days they lack the specialisation required by the music academies which have taken the role played earlier by the villages and have therefore now become the institutions for musical innovation and change from *Top-Down*.

Bali is observing at the present moment a period of transition: a new generation of young people are demanding new types of musical communication which cannot be fulfilled by *Gong Kebyar*, primarily because it is not so accessible to them: one has to be a trained musician to reach the level necessary to be able to play contemporary *Kreasi Baru* compositions. Even for PKB events, these days the STSI sends out teachers and performers and the group chosen for a certain district has to specially train to even be able to enter the competition. There is an additional factor related to the sorts of music dominating the listening practices of the Balinese youth of today: it is difficult if not impossible for melodies from pop music to be produced on the *Gong Kebyar* orchestra. This is

restrictive because it doesn't allow the listeners to 'recontextualise' melodies they listen to in their free time in a *Gong Kebyar/Kreasi Baru* context. In the past, *Gong Kebyar* could take pelog melodies from popular Indonesian songs and of course Balinese songs written in any pentatonic scale. The combination of Indonesian and western pop music has to Vitale's knowledge never taken place. According to I Nyoman Wenten, the last twenty years have seen a significant decline in the overall dedication of people in the villages to the gamelan and other artistic forms (Bakan 1993: 391). As has been mentioned, *Gong Kebyar* is a closed world to the average Balinese teenager of today who is no longer able to participate because he or she lacks the necessary musical education in the academies, and participation in the active process of music-making is an important part of partaking in this type of 'musical knowledge'. It is natural, therefore, that other musical forms will arise to fulfil some of the roles that *Gong Kebyar* can no longer fulfil.

To conclude, we witness today a clear move between *Bottom-Up* and *Top-Down* artistic control. In spite, or perhaps as a product of this, *Gong Kebyar* as an important Balinese musical institution has flowered in many senses. In addition to its major form 'Kreasi Baru' having become incredibly baroque and decorated, it is now also becoming more and more common for women to play gamelan. Other changes have led to *Gong Kebyar* becoming less accessible to the typical Balinese person living in the major cities: it requires great dedication and practice to become good enough to keep up with its intricate and incredibly fast rhythmic patterns. Colin McPhee witnessed the birth of *Gong Kebyar*; twenty years later Ornstein would comment upon its development in her dissertation. Today Tenzer and Vitale are two of a very large number of academics involved in the study of this unique musical form. McPhee and friends marvelled at the incredible speed of pre-World War II *Kebyar* music. According to Ornstein, the general speed of contemporary *Gong Kebyar* compositions has almost doubled upon the maximum speed of works composed in McPhee's time. Ornstein also comments on the fact that melodic sources have changed for Kebyar works. McPhee mentions *Gamelan Gambuh* and *Gamelan Pelegongan* as two of the principals sources of pre-World War II compositions, although contemporary compositions in Ornstein's time included Javanese song—the work *Gambang Suling* which was composed for the pelog scale in Java—and even American popular songs. Today, thirty years later, further developments have taken place. In terms of melodic sources, the emphasis on individual artists has led to more and more composers composing their own melodies so that works are ascribed to their own hand, although borrowing melodies is still a very popular practice, especially in the villages. The speed and complexity of works has grown to an incredible level of virtuosity, taking advantage of the speed which the *kotekan* technique can permit (the sharing of melodies *hocket* style). To a western ear the melodies have become so fast that it's difficult to hear melodic structures within the flourishes up and down the instruments. Composers of today are also taking intercultural influences into *Kreasi Baru* compositions, such as the adoption of foreign instruments. Even though *Gong Kebyar* music may be considered '*klasik'*, it is still an important part of everyday life for the Balinese. Although many new compositions are too difficult for most village gamelan orchestras, older pieces are still enormously popular.

4.4 Bali in the Context of Old and New Order Indonesia

In this chapter division we explore the important role the Balinese arts have played in Indonesian cultural development in the twentieth century and in particular the influences on the arts from *Top-Down* for the specific purpose of furthering the goals of a united Indonesia, both in terms of the reigns of Sukarno and Suharto (the 'old' and the 'new' orders respectively, referred to in Indonesian as *Orde Asli* and *Orde Baru*). In this regard the contrasting roles the STSI based in Denpasar has played in Balinese cultural development are explored.

An enormous amount of change has taken place in Indonesia, which has had a great deal of influence on Balinese development. Much of this change has been brought about violently in the name of both Balinese, Indonesian and international interests. In the twentieth century any potentially dangerous (or political) disrupture was suppressed so that the lucrative tourist market would remain as profitable as possible for the centrally governed (primarily Javanese) Indonesia: Bali itself has always been enormously attractive financially and Indonesian forces have wanted to keep it this way. Looking at Indonesia's post-colonial past we can discern two primary periods, on the one hand during the rule of Sukarno and on the other the rule of Suharto. Looking back, Sukarno is primarily remembered for his role in developing a 'unique' Indonesian form of democracy, but it is recognised that he became so wrapped up in his policies that he forgot the needs of the common folk. His idealistic conceptions of the Indonesian state had a definite impact on the development of Balinese performance. Sukarno had high hopes for the Indonesia he wanted to create out of the rubble which was left behind after years of colonial abuse, social unrest and war. His socialist dream was a utopian one which he was never to reach: despite his good intentions the rich still got richer and the poor poorer. Sukarno was most likely blinded by his dream and was unable to recognise the true suffering his government had brought with it. He wanted to show the world how great Indonesia could be by using as an example its strong cultural heritage. Sukarno's mother was Balinese, which meant that he had a familial cultural connection and wanted to demonstrate to the world the glory of Balinese art, but this time as a part of his socialist aesthetic. Sukarno's ultimate aim was to create a 'genuinely Indonesian culture' which combined

from traditional art and his new socialist aesthetics where “Javanese culture was to be a kind of father culture, Balinese culture a kind of mother culture” (Vickers 1989: 180). Despite his initial popularity due to his early historic status standing opposed to the Dutch, he was finally deposed by Suharto and his military supporters who quickly and violently removed him from his leading position. His ‘Guided Democracy’ which was intended to empower his own role actually gave Sukarno little power. The real power involved a dangerous balancing game between the army and the communist party, which finally led to the fatal coup and countercoup in 1965.

During Sukarno’s reign, however, a lot of heavy *Top-Down* influence changed the face of the way Indonesia related to itself on a national and international stage. On October 21 1963, Prijono—then the minister of education—was to speak about a ‘new educational system’ which had recently been approved by the president: the *Pancasila* was adopted as the official Indonesian philosophy during Sukarno’s regime and educational reform was based on the tenets of these parameters: belief in God, nationalism, democracy, humanitarianism, and social justice. This set of *objective principles* involved the following five beliefs:

(1) the development of love for the country and people of national, international and religious morals;
(2) the development of intelligence;
(3) emotional-artistic developments;
(4) the development of manual ability by manual work;
(5) physical development. (Lentz 1965: 37)

According to Lentz, the primary purpose of this educational system was to counter the effects of Dutch colonial policy which “had damaged Indonesian pride and weakened development” by fostering “the art of singing, dancing, gamelan or music playing” (ibid.). At the same time, however, Prijono pointed out that certain aspects of traditional cultural were archaic and humiliating, particularly dance and music which didn’t celebrate the joy of living a socialist life in the new Indonesia, therefore most forms of abstract dance which were characteristic of the new *Gong Kebyar* and *Kreasi Baru* musical styles were not officially approved of: “the educational scheme was an attempt by the central government to solve the serious problem of regionalism that plagued the country since its independence in 1945” (Lentz 1965: 39-40). As a result, to replace these dangerous abstract forms, new socialist dances which copied movements from everyday life producing goods of use to the nation were created. It is probably fortunate for the Balinese that Sukarno had Balinese blood and that they only had to perform socialist dances for him; if it wasn’t for this the restriction on their artistic creation could have been more heavy-handed. The socialist dances included such classics as *Tari Tani* (peasant dance), *Tari Tanun* (weaving dance), and the *Tari Melayan* (fisherman’s dance). Moreover, these dances were intended to be pan-Indonesian: Sukarno’s cultural aim was to ‘Indonesianise’ Bali. According to Vickers, he “both used Balinese culture for Indonesian ends and preserved it by maintaining the image of Bali as a place of harmony” (1980: 177). This is a good example of *Top-Down* enforcement.

The Balinese resented this imposition on their cultural life greatly, echoed in angry declarations such as ‘this isn’t art’ (*bukan seni* [Lentz 1965: 39]) For the Balinese “art is not meant to represent daily life and work but instead is intended to transport them into another world inhabited by gods and devils” (ibid.: 43). These cultural creations disappeared as quickly as they appeared when Sukarno lost his power and the New Order came into existence under Suharto’s rule. The *Pancasila*, however, can still be seen all over Bali; it is inscribed onto placards, for

example, on every *Bale Banjar* and educational institution. Made Agus Wardana, a young Balinese composer, grew up with the *Pancasila*. According to Wardana, it is not necessarily a negative thing: believing in god and the unification of Indonesia can provide personal satisfaction and a sense of security about large-scale societal structures. In terms of Bourdieu's *Habitus*, this means the possibility of developing from a sturdy set of *objective conditions* a personalised and meaningful array of *generative principles.* At the same time, however, he did see it as a political creation, something which ultimately has little to do with the way the Balinese go about their daily lives.

Cultural performances, if adopted and instigated successfully, have the potential to be enormously powerful cultural tools. The Indonesian government has been using the relatively new dance-theatre form *Sendratari* to impress visitors to the country. The dance is Balinese, but it is treated in a pan-Indonesian fashion; hundreds of dancers and musicians produce mega-displays expressing most often sections of epic tales of Buddhist and Hindu origin such as the *Ramayana* which function to unite rather than separate most Javanese and Balinese people. Bali itself, however, has its own forms which have been used for political purposes such as the archaic Balinese coupling ritual *Janger* which suddenly developed a following during the lead up to the attempted Communist coup in Jakarta in 1965. They almost all disbanded soon after the coup, and so the connection between a form of theatre and political development seemed to run hand in hand. Balinese music and dance in general become a tool for political and economic prosperity, or at least a demonstration of it: being highly portable the Indonesian government has long been supporting trips of Balinese gamelan groups around the world, which of course is organised from within the STSI which is in itself a political institution. An interesting example here is the Balinese gamelan at the Indonesian embassy (KBRI: *Konsulat Besar Republik Indonesia*) in Brussels. In 1994, the STSI sent a gamelan group to Brussels, and the Indonesian embassy requested that the gamelan be left behind for the use of the embassy staff, with the particular purpose of promoting 'Indonesian' culture in Belgium. Made Agus Wardana recognised that the desire to promote Bali in this way was the result of a desire to promote Bali as an Indonesian prototype ('and then when the tourists come, it's not like Bali').

John Coast's world tour with a Balinese performance group was an enormous success, and "since reality could rarely get in the way of image-making" (Vickers 1980: 127) Hollywood started its onslaught. With the blessing of Sukarno, Coast began to create an image of Bali which would draw millions of tourists to the island. Sukarno's ultimate intention, however, was for the general prosperity of the whole of Indonesia. Bali became an idealised representation of the Indonesia Republic. According to Vickers, the building of the luxury Bali Beach Hotel on Sanur beach was the first step in Sukarno's 'grand plan' to develop tourism (ibid.). Mass tourism of this type spread from Sanur to the other major cities, and now is the main form of income in Bali: there is rarely a family you can find living in Denpasar without at least one member involved in some way with the tourist industry. In the last 20 years, Bali has lost more than 1,000 hectares of precious rice-fields for the development of tourist-related buildings such as hotels, restaurants and road construction.

After the communist coup and the horrific counter-coup which led to many deaths in both Java and Bali, Suharto took his position as all-powerful leader, replacing the Sukarno regime with what came to be known as the *New Order* government ('Orde-Baru'). This new regime brought its own system of repression, although it also made some new concessions not permitted as a part of Sukarno's utopian socialist society. The dramatic opening to Suharto's *New Order*—an anti-communist [PKI] counter-coup—involved the butchering of around 5% of the Balinese population. In the New Order, the richer became richer and the poorer became poorer, and even worse a very small elite of individuals—mostly family and friends of Suharto—began to usurp the power and the money. Behind the façade of democracy hid for all intents and purposes a fascist state. Luckily, its days were ultimately numbered; during the writing of this work the Suharto regime fell. There is hope for the future and the Balinese celebrate the beginning of a new era in Indonesia as a member state. In this part of the chapter the intention is to discuss the development of the arts within the period of the *New Order*. Artistic ventures which received some form of subsidy or encouragement from the New Order government were primarily large-scale events such as the *Sendratari* in Java and Bali which were primarily used for *Top-Down* political functions. Most other forms of art were considered to be against the New Order: not only were they not subsidised, but were sometimes also repressed. Music and dance, however, are not considered dangerous and in these areas the STSI sometimes encourages experimental art as part of its artistic policy relating to New Order influence: the students at STSI in Denpasar, for example, are obliged as part of their graduation to compose an experimental *Musik Kontemporer* piece.

If one wants to develop oneself as an artist, especially in an experimental medium, it is still true in the Indonesia of today that the major destination is Indonesia's capital Jakarta. This is one of the unfortunate aspects of centralisation. Teeuw describes this situation as follows: "...on the one hand opportunities and facilities (and, one should add, public interest) are much more limited in the provinces, and on the other, if any important events do happen anywhere outside Jakarta, they receive hardly any publicity on a national level and remain unnoticed

outside their own area" (1979: 58). It doesn't seem surprising, then, that Jakarta is the ultimate destination for every young aspiring artist. In Bali, however, artists who find a niche in the officially accepted institutions can extend themselves internationally if the boundaries of *Kreasi Baru* don't provide enough stimulation. This sort of national and international support does occur via the STSI, which is a centralised Indonesian institution; *Top-Down* influence remains, therefore, a possible threat. Artists are often sent mainly for pedagogical purposes from Bali to other STSI to teach Balinese gamelan. There is of course also the prestige to Indonesia of having Balinese artists being involved in international events, which often results from exchange programmes where talented Balinese musicians study abroad.

Pan-Indonesianism is an attitude to governmental policy which results in individuals not identifying with themselves locally or on a regional or provincial level, but on a national level. It is an essential expression of *Top-Down* political control in Indonesia. This is strongly present in their policy towards education and the arts: one thinks directly of the *Pancasila*, a political construction left over from the early days of Sukarnoism. Means of mass-media are also important vehicles producing a culture which is first and foremost Indonesian, and then regional. In Bali, this level does exist, i.e. there is an area in Balinese society, in the big cities especially, where nationals from all over Indonesia can come to live, and are generally accepted into Balinese society quite well. They speak Indonesian with their fellow workers or class-mates and are able to do so because of more than fifty years of policy encouraging pan-Indonesianism. In Europe a similar process is taking place: small towns and villages are being 'connected' to sister-cities all over Europe, teaching a level of the population to think not only locally, but also in the sense of Europe on a larger scale, feeling some sense of familiarity with other Europeans. In Indonesia, this has brought about a general attempt to homogenise culture, to create a sort of art which will communicate to all Indonesians. Like in Sukarno's era, but on a larger scale past the borders of Bali, Balinese art is being used as a tool for *pan-Indonesianism*. Hough provides a description of the Pan-Indonesian process as it functions in contemporary Indonesia:

> The New Order period has been characterised by State intervention in cultural production throughout the archipelago. The co-option or appropriation of specific ethnic cultural forms to a national context appears to be a conscious effort by the State to enhance its own position and promote its economic and social programmes of development. Seen within a framework of ideological control, particularly in terms of creating national identity, there is a general process of 'homogenising' and 'sanitising' of cultural expression. (Hough 1992: 1)

Similar to Sukarno's regime, the sanitisation of traditional art is an important part of the process. In the guise of 'artistic' development, traditional art is decontextualised, i.e. removed of any significance in relation to the national culture, and recontextualised in the 'sanitised' form mentioned above. According to Hough, this process is two-fold. In terms of the 'Indonesian' ethic, one finds *unity in diversity*. To realise this successfully, the cultures are forced to rethink their traditional practice: they find those elements of their culture that unite them as a whole with the rest of the country and then emphasise only those elements. In the process of pan-Indonesianism a sub-culture is studied and a list is made of the primary factors which unite its members. From this list factors are chosen which unite the sub-culture with its paternal 'father-culture' (frankly and problematically Java). This list is then enforced from *Top-Down* as a tool of propaganda, and musicians certainly play a role in this process. According to Hough, this "necessitates excluding other forms, or versions of a dance, song, style of dress … then codifying the acceptable form in such a way that it can be easily reproduced, and finally 'sanctified' by inclusion within, among other things, official ceremonies, compilations … of ethnic and national culture, and educational curricula" (1992: 2). The STSI performs this function successfully in the new Indonesia; many types of traditional performing arts, for example, are changed to fit the STSI mould, functioning to limit or even eradicate regional variation. Wayne Vitale comments on the fact that the STSI responds to pressure from above to create a 'pan-Indonesian art form'. This ties in with a lot of contemporary art funded by these institutions; artists are encouraged to create grandiose works that demonstrate Indonesia's varied art-forms and their ability to orchestrate elaborate spectacles. This is symbolic good representative of both cultural and economic success, and according to Vitale is completely against the grain of the Balinese arts as they've thrived over the last several centuries. Before it is worked out in the enactment of practice, however, it has to be realised in legislation, and it is STSI staff who work hand in hand with politicians and academics to produce this policy. Picard comments on the fact that the mediating role played by the *penasar* in *Wayang Kulit* has been taken over by the Balinese intelligentsia, who "mediate between the villages, Denpasar, and Jakarta on the one hand, and between Bali and the outside world on the other" (Hough 1992: 14). Unfortunately, however, the 'mediators' or 'interpreters' no longer play an educational role interacting with the Balinese audience, but instead attempt to rise above it, "incorporated within the matrixes of social, economic and political relationships that extend far beyond the sea borders of Bali" (ibid.).

In contemporary Indonesia, the arts play a clear role in communicating information to the outside world and in creating internally a 'pan-Indonesian' ideal. Performances such as *Sendratari* are far more successful than the socialist dances of Sukarno because they adopt forms—even if they are sanitised—which the Balinese can identify

with, and which are so impressive that both a national and an international public can get something out of it. An instance of this type of sanitised performance realised for national goals in the form of cultural performance took place on December 6th 1998. Ballinger commented upon a performance at the Arts Centre (*Taman Budaya*) in Denpasar called *Welcome to Indonesia.* It was a cultural extravaganza, demonstrating elements of performance which have become sanitised and are now considered part of 'pan-Indonesian' culture. The costumes in the performance were red, white and black. Ballinger considers red and white to be an expression of Indonesian patriotism, and black and white for Bali's philosophy of *Rua Bhinneda* or Law of Duality. These are symbolic forms which have been reduced to simple significative units and rethought in terms of the pan-Indonesian aesthetic. To further demonstrate this the audience was first asked to stand to sing the national anthem *Indonesian Jaya.* The acts within the show which followed the anthem included the well-known *Legong* dance, as well as a special performance called *Legong Untung Surapati* which was an 'amazing fusion of Bali and Indonesian pop'. Surapati is a Balinese hero who went from being a slave of the Dutch to becoming an Indonesian hero in Surakarta. The performance follows the guidelines of traditional *Legong*, "then the two *legong* become Surapati and Suzanne [a daughter of the Dutch master who Surapati fell in love with and for which he was imprisoned] singing a sweet melodic tune." The work continues to tell the pan-Indonesianised story with western theatrical techniques, as well as Broadway songs combined with Javanese and Balinese dance movements, and even a parody of the traditional *Janger* dance. The *Legong* here is used as a medium to express pan-Indonesianised conceptions of Indonesian culture, factors which are stretched beyond their initial meaning as Balinese formalised temple dance.

Many Balinese composers have been taken on to promote 'Pan-Indonesian' matters. It seems there has been an upsurge of interest in Balinese culture in the last years, as demonstrated by the number of large-scale planned events and competitions in Indonesia of a non-Balinese Hindu nature but which nonetheless invite Balinese musicians to participate. In an interview, the well-known composer Windha described to me one of these Indonesian-wide musical events he participated in known as the STQ (*Seleksi Telewartil Koran*). This is an Islamic event based on Muslim singing. Windha, whose music is appreciated beyond Balinese shores and whose musicality is being made use of for pan-Indonesian purposes by the New Order government, created a major new work for no less than 800 dancers and 17 musicians. The concert was held in a soccer stadium which demonstrates the increasingly large means the Indonesian government is prepared to use to make an impression on its people and the world. Another example is the use of the *Arja* performance in Jakarta to end a twenty day international festival in the year 2000 (*Arja* is rarely performed outside Bali). Hough describes events such as these as *rituals of the state*: "commissioned by the State, for the State" (1992: 10) and he describes events such as these as being 'pan-Indonesian' in "incorporating other ethnic traditions, and very self-consciously so claiming to represent Indonesia" (1992: 12).

Pan-Indonesianism is a problem facing many academics. It is a very difficult subject because it evokes national and regional political feelings. Even though many academics support the creation of Balinese regional identity, expressing this feeling means expressing an anti-Indonesian view which brings with it largely negative consequences for the individuals involved and for Bali as a whole. Bali, after all, has always been a full supporter of Indonesian rather than colonial rule. Although in interviews some academics—who wish to remain unnamed—did admit they had problems with the new move towards pan-Indonesianism, they don't produce written work stating these difficulties and aren't likely to begin becoming vocal about their feelings.

Not everyone is tacitly against pan-Indonesianism, especially when it is seen to be the result of interculturality, a move towards globalisation, a natural curiosity and/or an interest in other forms of musical expression. Dibia comments on this matter as follows:

> Recently there have been again changes to movement patterns which have been applied by choreographers. This change results from a development in the elements from the various traditional arts in a cultural arena towards the fusion of artistic elements from various cultural areas in Indonesia, including from the West. These pattern changes made began to be felt in the early eighties, which were caused by the existence of a desire among choreographers to remove Bali's cultural clothing for their own use. To fulfil desires like this artistic elements began to be included from outside like Java and Sunda for their own use. (Dibia 1994: 62-63)

Dibia however, does recognise that this is an expression of a desire to produce works of art which have an Indonesian rather than a Balinese 'face'. He comments here on the fact that artists are tending towards pan-Indonesianism as a reaction to claims that the Balinese are conservative or 'Balicentric' (when they actually identify with Indonesia as a republic of smaller states). The academic tendency is to comment on the performance itself rather than criticise its political or moral basis, providing information which is more applicable to the performers than to academic readers. The following passage is again from Dibia, commenting generally on intercultural performance which he thinks do not receive enough support: "It is a pity that these ideas are less complexly supported which sufficiently penetrate into the quality of a sensation of movements from various Indonesian cultural areas, or that their fusion is still restricted only to external forms, therefore creations which are

produced with the tendency towards superficiality and which are very often still felt to be only half-completed" (Dibia 1994: 63).

According to Sadra when the Jakarta Arts Council was founded, the development of Indonesian traditional arts began to be discussed on a wider scale, particularly from the point of view of national—rather than regional—culture (1998: 19). Here we see direct application of the pan-Indonesian aesthetic which was developed during the early years of the New Order. On May 9th in 1968, the *Pusat Kesenian* or Arts Centre was officially opened, and it was at this event that the governor himself stated expressly that "the provision of facilities for the promotion of art was a formal responsibility of Government" (Teeuw 1979: 55). A few months later, on November 10th of the same year, another major cultural organisation was opened: the TIM (*Taman Ismail Marzuki*, named after a prominent musician and composer who wrote fighting music during the revolution). With the opening of this second organisation, the whole of Indonesia was provided with a complex of buildings and facilities specifically for use by contemporary artists. This important foundation is situated on the site of the former zoo in the centre of Jakarta and provides facilities for film, drama, dance and music performances, art exhibitions and conferences, as well as meeting places for young artists (ibid.). It is the ideal place for an 'Indonesian' artist to be.

In addition to the PKB—the famous arts festival held in Denpasar yearly—Balinese composers and other artists participate in events held in Jakarta. One of the most important events for composers in Indonesia is known as *Pekan Komponis*. An important precursor event to this competition was held as part of a major festival in 1975. After this a list was made which "addressed the situation of traditional music, the inclinations of society (the audience), the quality of traditional and contemporary music and the social conditions of artists" (Sadra 1998: 19). This list, taken from the document mentioned above, influenced the creation of the Indonesian wide-festival *Pekan Komponis*, and is included below. Works like Astita's *Eka Dasa Rudra* which combined both traditional and innovative expressions of 'Indonesian' culture were sent to this festival because they addressed these issues, and continue to address them yearly from members of all the Indonesian states:

1) To what extent should traditional music be taken as a foundation for contemporary composition?
2) Is it absolutely necessary to compare traditional music with music from other cultures to find a direction for contemporary music?
3) What roles do village (rural) music and city (urban) music play in the development of traditional music?
4) What does traditional music communicate to the society?
5) What is the influence of popular opinion on the development of traditional music?
6) What is the orientation of contemporary composition?
   Should it be derived from the internal experience of our traditions or follow the traditions of a foreign music?
7) What part does feeling have as the basis for creating a new traditional music?
8) What is the relationship between the social level of the artist and his or her creativity?
9) Should notation be used or not? Is it necessary in either traditional music or contemporary composition?

(Sadra 1998: 19-20)

The *Pekan Komponis* is a powerful signal to Indonesian composers who work in the experimental medium. I Wayan Sadra, an experimental composer who teaches composition in Solo (Surakarta, Java), has participated in all these events from the very beginning. Astita was a young composer who participated in the first event held in 1975. Sadra considers the *Pekan Komponis* to be an important form of cultural stimulation, stating that every meeting "can be considered a test for the individual to grasp and give full reign to his or her freedom" (Sadra 1998: 20). Here the border between personal experimentation and extension of traditional ideas is brought to the surface: where does the individual stop and the culture begin? How far can traditional music represent contemporary musical ideas? Without the *Pekan Komponis* contemporary Indonesian composers would only have international events to express their most experimental ideas outside the context of the academic world. The existence of such events also ensures a dialogue between *national* creative artists, assisting Indonesia in reaching its pan-Indonesian goal.

An important figure in the 1920s and 30s in the Indonesian arts education was Ki Hadjat Dewantoro (1889-1959). He was born in Yogyakarta but was exiled to the Netherlands from 1913 to 1919 because of his sympathies with the nationalist Indonesian movement. During his period of exile he came into contact with the ideas from such important figures as Maria Montessori (1980-1942) and Rudolf Steiner who are well-known in the West for their role in developing new forms of education where creativity was stressed. Later he actually founded in Indonesia his own teacher training schools which similarly stressed creativity and which were known as the *Taman Siswa* schools. This certainly played an influence in the development of arts education, although it wasn't until 1965 that an actual arts department was founded. In 1965 an Academy of Fine Arts was developed at the Udayana University in Denpasar where drawing and painting in a naturalistic style were taught (Turner 1996: 818). The two well-known conservatories which teach the performing arts, STSI and SMKI—or ASTI and KOKAR as they were previously known—were developed on Bali in 1960 and 1967 respectively. They were instituted to answer a deep Balinese need for a central training programme in the arts, and although it has had some difficult periods where *Top-Down* enforcement has resulted in attempts to 'sanitise' regional variation in Balinese music and dance, these

institutions have been immensely important in providing a strong basis for the Balinese to understand their arts. They have also opened up training in the performing arts to many more people and have provided a national and international place of learning for students, thus allowing cross-campus exchanges. In this way they have assisted in the negative and positive aspects of the complex process of pan-Indonesianism. At STSI spread across Indonesia many different sorts of music are taught. Wardana told me that he studied music from Java, Sumatra and other places in Indonesia. European music is also taught at some STSI, and there are even special music schools where they only study western music, in Denpasar as well as in Yogyakarta and other places. Students have the option to study western music; they often start in Indonesia at the western-style music schools setup in Indonesia and then go to America, the Netherlands or other countries to specialise further. Wenten thinks that the plan of the Indonesian government is to offer students of the performing arts the opportunity to learn the music of other countries as well as gamelan. In Bali, the STSI can be considered to have taken over a function from the feudal period; royal families used to provide an enormous amount of support to artists within small feudal kingdoms, providing both the kings and their peasants with access to music and dance. The STSI has taken over control and in some ways this has led to a degree of stasis within musical development, similar to the relatively slow development which took place under the power of the aristocracy. The years of total free reign which Balinese villagers had over their musical development was perhaps the most dynamic period the Balinese have experienced. In the Bali of today, talented students will often be sent to the SMKI which is specialised in the performing arts, although it is taught at the level of 'high-school' in our terms. It is still possible for students who don't attend the SMKI to study at the STSI, although training at the SMKI gives a better background in music and dance than other institutions. After training at the STSI many students return to their villages to teach music and dance, although some will stay at the academy to teach or even play internationally. A regime at the top of the STSI seems to provide centralised control to the perpetuation of Balinese performing arts in foreign countries. Both the SMKI and STSI, however, are also the major places where musical innovation is encouraged on Bali.

Secularisation is also a process which is strongly present in contemporary Balinese art and is mediated by the STSI. It is a general part of the change which globalisation brings with it. Modernisation, which is illustrated by the entrance of various cultural 'imports' from the West into Bali, has already been playing an important role in slowly shifting the attention of Balinese society from a traditional culture to a secularised and purely aesthetic one. At the STSI, one of the representations of this phenomenon is the museum of gamelan instruments. Instruments in the orchestras held here are absolutely uniform in colour and tuning, designed as they are to present a homogenised image of the way Bali has developed. According to Dibia traditional forms of music-theatre such as *Janger* and *Joged Bumbung* are being replaced by a generation of traditional artists who are now learning to perform and enjoy disco, pop music, rock, reggae and other forms which are considered more appropriate for the appetites of young people (1995: 55). This condition is certainly a less reassuring process for the future of certain types of art, although Dibia notes that this state has to be accepted by society. Secularisation involves primarily the replacement of the traditional educational function of theatre performances such as the role played by the *parekan* in *Wayang Kulit* performances. Scenes involving humour or violence are at the same time being extended to keep the attention of a changing audience. This is caused most likely by the pressure of modern society and a whole new generation of Balinese people who have daily jobs which means they return home every day wanting only to relax. Again according to Dibia: "Light entertainment, which can be enjoyed without having to think hard, has become both the food and the effective medicine for people to restore their physical and mental condition" (1995: 53). Balinese society which was in the past more relaxed has become considerably busier, which has been the primary factor involved with the secularisation of the arts. These days the performances are designed to reduce tiredness or to release stress. These functions are being carried out now by both written and electronic mass-media. Theatre performed on a stage is much more tiring than watching entertainment on television at home.

Although as demonstrated above the secularisation process has changed the listening habits of the Balinese, there are parts of their culture which haven't been affected. They represent an important aspect of Balinese cultural expression and are realised both in traditional and contemporary music, including pop. Wayne Vitale, a specialist in *Gong Kebyar*, agrees with this statement, noting that the introduction of pop music, television and radio has not had a direct influence on the *Gong Kebyar* Balinese gamelan form. In the last ten to twenty years of development within the form have been primarily based on influences within Indonesia or Bali, such as traditional Indonesian songs that are native to central Indonesia (Java and Bali) and thus use the slendro or 'pelog' scale; this sort of melody is easily adaptable for use in *Kreasi Baru* compositions. Vitale thinks that Balinese composers are staying very much in their own cultural world for compositional material because this is already so rich. They don't, as such, need to look far beyond it for inspiration. Cultural change depends primarily on where the people live: isolated villagers have less access to contemporary realisations of the modern world (i.e. discothèques and other cultural institutions which perpetuate a new form of cultural expression), and so the traditional forms are still fulfilling at least to some degree their needs. As has been demonstrated, however, the spread of mass-media has

brought television even to small villagers. The following century is undoubtedly going to bring enormous change to Bali as a whole, although no one really knows to what extent the Balinese culture will develop: will *Kreasi Baru* die out as fusion pop overtakes it, or will a radical change in the *Gong Kebyar* aesthetic bring about a new realisation and recontextualisation of tradition? With such a volatile culture it is hard to predict.

Sendratari, as mentioned, is a large scale form of 'Indonesian' entertainment, designed to express pan-Indonesian themes and to impress foreign visitors. It has a history which began in the twentieth century, although there are many elements within the form which connect directly with older Javanese and Balinese music-theatre traditions. The *Sendratari* we know on Bali today first appeared in 1962 as a creation by I Wayan Beratha, although it includes elements taken from other Balinese traditional performances such as *Legong, Baris, Gambuh* and *Wayang Wong.* This form occurred "during the political upheavals of the '60s" (Ballinger 1993: 65) when there was a sense of dynamic change and many new ideas in dance and music were welcomed with open arms. Beratha was influenced by the Javanese production of the *Ramayana* which was produced both to entertain visitors and provide a common cultural source to Indonesians. After the success of the first production Beratha and his colleagues attempted to produce all seven of the *kanda* (books) of the *Ramayana* epic. It is selections from these works which are dished up regularly to tourist audiences in Ubud or other places around the island, although the resources the performance use are of a smaller scale. In some ways *Sendratari* is different from *Gambuh* and *Arja* because the lines are not spoken by the dancers. Instead a figure known as the *juru tandak* (similar to the Javanese and Balinese *dalang* from *Wayang Kulit*) sits in the gamelan and recites the lines both in Kawi and Balinese. The dancers on stage mime the action on stage. Since its beginning in the early sixties, these works have been produced in Bali for the PKB which takes place yearly in Denpasar. It is indeed a large-scale event, "filling to capacity the open-air theatre at the Art Centre which seats 5,000" (ibid.: 65). This performance certainly had wide political connections on a Balinese, a Javanese and an international level. The creators of the dance were much influenced by the success of the Javanese version of the Ramayana which was produced in 1961 in Prambanan, Central Java. Bandem comments on the sociopolitical implications of this work, which will become the main subject of later discussion:

> That performance had been initiated, with government support, to provide a cultural entertainment intelligible to foreigners as well as to Indonesians from all over the Republic. Balinese Sendratari was thus devised to meet the same needs… (Bali 1995: 136)

In total, seven Balinese *Sendratari* productions based on classic Balinese and Hindu subjects were produced through the SMKI and under the direction of Beratha. It is also interesting to note here that the new gamelan form *Semara Dana* was originally built for the *Sendratari* as the scales of the *Gong Kebyar* and *Semar Pegulingan* ensembles simply were not sufficient on their own to express the dynamism of all the different characters represented in the work; the *Gong Kebyar* scale was pentatonic and didn't have the extended seven-note scale of the *Semar Pegulingan,* and at the same time *Semar Pegulingan* didn't have certain notes possible on the *Gong Kebyar.* These extra notes were contained within the scale of the *Semara Dana* and it is with this scale that Beratha attempted to tackle the mighty Hindu-epic the *Mahabharata* which had a greater range of characters to be encompassed than was possible with the existing gamelan scales. This resulted in the creation of the new gamelan form, although this ensemble is rarely used these days for productions of the *Sendratari* works. Brett Hough defines *Sendratari* as a ritual of state in that it is commissioned by the State and for the State (1992: 10). In its original form in Java, in the performance of the *Ramayana* at Prambanan, government officials had commissioned the work to further the goal of the Indonesian Republic: creating a successful model which would integrate stories of the ancient Hindu epics—demonstrating the 'unity in diversity' credo held on by the New Order—in a form which the whole of Indonesia could appreciate. It was a very deliberate creation of official Indonesia which was successful in many of its goals, even if its mega-spectacle form seems somewhat exaggerated today. It certainly managed to link art forms (music, theatre and dance) loved by the Javanese and Balinese people, and attracted a great deal of international interest: all in all it was quite an impressive event. Disappointing, of course, was the great amount of money spent on its funding which could have been better used for smaller scale events divided honestly among Indonesians or put forward to help pull the larger percentage of the population out of poverty who were too busy trying to find food rather than appreciate art.

The production of *Sendratari* has certainly served the Balinese well. In addition to providing the Balinese with a source of income via tourism *Sendratari* has also served the Balinese by providing them with a strong link to Java and the general Indonesian state as a whole. It gave them the means to see Bali within the context of Indonesian (specifically Javanese) history, and was certainly more successful than Sukarno's loathed 'socialist dances'. Because it was so popular, a lot of funding from the centralised Republic was put aside to subsidise the production of more events, and it put Bali on the map as a place for pan-Indonesian events such as conferences concerning tourism, the arts and other such areas.

Since the period of the New Order in Indonesia, and especially within the last decade, Anglo-American style pop music has seen a phenomenal growth in popularity. In Sukarno's Old Order, of course, bans making the music

illegal made it more difficult for this genre to develop, at least in its Indonesian form. Hatley notes that "in a total reversal of the Old Order bans, songs of western rock groups like the Rolling Stones and Deep Purple, and of Indonesian counterparts like the Rollies and God Bless, were played constantly over amateur radio stations, and performed live in the rock concerts which started to be staged in large Indonesian cities" (1996: 241). Western-style music was at last freed from its bonds, and private bands, organizations, discos and radio stations popped up everywhere. Music was broadcasted to the nation constantly, which helped to bring about a sort of cultural revolution in terms of clothing, lifestyle and of course listening habits and forms of musical creation which were adapted to imitate western bands. Pop music in both Java and Bali developed into a major form of national and international communication. In the nineties the New Order government of Indonesia began to make attempts to influence the access the Indonesian people have to certain kinds of music, which has meant that restrictions on certain types of music and the banning of concerts became increasingly more common. In 1995, for example, Indonesia's Minister of Research and Technology "stunned pop musicians in Jakarta by declaring 'rap' music to be bereft of any artistic value," referring to this particular popular form as both 'dirty' and 'disgusting'. Pop music as an industry within Indonesia was a growing phenomenon, and with the advent of popular figures such as *Iwan Fals*, the state began to realise the dangerous potential of this musical form. As a result they have been banning concerts here and there, especially when political events are taking place. Unfortunately for the state, however, youths are bombarded with foreign images of music via MTV, its sister channels and their Indonesian counterparts, something which is not easily controlled by governmental decree. In Bali, just like in other parts of Indonesia, the general contemporary aesthetics tend towards their Indonesian and western pop stars. According to Barth, pop music "radiates the same intensity of attraction [to the Balinese] as among western youth" (1993: 246). In Bali, pop music is playing an increasingly important role and will become an important part of this discussion further on.

4.5 Political influence in Balinese Cultural Events: *STSI*

The fact that the STSI is playing an increasingly significant role in expressing national Indonesian policy has certainly played a role in affecting the way Balinese music is being used for broader national purposes by the Indonesian government as demonstrated; from *Top-Down* 'culture' has been used to shape the world's view of Indonesia since the days of Sukarno. Balinese music is used by the Indonesian government for particular Indonesian political functions within both Indonesia and on a world stage, and in this regard its role as a 'popular' form has been reduced. The STSI comes directly under the control of the Directorate General of Higher Education within the Ministry of Education and Culture (Hough 1992: 2), and the institution's role is to "manifest at the regional level the current discourse of national culture" (ibid.: 15). The Balinese culture is used to demonstrate Indonesia's ancient roots and its ethnic diversity " united in the common purpose of national development" (ibid.: 18). According to Hough, the New Order period "has been characterised by state intervention in cultural production throughout the archipelago. The co-option or appropriation of specific ethnic cultural forms to a national context appears to be a conscious effort by the state to enhance its own position and promote its economic and social programmes of development" (1992: 1). We can see this as being part of moving in a general cycle: in the past, before the advent of *Gong Kebyar*, Hindu-Balinese rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served to standardise Balinese culture. Now, after a period of independent change and development, "government-sponsored schools, research teams, and creative projects" from the Indonesian state itself are again exerting power on performance forms. Bali is also promoted by Indonesian embassies and other organisations to promote 'Indonesian' culture. A particularly lucid example is the recent adaptation by the Indonesian embassy of Brussels which has bought a Balinese gamelan, and imported a Balinese musician to teach it to the staff of the embassy. Balinese 'classical' music is playing an increasingly greater role in international propagation of Indonesian culture, and Hindu composers are even being invited to participate in Islamic events such as the *Telewartil*, which Windha composed new music for in 1991.

The STSI is responsible for perpetuating many principles and ethics considered important by the Indonesian Republic. For a long time Bali has been a state which exists under the power of a centralised parliament situated *outside* Bali which has meant inevitable change. The centralised government has been influencing development in Bali through making use of cultural institutions which teach particular Indonesian aesthetics (a prime example of which is the STSI itself). The tenets of Hinduism are encouraged from *Top-Down* to produce Hindu-influenced works to create a sense of unity between Balinese and Javanese culture: the use of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the two major epic stories of Hinduism, is an expression of a political rather than a spiritual agenda. Although its symbolic form is of Hindu origin, the hidden political agenda can be traced back to important factors which the STSI performs in contemporary Indonesia: as Hough clearly states, this "institution's role is to manifest at the regional level the current discourse of 'national culture'" (1992: 14). Through perpetuating these conceptions by providing contemporary composers with *objective conditions* which perpetuate these ideas in compositional forms, Balinese composers provide both pan-Balinese and pan-Indonesian concepts to the national

or international organisation. Wayne Vitale thinks that there is most definitely pressure from above to create works that tie in with the large-scale pan-Indonesian aesthetic. This ties in with a tendency in contemporary art to create extremely grandiose works. According to Vitale, this is completely contrary to the grain of the Balinese arts as they've thrived over the last several centuries.

New Balinese academics have many new issues to face in contemporary society. Based on contemporary academic writing from STSI spread across Indonesia in addition to interviews with teachers and professors active in this regard I've made a number of pertinent observations. Academics, with *Top-Down* influence on Balinese culture through their cultural and pedagogical policies, are having to cope with the inevitability of rapid change in Balinese society and an increase in globalisation. Many seem to regret the decreasing interest in the older forms of performing arts which used to play an educational role such as *Wayang Kulit* and *Arja*; more and more Balinese people are staying at home, choosing instead passive enjoyment in the form of television or radio where there is no interaction between audience and performers. The West is largely blamed for this, as Dibia observes: "Modernisation, which is illustrated by the entrance of various cultural 'imports', especially from the West, has already slowly shifted the attention of Balinese society from their traditional culture" (1995: 55). They observe the extinction of types of social art forms and the general degeneration in the popularity of traditional arts because of the growing popularity of Disco, Rock, Reggae, Techno, House and other forms of pop music. Although they lament this occurrence, they do recognise that such change is inevitable: "The presence of the art forms of society are indeed becoming weaker and weaker. This condition is certainly less reassuring. However this is a statement which must be confronted by our society" (ibid.: 56).

Another issue of importance is the fact that the performance forms adapt to these changes and try to keep up-to-date with contemporary desires. As a result of this, the *dalang* and other people involved in some way with the content of theatre works such as *Wayang Kulit* and *Arja* are being required to gradually reduce the 'lesson' part of the performance and lengthen more entertaining sections such as battle scenes or comical situations. Although this may be a natural adaptation, some academics are worried by this phenomenon. Dibia, an important figure in Balinese performance who is now director of the STSI, comments on this matter as follows:

> Up until the early seventies, before Balinese society knew television, although they had already been familiar with radio for a long time, the *Wayang Kulit*, *Arja*, *Topeng* and to a smaller degree *Drama Gong* performances were always looked forward to and received a large amount of spectators. Afterwards came the arrival of television, and this 'magic-box' became a prize article of possession which took its place in almost every household. Society became more and more reluctant to come to performances. They preferred to sit in front of the television. (Dibia 1995: 64-65)

As demonstrated above, the television is playing a continuously larger role, and people are preferring to stay at home and watch some of their indigenous performance forms on television. Dibia also regrets this development, but at the same time understands its inevitability: "...there are those who prefer to watch performances on television because it is clearer, they don't have to endure the crowd, and usually they enjoy the performances while lying down" (1995: 64).

During the reign of I Made Bandem as director, the STSI gained a rather sinister reputation. Bandem is considered by many to be a walking and talking tool for centralised Indonesian and Balinese policy, and has been accused by many—all of whom wish to remain anonymous—of attempting to 'sanitise' regional variation so that the STSI houses all possible performance texts resulting in a flat and static homogenisation of Balinese tradition. This is part of an attempt to retain in one complete form all Balinese music which can be safely labelled and filed-away for eternal repetition. It is already generally accepted that the STSI and SMKI "are having undue influence upon the development of music and dance in Bali, since, as their students spread over the island, they take with them the impending disappearance of musical and dance traditions of other cultures of the world, where outside influence has crept in and gradually replaced native dance and music" (Eiseman 1989: 341). Douglas Myers, a director of the Balinese musical organisation *Yayasan Polosenni* comments upon the influence of the music academies on the arts. He notes that these institutions have "given tremendous power to the establishment to influence so many areas of the performing world." One of the results was that certain 'sacred' musical ensembles which had hitherto not been seen outside the precincts of their local temple were invited to take part in 'festivals' within the Arts Centre (*Taman Budaya*) and felt obliged to do so. Another recent expression by Bandem of his desire to reach a pan-Indonesian/pan-Balinese aesthetic includes a new realisation of the *Ramayana*. It is influenced by the cinema as well as the tradition of the *Wayang Kulit* and *Sendratari*, and uses laser lighting and computers: he refers to it as 'Audio Animatronical Ramayana Fantasy' [Ramayana Fantasi Audio Animatronik] (1995: 13). It is a mixed result of many different levels of Balinese contemporary culture, promoting on the one hand Bali's legacy in the history of Indonesia, and on the other placing an emphasis on enjoyment rather than education.

Dieter Mack, an academic and composer who specialises in Balinese composition, informed me about sanitisation of regional variation. While being present in Batur during a ceremony in 1984 listening to a *Gong Gédé* performance, some *pemangku* requested urgently that he record the performance. When Mack asked why they

seemed to find it so important that the recording should take place, their answer was that a group of ASTI teachers and students were expected in the next months "to help to improve the gamelan" which seems to suggest that sanitisation was one of the major goals. Mack also notes that in 1982, the different styles of music in *kebupaten* across the island were highly contrasting, although every year since then they have been becoming more and more similar, partly because the groups want to compete in the performances held in Denpasar and the judges favour those ensembles which resemble the *status quo.*

This is all largely to do with Bandem's musical policy. One of his obsessions was to create a 'Balinese music theory' and a musical policy that would support both governmental and touristic needs, and that in this process local gamelan should be someway 'improved', which often led to the sanitisation processes described above. It is more positive to hear that contemporary composers are attempting to move against Bandem's convictions by retaining local variation. According to Wardana, a Balinese composer living in Belgium, this issue was common knowledge in Bali and was actually debated in newspapers and on the radio. Being against this approach, Wardana travelled in his early days as much as he could to learn from the variation which makes every village unique. Wenten, a Balinese composer living in California, also notes a positive movement in contemporary performance. People who graduate from STSI, according to Wenten, are encouraged to revive or blow extra life into old forms that exist or may have existed in their villages. An example he described involved a few students who graduated from the STSI to help him assist in 'restoring' the *Wayang Wong* tradition in North Bali. According to Wenten, the good thing about the STSI is that it trains people to create as well as to conserve. He considers that the STSI provides assistance in the following three ways: (1) 'menggali', *digs up that which is already buried*, or revitalises traditional art forms, (2) 'memelihara', looks after, or conserves existing art forms, and (3) 'menembangkan', develops existing art forms. Although its policies have a paternal *Top-Down* tendency it does provide an environment in which musical experimentation can occur.

The STSI is a powerful institution in Bali, and not only because the performing arts play such an important role in Balinese culture; it has control over the 'politics of representation' which draw upon traditional and modern categories to generate a specific language of social power for certain individuals within the culture. The politics of representation refer to control over ways certain images are perpetuated within the culture. As discussed the STSI controls artistic development, very often to the advantage of a *pan-Indonesian* or *pan-Balinese* aesthetic. The *Gong Kebyar* form, being controlled from within the musical academies which are instruments of the Indonesian republic, is now used for particular Indonesian political functions within both Indonesia and on a world stage, and in this regard its role as a 'popular' form has been reduced. In the contemporary world, it would seem that the Indonesian state would like to have complete control over contemporary Balinese musical forms from within the academies. Balinese performance has become a tool for the perpetuation of Indonesian ideals and to demonstrate its ethnic diversity. Lavish new mega-spectacles, such as *Sendratari*, are clear political displays to the rest of the world: the Indonesian state is rich in diversity and has control over this diversity, and what's more, can arrange mega-spectacles for international demonstrations. We can see this as being part of a process of cyclical development: in the past, before the advent of *Gong Kebyar*, Hindu-Balinese rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served to standardise Balinese culture. Now, after a period of independent change and development, government-sponsored schools, research teams, and creative projects from the Indonesian state itself is again exerting power on performance forms. This demonstrates a movement from a *Bottom-Up* to a *Top-Down* (society controlled) art-form, demonstrating its loss of general appeal and the higher control the Indonesian government wants over its people. As Vitale has mentioned, however, Bali seems to be on the brink of radical change, perhaps leading to a period again in which the power is in the hands of the people.

I Wayan Dibia followed Bandem as director of the STSI after he departed for Yogyakarta. In comparison to Bandem, he stands opposed to restricting regional variation. Proof of this positive approach to traditional art can be found in a relatively recent theatre festival which has been organised under the support of the STSI thanks to Dibia. Known as the *Singapadu Arts Fiesta*, the STSI has helped to organise the event precisely because it encourages interaction firstly between the STSI and the regional uniqueness of Singapadu, in addition to encouraging collaboration between the youth of today and the older generation of performers who have access to unique sources of artistic styles. As Dibia notes, "we want this event to be a cross-generational festival, where the young artists of Singapadu can learn from their seniors, while the old artists will have a chance to experience the exuberant energy of their juniors." Here we can observe that *Top-Down* is loosening its hold over music.

Geertz made the suggestion that the Balinese would be looking for a set of *doctrine* which would verbally fulfil needs which were sufficiently appeased in the past by ritual and ceremony. The need for ritual, however, has not diminished; rather a new discourse requiring a 'literate' interpretation of existing religious texts has made itself manifest in a Balinese culture which respects many different forms of literacy. Below are some descriptions of attempts to revive Hindu images by combining Balinese dancing styles with narrative-style story telling. Intellectuals from institutions like the University Udayana in Denpasar and of course the inimitable STSI have

been helping dance masters to not so much *revive* as to totally retell stories or segments of stories from the great Hindu epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. This has formed part of a general process taking place all over Indonesia in an attempt to revitalise their diverse cultures. This certainly started within the fantasies of Sukarno's Old Order. Thanks to influence of early Javanese *Sendratari* productions, Bandem was influenced to encourage the creation of the large-scale theatre work *Ramayana* which became the basis of contemporary Balinese *Sendratari.*

The Arts Centre (*Taman Budaya*) and the PKB in Denpasar—both products of the STSI—have a great deal of influence on contemporary arts. The PKB was first held in 1979, although before that there already existed a kind of *Gong Kebyar* or *Topeng* festival which was organised by *Listibiya* (an important Balinese cultural organisation). Listibiya (shortened from the words *Kajelis Pertimbangan Pembinaan Kebudayaan*) is a state-founded and controlled institution originally established on 21 August 1966 for both the support and control of the arts, although in the last years its importance has been diminishing in favour of the STSI. According to Astita, the Balinese government hasn't had enough money to support the festival through the years on its own. This means that people of Bali do a great lot of preparatory work for the PKB themselves which makes the world-famous event possible. Astita thinks that this direct role the public plays in keeping the festival alive is an important factor in preserving and revitalising the Balinese culture. The creation of the Arts Centre has also been enormously positive for the perpetuation of the festival and by extension the Balinese culture. It is known as the *Taman Budaya* and includes spaces for the performance of ancient dance-theatre forms like *Gambuh*. According to Astita, in its history the PKB has received a lot of unfair criticism. Examples of particular areas criticised include the 'monotone' nature of the festival, and the unprofessional level of some of the participants. Astita certainly has the knowledge required to give an informed opinion, having participated in the festival for its entire twenty year life span, and he's seen the remarkable effect it has had on the Balinese people. It doesn't just happen for the month in June; there is a whole year of preparation and rehearsal which goes into its production. The PKB usually begins around the middle of June until the middle of July. It's like this because this is when students in general have their holidays, and is a time when the Balinese can bring their families to see or participate in the festival. From *kebupaten* (regions) spread around the island different groups are sent to Denpasar to participate in the competition. A part of the required pieces that the groups have to do are new pieces. They have to make a *Kreasi Baru*, and in addition a *Tari Kreasi Baru* which is the corresponding dance form. They also have to make a *Lelambetan* piece, most often based on an old *pokok* from works chosen from the ancient repertoire, often ornamented and expanded (*lelambetan* is the name for old-melodic forms). It is these works that form the basis for contemporary music, and they are heard all over the island and copied by gamelan groups belonging to the most remote villages. The groups which are accepted to participate in the competition are unfortunately not 'open' in the sense we would imagine. The contemporary PKB competition only promotes *banjar* sponsored groups, one *banjar* being chosen yearly to represent each *kebupaten*. Private groups are not permitted to participate. While these are interesting and fun because of the intense rivalry between *kebupaten*, they are, at least according to Ken Worthy, somewhat contrived. The selected groups usually build up their performance capability to a level far beyond their usual form with intense rehearsal schedules for many months, with some teachers they may never see again. In addition, it very often happens that performers themselves are chosen by the controlling figures at the STSI and sent out to the villages to rehearse and perform. This can be compared to the European situation of sending out players in a soccer game to join a team entirely unrelated to the player's home country; the competition is symbolic rather than physical. The PKB is valuable for other things, however, like its egalitarian aspect, which explains the way the whole region joins together to help support their group which will be performing at the PKB.

The PKB is also highly important for the encouragement of contemporary music. All the major composers prepare new music for this event, and it is on these works that village-based and amateur composers-to-be base their works. The PKB is in this sense truly seminal for contemporary art in Bali. The Balinese works as mentioned above are largely based on models from the STSI and SMKI, although concerts and exhibitions are also demonstrated from the Unites States, Europe, and India. Bakan describes the premiere of the popular new form of music which was inspired by the PKB in his major work on this form of Balinese music: *Kreasi Baleganjur*. It has become one of the most heated forms of competition. It was this development in the STSI which also set an entirely new precedent for contemporary performance, and has left Bali with a whole new competition filled with great variety and dynamism. Dieter Mack, a Swiss composer and Balinese music enthusiast, considers that sanitisation of Balinese performance is most clearly observable in the annual *Gong Kebyar* competitions which take place at the PKB. The teachers and the composers who compose contemporary works for groups from the regions to play at the *Taman Budaya* in Denpasar are almost all sent out by the STSI as are most of the players who are sent out to assist the groups. Mack compares his experience of the PKB in 1982:

> In 1982 the stylistic differences of, for example, *Kebyar* from Bulèlèng and *Kebyar* from Badung was very clear. In the last years, every *kebupaten* sounds almost equal for obvious reasons.

Judges of the competition are from either the STSI or SMKI, and so naturally all the villagers who enter the competition from all over Bali want to copy the STSI styles in order to win. In all, the role played by the STSI and SMKI in sanitising regional variation is significant, but it is the end of an inevitable process which has brought musical power from *Bottom-Up* (from the villagers) to *Top-Down* (to the state).

4.6 Musical Competitions:
expression of Balinese archetypes in a constantly changing form

The artistic competition in Bali is a strong and pervasive institution. Although it began as part of the *Gong Kebyar* aesthetic transforming the Balinese competitive desire into a less violent format, its artistic impulse strongly influenced by the *Bottom-Up,* contemporary Bali knows a competition which has been taken over by the state, dictated as never before from *Top-Down.* As discussed, the decline of the aristocracy and their patronage of the arts brought about an enormous transfer of gamelan orchestras back to the *banjar* community organisations. This was a period of dramatic change, where the role of music became considerably more important in the lives of the villagers as a process of 'banjarisation' took place and more and more villagers had access to a musical education. Each village "strove to acquire the best teachers, learn the most modern new pieces, and master ever-increasing levels of musicianship and virtuosity." There always has been, however, an enormous competitive urge rooted in the Balinese spirit, which expressed itself in the feudal system of battling princes and feudal intrigue. After the Dutch rounded off their complete colonisation of the island around 1908, the Bulèlèng Province in North Bali grew in importance. This was a time of cultural fusion which produced the remarkable new *Kebyar* orchestra we are familiar with and which has played an incredibly important role in the twentieth century, even though it has now become 'klasik' in style.

A number of different theories exist as to where the Balinese dynamic theatrical and competitive aesthetic comes from. Raechelle Rubinstein, having heard it directly from the Balinese people who lived through this era, told me that this movement took place in North Bali because of the influence of the Dutch. Around the turn of the century Balinese people had access to new information through the Dutch language and their colonial leaders. This was to change the epistemic structure of their culture, and it gradually spread across the island. It is around this time that the North Balinese began experimenting with new kinds of performance involved with the theatrical and competitive aesthetic. According to Rubinstein, however, it was not purely linked to the gamelan: in her opinion the development of the *Gong Kebyar* ensemble was predated by competitions involving the reading of classical *Kakawin* texts which involved the singing of the texts and then a dynamic translation into the local language. The atmosphere was like a carnival, where the Balinese would get especially dressed up to participate in the competitions. The initial events included dance and music, and it is probably because of this new aesthetic that such dynamic change occurred in the other arts, resulting ultimately in the development of *Gong Kebyar*, *Kebyar Duduk* and *Kreasi Baru.* Vitale confirms Rubinstein's theory in stating that the love of competition present in the contemporary Balinese *episteme* "clearly predates the music of the *Gong Kebyar*" (1996: 22).

Today, Balinese people from across the island come together to compete on every possible level one can imagine, ranging from the "singing of religious texts to cricket-racing" (ibid.). The most striking image, however, is of the musical competition, which has become the expression of many different elements of the Balinese *musical episteme*, climaxing in the Balinese love of *theatricality*, a most unique form of musical expression. Periodic gamelan competitions have been taking place now for a long time and are followed avidly by an enormously large audience. Events such as these have always been successful in maintaining a deep-seated competitive urge amongst the Balinese. Bakan notes that "the sense of rivalry at every level of social and political organisation is fiercely competitive in modern Bali, following up a history of bitter warfare and feuding that has been largely replaced in contemporary times by symbolic conflicts like *lomba*" (1993: 318).

Competitions are clearly a very important cultural asset which helps the Balinese satisfy their almost archetypal desire for competitive events and helps them maintain a connection with traditional Balinese performance. Perhaps the most important advantage of competitions to the Balinese is their ability to provide their culture with a system which it can use to constantly enhance and innovate upon traditional performance texts, never allowing their 'traditions' to fall out of use. Their music is retained in a form which excites all involved in its creation. This occurs thanks to the multi-levelled judgement categories which include elements such as theatrical style and performance on stage. The category *gerak* (meaning 'movement') in the important competitive event *Lomba Baleganjur* is an example of this. Competition, however, also has its disadvantages. In terms of the *Pesta Kesenian Bali* held yearly in Denpasar, a sort of symbolic system has been set up by the STSI in central Bali which actually functions to filter out all regional variation. As mentioned, these institutions send out teachers to train selected groups from different regions as part of a strongly *Top-Down* process. They encourage the groups to copy these centralised styles allowing the dynamics of regional variation to gradually disappear. This has to do with the politics of Balinese and Indonesian nationalism which wishes to show to the world a united image. It emerges from a relatively new national epistemology which seeks to homogenise art-forms into a museum-like display represented clearly by the

instrument museum held at the STSI in Denpasar. Here all forms of gamelan conform to one another in both style, design and tuning.

Baleganjur is the name for a type of processional music used to demonstrate ceremonial splendour. According to Bakan, the musical performance is also enhanced by "an entourage of non-playing male and female participants costumed to represent noble and mythological characters from Hindu-Balinese culture who head up the procession" (1993: 2). On specific days in the Balinese calendar it is not at all unusual to see traffic police-men holding tourists back while an enormous procession passes through, many of the women holding offerings towering over their heads and some of the men sporting instruments: gongs held on large poles supported by two men, a set of small pots playing fast rhythmic patterns, *kendang* (Balinese drums), and last of all a set of cymbals, each player having two, which create loud *kotekan*-like rhythms. *Baleganjur* is an ancient processional form of music which has traditional associations with masculine power and war, and the name of the ensemble has military associations (Bakan 1993: 98). The fighting analogy can be taken further: Bakan notes that the 'stances, positions and movements' of the performers "symbolise battles and other war-related acts such as waving swords in the air, swinging lances, and hand-to-hand combat" (1993: 311). Like all Balinese gamelan, however, the way the performers interact and the music they play demonstrates the remarkable ability of the Balinese to work together to produce beautiful cultural products. We are reminded here of the *kotekan* structures which are only possible thanks to the complete integration of two or more different melodic and rhythmic parts. *Kreasi Baleganjur* is a revitalisation of the tradition of *Baleganjur* but in a new form, one which has really taken off in Balinese contemporary culture. It forms the foundation for the highly popular *Lomba Baleganjur* music contest. The main impetus for the development of *Kreasi Baleganjur* as a separate genre and then as a competitive event was actually as a part of the large-scale arts festival (PKB) held yearly in Denpasar in the months June and July. I Made Bandem, then the director of the STSI and the festival itself, set forth his plans for using the *Baleganjur* form rather than a marching band in the opening event for the festival in 1984. He considered that it would be a far more 'Balinese' phenomenon to use a large-scale *baleganjur*-like gamelan for this purpose as the major musical element in the opening parade. The introduction of *Kreasi Baleganjur* into the PKB undoubtedly set the wheels in motion for the *Kreasi Baleganjur* explosion that burst forth on the Balinese cultural scene in Denpasar. Soon after the first event a major new form of competition developed called *Lomba Baleganjur,* the first performance of which took place in 1987. *Kreasi Baleganjur* has become a major new form of music-making, which like *Gong Kebyar* is more than simply an orchestra of instruments: it's a way of life accessible to Balinese people both young and old alike.

The whole growth of this musical phenomenon began very much as part of a *Bottom-Up* push necessitated by a compromise between religious and economic need. After the Japanese occupation of Bali during the Second World War, Denpasar replaced Singaraja as the capital of Bali. Following this, natural disasters coupled with a general Indonesian economic downfall and political chaos led to more and more people from all over Bali flocking to Denpasar to seek employment and a better way of life, and as a result of this the city gradually spread outwards and more and more *banjar* were formed, forcing the city's continuous expansion. Bakan describes the unique Balinese character of this 'urbanisation':

> But 'urbanisation followed a distinctly Balinese pattern. Rather than sinking into the type of 'anomie' that has typified rapid post-colonial urbanisation processes in many parts of the world, the newly-arrived Balinese managed to maintain and expand the *banjar/desa* system as the basic unit of sociopolitical organisation. New *banjar* were formed at a phenomenally fast rate... (Bakan 1993: 143-144)

The primary problem for these new *banjar* was the fact they didn't have enough financial means to purchase a gamelan orchestra to perform the necessary ritual functions. The Balinese were able to adapt more 'meagre' means for this function. The *Baleganjur* form which in the past was primarily used for specific processional purposes for only particular rituals was adopted in a new way for different functions. Bakan refers to this as 'creative use of available resources' (ibid.: 181). Basically, the new *banjar* purchased *Gong Baleganjur* which they adjusted "to be an all-purpose ensemble that could play not only the tradition *gilak Baleganjur* required for processions and the like, but also adaptations of the standard ceremonial repertoire of *gamelan gong* and sometimes pieces from other repertoires as well…," (ibid.: 182) becoming for many "*the* principal musical ensemble of ritual life" (ibid.: 183). This creative use has been turned into a major new form of music-making which is now enormously popular all around Bali, enjoying now Bali-wide competition events.

The first major performance took place as part of the *Pesta Kesenian Bali*, the major festival which is held in Denpasar every year around the months of June and July. It was held at the *Taman Budaya* (Art Centre) in Denpasar. In planning the 1984 festival, I Made Bandem (then the director of the festival and the dean of the STSI) met with the Governor of Bali to discuss a new type of processional opening, one which would give the festival a truly Balinese character. A newly adapted form of the traditional marching band ensemble *Baleganjur* was proposed which was directly approved by the governor. Bandem thus began to organise the event with students and teachers at the STSI. Two of the most important performers and teachers of the ensemble were the composers

Astita and Windha discussed above. The group was called *Adi Merdangga* (Sanskrit for 'number-one drum') and it was made up of more than 120 performers, including 20 dancers and 100 musicians. It made its premiere performance at the opening procession of the PKB in 1984 and was an enormous success, fulfilling all expectations. Since the first performance it has become a regular part of the PKB, each year bringing a new and exciting variation upon the opening theme depending on the developments which have taken place during the year as part of competitive and other social events which make up the dynamic *Kreasi Baleganjur* tradition. Compared to contemporary *Gong Kebyar* music, *Kreasi Baleganjur* may seem comparatively simple. Elaine Barkin, who has witnessed such an event notes that "the responsive crowd spanned generations, the competitiveness was fierce, and comparative simplicity is just that, comparative, but not simple." It has become enormously popular because if fulfils many needs among Balinese young men. Firstly, it is easier to learn than *Gong Kebyar* and can be learnt in the context of big city life, i.e. practicing in the weekends and during the evening. Secondly, the music is accessible to a large audience because it is primarily rhythmic in nature. Thirdly, the music is performed in a highly theatrical and flamboyant way, which is an important form of expression in the Balinese performing arts. Fourthly, it binds the community together by involving its members in competitive events. The performers accent the *kotekan*-like rhythms, forming a pattern of interlocking which relies on the group playing very much together rather than as individuals within the group: *Kreasi* performers become part of one and the same musical animal. Lastly, it fulfils the competitive desire present in Balinese culture to outdo performers from competing *banjar*.

Lomba Baleganjur is a competitive event (independent of the PKB) which showcases new creations of the *Kreasi Baleganjur* genre, and the first event was held in 1986 in Denpasar. Bakan notes that this competition was developed "in connection with ceremonies commemorating *Puputan Badung*, the mass ritual suicides of the king of Badung (the region of Bali where Denpasar is located) and his court on September 20 1906" (1993: 2). Its initial impetus as described above was the revitalisation by Bandem of the *Baleganjur* tradition which forms the part of the large-scale opening procession at the commencement of the PKB. The idea for creating such an event came from I Wayan Sudharma who is the oldest son of the great gamelan composer and performer Beratha, and applications were sent in for approval to the Badung senate. Bakan notes that the senate made a positive decision regarding the event, permitting them to organise and produce it for the upcoming anniversary celebrations in mid-September. They also provided the organisation with financial backing and "a set of formal guidelines" (ibid.: 185). As is typical of all political organisations which are involved in any kind of artistic matters, these guidelines were based on a general set of formal principles for the Indonesian and Balinese performing arts, which were ultimately involved with the 'development, expansion and preservation of the traditional arts' (ibid.). The contest itself received the title *Lomba Baleganjur Dalam Rangka Hut ke 80 uputan Badung* meaning '*Baleganjur* Contest in Observance of the 80th anniversary of the *Puputan Badung*'. The first performance took place a week prior to the September 20th anniversary date. After this first event, interest in this new form of gamelan spread across the island like wild-fire and groups of young-men started purchasing instruments and writing their own compositions for a new genre which was based on a gamelan form which every Balinese person is aware of and can probably play at least to some extent. The event itself draws hundreds of teams and a large audience to each performance, which is a great success for a new art form which innovates upon existing cultural material.

Kreasi Baleganjur is played on instruments which resemble the older form of gamelan *Gong Baleganjur*, all instruments of which are hand-held or propped over the shoulders of the members: *kendang*, gong, smaller gong-kettles and many crash-cymbals (*ceng-ceng*), two per player. Like all gamelan, the performance is heightened by the ensemble itself; thanks to the fact that it is a processional form the performers are allowed to move around the stage while performing. The movements of the performers are influenced by the traditional form of *Baleganjur* which involved characters in the procession who have no instruments, but who nonetheless perform movements representing Balinese mythological characters. The performance of *Kreasi Baleganjur* is highly complex if it is compared to the much simpler traditional form of *Baleganjur*. It has its own form of virtuosity which can individualise groups and possibly lead them to success in the competitions. Like the judgement criteria in the traditional forms of gamelan, there is a list of judgement categories which views the whole performance in terms of both musicality and expressivity, where the group's *theatricality* and *gerak* play an important role in separating the winning from the losing groups. Bakan describes a detailed list of these categories:

> The basic categories were: a) *Teknik/Keterampilan* – technique and appearance, b) *Expresi dan Keharmonisan* – expressiveness and 'harmony', c) *Kreasi/Kreativitas* – creation and creativity, d) *Instrumentasi/Suara gambelan* – correct instrumentation and sound quality of the instruments of the gamelan, and 3) *Penampilan* – presentation. … the fifth category in the *Kriteria Penilaian, Penampilan* (presentation), took into consideration one of the most novel aspects of performance: the synchronised choreographed movements (*gerak*) made by the musicians as they played. (Bakan 1993: 186-187)

Now the competitions held yearly for this gamelan are filled with hundreds of groups who perform dynamic new compositions composed within their *banjar*, and the popularity among non-participants has also shown a remarkable increase. This new ensemble has provided young Balinese people with a new way of communicating

and articulating aspects of their culture, and they see both the advantages from the viewpoint of perpetuating Balinese tradition and promoting contemporary music which points towards the future. The competitive event also provides to a large new audience an expression for archetypal Balinese rivalry. All these reasons help to explain the popularity of the *Lomba Baleganjur* among performers and audience members alike. In some ways it combines the dynamism of *Bottom-Up* influence with the community satisfaction of fulfilling a *Top-Down* agenda.

Control over Balinese texts such as the *Kreasi Baru* form for gamelan ensembles like *Gong Kebyar* and *Kreasi Baleganjur* is primarily in the hands of official institutions and the individuals who work there. The main institution in question is the STSI, which is followed closely by the SMKI. Two major forms of influence can be mentioned here. Firstly, it is staff members of the STSI and SMKI who are always on the panels who judge the competitions which take place. Since competition plays such an important role in Balinese culture, groups want to win, and it is by adjusting one's performance to the ideals of the institution that this is possible. Secondly, staff members of both of these institutions are often sent out to teach groups how to 'clean-up' their regional variations, and groups often invite famous composers to teach them new works, which are of course works in the styles sanctioned by the STSI. This sort of control may appear to many westerners to be highly problematic, although it's more often a question of wanting to conform than being forced to conform. On the positive side, the control generally encourages some degree of innovation, enough to press forward a little but not to become ridiculous or embarrassing. An example is the judgement criteria for *gerak* (movement) in *Kreasi Baleganjur* competitions. Bakan (1993: 259) notes that the movements of the performers in the musical procession can be 'appropriately clever' to a certain degree, but if the performers take the innovation too far, they can become offensive and ultimately lose the competition. This is a sanction all competitors obviously would prefer to avoid.

Centralised politics has certainly influenced the development of cultural events such as *Lomba Baleganjur*. GOLKAR is the name of the political party which stood behind the New Order until its fall in 1999 and which had retained power due to political and economic corruption. It is generally known that Suharto was a corrupt dictator, but the Balinese accepted the inevitable and supported the party as long as it was necessary. The Balinese culture was infiltrated through and through by politics, generally thanks to the control the government had (and still has) over the STSI and the *Listibiya.* Bakan describes a particularly interesting example in his work on the new music form *Kreasi Baleganjur*. In 1992 a *Lomba Baleganjur* was sponsored by GOLKAR, and thanks to their meddling with the jury they were able to change the results to the advantage of their political party. Bakan describes this event as follows.

> After the contest, the jury met and decided the winners on the basis of the judge's grades. … When the results of the contest were finally announced they turned out to be a bit different than what they had submitted … They consulted the election results for each of the areas represented in the contest and took these into account in assessing the contest standings. The area represented by the Bangli group had given GOLKAR nearly unanimous support, with almost 100% of voters voting for them. Singapadu, on the other hand, came up with only a slim majority vote in favour of GOLKAR. When the party officials discovered this, they decided to overturn the jury's decision and to give the first prize to Bangli instead of Singapadu. (Bakan 1993: 357)

Here the international interests of the political party came before the interests of the ability of the individuals who unfairly lost the contest. Bakan comments upon the fact that a majority of the Balinese people involved in the competition weren't aware of the tampering, but notes that for "the small contingent aware of what had been done … GOLKAR's actions sent the message that loyalty to the party was its own reward, the prerequisite to any type of success within the system, regardless of whatever other merits or virtues might come to bear" (1993: 375). Considering how important competitions are to the Balinese, I think it would have been at the very least disappointing. Such *Top-Down* meddling of national politics in state affairs, however, has been rife in Indonesian politics since its independence.

Competitiveness, according to Eiseman, is actively fostered by the Indonesian government, as it sponsors yearly festivals or competitions in which groups or individuals compete to be best or among the top three winners (1989: 339). Nearly any activity can be an excuse for a competition in the Indonesia of today, largely to further the feeling of regional and national pride: if a group trains hard enough for one's region, and is ultimately successful in a state competition, then they can have a chance to participate in national competitions in Jakarta or international events outside of Indonesia, all of which are of great value to national pride. The Balinese are constantly telling stories about the time they won first, second or third prize at a *Kreasi Baleganjur* concert, or whose brother was involved in a national competition and did very well there, or even which competition they're planning to take part in next year: it is an important means of cultural diversion, second to none in contemporary Indonesia and most certainly the Bali which has nurtured the desire to compete since its early days. In terms of both the New and the Old Order governments, it has also been said that competitions keeps people's minds off the more terrible things that have been going on in Indonesia.

Although competition has been an important part of Balinese life for hundreds of years, the way it is experienced by each new generation naturally brings its own interesting varieties, resulting in a myriad array of developments

throughout the year. How you view competitions, of course, depends on the perspective you take as performer, composer or audience member. According to Dibia, through the last fifty years one of the largest contrasts is in the degree of severity the event has on an individual's life. Although winning the competition is still an issue of regional, national and even international importance, defeating the 'enemy' is no longer as important as it was in the old days at the beginning of the century. Dibia comments on the fact that "in the past competition was often just trying put each other down", but "now competition is more for playing around, to allow a chance for a certain spontaneity of movement in the dance" (Vitale 1990: 20). The theatrical element has also become increasingly more significant in that it has given individual performers the chance to develop their individual talents. In the past—particularly before the age of the *Gong Kebyar*—music was more a communal event where the emphasis was on the group as a whole. In performances today, winning the competitions can depend on star performers who during brief solos produce incredibly virtuosic instrumental patterns on one or more of the Balinese gamelan instruments. Another interesting change is competitive behaviour which actually occurred within gamelan ensembles, where the dancer would be 'competing' against the drummer: "In the past, a dancer would even try to discern the weakness of a drummer. The minute he found it, he would keep harping on it to bring the drummer down" (ibid.). At the moment on Bali this is far less the case. Thanks to the competitive aesthetic the strong communal sense and the desire to win, Balinese people are tending more and more to work together to the point of virtuosity and baroque ornamentation.

It has been made clear in this discussion that competition is a very important form of social entertainment uniting Balinese people with one another and their specific groups. At the same time competition is a unique form of individual experience with its own subtle system of aesthetics and behaviour patterns. In addition, it is a form of symbolic behaviour which doesn't involve bloodshed but still answers a Balinese desire to compete with their neighbours on a highly competitive scale. Bakan, for example, comments on the extremely war-like confrontations of *Kreasi Baleganjur* competitions which have become perhaps the most accessible form of social interaction for young people considering that the musical instruments require less devotion than *Gong Kebyar* which is now seen as 'klasik': "Their stances, positions, and movements symbolise battles and other war-related acts such as waving swords in the air, swinging lances, and hand-to-hand combat, and also demonstrate the qualities of cooperativeness and coordination crucial to a skilled warrior or any kind of worker" (Bakan 1993: 311). The competition is clearly a form of textuality and a particularly Balinese performance aesthetic which comes from *Bottom-Up,* continuously functioning to revitalise Balinese tradition in new and dynamic ways, enhancing the signification of both old and new musical compositions and ensembles.

4.7 Recent Developments in Balinese Music and Dance

Between the peak period of *Kebyar Duduk* dance which was observed by Colin McPhee and today, a lot of changes have taken place. Ornstein, who wrote her dissertation on the *Gong Kebyar* in the sixties, comments on the contrast between the abstract performance of the early days and performances based on particular stories often taken from the great Hindu epics: "...there are indications of a turning away from abstract choreographies toward dances that have some link, however weak, to a character or character type, or a specific story line, be it traditional or modern..." (1980: 1). This tendency is still noticeable in contemporary dance choreographies of today which are still following some of the thematic concerns Ornstein comments on. This tendency towards narrative is an indication of the need to unify the dance styles by using major Hindu themes. It is probably also an expression of a Balinese movement towards national Indonesian models, i.e. tales which will unite Bali in the larger context of (central) Indonesia which recognises its Hindu-Buddhist origins (an expression of *Top-Down* pan-Indonesianism). We have observed a similar occurrence when Beratha composed the Balinese version of the *Ramayana,* expressing an Indonesian political approach to performance which functions to unite the Javanese and the Balinese sharing the same cultural heritage. Another *Top-Down* creation forced upon the Balinese was the 'socialist' dance style introduced by Sukarno and his regime. Specific narrative dances include works written for a tourist audience, such as the world-famous *Oleg Tambulilingan* ('Bumblebees'). Many of these dances were in their own right quite beautiful and were adopted into the Balinese performance programme. In any case, the contemporary dance of today is generally not 'abstract' in the way it used to be, although many of the musical structures and movements from early *Kebyar* performance are still present.

An important recent development in the Balinese musical history of the twentieth century has been the *Semara Dana* orchestra. This gamelan form was invented specifically for contemporary music, and uses a seven-note scale to extend the possibilities open to composers. This orchestra is known by a combination of different names, depending on where you are and who you talk to. Spellings include *Semara Dana, Semaradhana* and *Semaradhana*. According to Rai (1995: 19), 'Semara' is the god of love, and according to McGraw 'Dana' can mean either fire, energy or booty, whereas others thought it meant empathic or generous. The popular image evoked by the word *dana* is to refer to a generous king or raja who freely provides his assistance or wealth to the people." As is typical of Balinese art, something from the past (the Balinese kings who richly supported their

artists) is intended to produce new music for the future. The *Semara Dana* gamelan was invented in 1987 by the master gamelan maker, musician, and composer I Wayan Beratha. It could be seen as a combination of two older orchestras, the *Gamelan Gong Kebyar* and the *Gamelan Semar Pegulingan* (an older gamelan thought to have been developed in the 16th century). The gamelan *Gong Kebyar* is tuned to a pentatonic scale (known as *patutan selisir*) derived from the seven-tone *pelog* tuning system which came from the Javanese pelog scale. The *Semara Dana* orchestra uses *Gong Kebyar* style instruments, but with the seven tone scale used in *Semar Pegulingan* tuning. More and more contemporary Balinese composers have been turning to this ensemble because they have a greater degree of choices in mode. It is even possible for contemporary composers to consider transposing between modes as a valid compositional tool. It is the best of both worlds, combining *Gong Kebyar* instrumentation with the *Semar Pegulingan* scale, and adding its own unique style which is only found in the *Semara Dana* gamelan form. With the older gamelan, it was impossible to combine the instruments from one ensemble with those of another because each ensemble had its own tuning system. Not only were there problems between different types of ensembles, but between every individual orchestra as there has never existed a model to be used as the basis for all tuning, and therefore the tuning depends on the instrument maker. According to Astita, even before the *Semara Dana* gamelan was invented, there existed an ensemble called *Gamelan Semar Pegulingan Saih Pitu* which encouraged instrument makers to consider new ensembles with a seven-tone scale (Astita 1995: 1). The main advantage of the *Semara Dana* ensemble is that you can play older *Gong Kebyar* and *Semar Pegulingan* pieces on it by adopting the applicable mode. In addition, contemporary composers can write new works in either of the modes or even 'transpose' between them. The *Semara Dana* ensemble was Beratha's answer to the problem of having to change between different gamelan ensembles to produce scales which would suit the different characters required by the *Sendratari* performance. He decided that using multiple orchestras was not an efficient method, and thought of developing a single orchestra that could express a wider range of notes on the one ensemble. After composing the Mahabharata *Sendratari* works, Beratha's first experiment in resolving this problem was according to McGraw "to tune two pre-existing and similar sounding gamelan closer together" (McGraw 1998: 1). According to Beratha, the *Gong Kebyar* was already high and nearly matched the sound quality of the *selisir* mode used most commonly on the *Semar Pegulingan* orchestra. He tried to tune the keys of the *Semar Pegulingan* ensemble down so that it almost was at the same level as the *Gong Kebyar* orchestra, and he then had a hybrid ensemble capable of playing the complete repertoire of *Gong Kebyar* and *Semar Pegulingan* by changing between the instruments. This new ensemble was more flexible than existing groups, but the fact that performers had to change between two instruments during a given performance led him to consider the possibility of creating a totally new ensemble, and as a result in 1983 Beratha created a gamelan which was later named *Genta Pinara Pitu* which had both a full seven-tone range (like *Semar Pegulingan*) on the high end with a five-tone *Gong Kebyar* scale at the bottom. Unfortunately, the goal was still not reached because of one missing tone on the low end of the *gangsa*, which led to Beratha's creation of the new *Semara Dana* orchestra in 1987.

There existed around the world at the time of the writing this work about twelve complete *Semara Dana* gamelan groups. Each one of these ensembles has been made at Beratha's shop, and they are also tuned according to his system. At the time of the writing of McGraw's work on this subject, three ensembles had been ordered and were being made in the *Semara Dana* style (ibid.). McGraw, however, comments on the fact that "the STSI … as well as several large temples in the Ubud area have opted to use several separate gamelan for *Sendratari*, despite having a gamelan *Semara Dana*." It is more common for contemporary composers to use this gamelan to express new ideas in either *Kreasi Baru* or *Musik Kontemporer* works thanks to the extended possibilities offered by the seven-tone scale. McGraw notes that "composers such as Ketut Gede Asnawa are using the extra modes offered on the gamelan *Semara Dana* as palettes for their new creations."

Balinese composers such as I Komang Astita who have studied in places outside of Bali both in Indonesia and internationally have composed new works of an experimental nature. Music like this which doesn't conform to traditional Balinese musical precepts is known as *Musik Kontemporer*; it is not accepted by an audience of Balinese people who know only *Kreasi Baru* and are not prepared to be assaulted by what them appears to be a meaningless collection of sounds or noises. At the same time *Musik Kontemporer* is the expression of *Bottom-Up* influenced musical creation which in many ways functions to influence the institutions that encourage their creation. The practice of *Musik Kontemporer* on Bali is a relatively recent musical phenomenon. Unlike the *Kreasi Baru* musical text introduced in Chapter Two—which is structured around the Balinese cultural notion of the *triangga—Musik Kontemporer* doesn't have any basic predetermined precedents. It is not, in other words, a musical text but rather an attitude to music based on the *Bottom-Up* aesthetic. New works by composers—many of whom have studied outside Bali—include sound material never used by Balinese composers before such as combining western and gamelan instruments in the same composition and multi-orchestral pieces. *Musik Kontemporer* works might include new ways of playing traditional instruments—comparable to Cage's 'prepared piano' compositions—or even 'found' instruments. Lastly, the 'musical' performers on stage can become active

participants, moving to different positions on the stage or participating in the dance while playing their instruments. This is perhaps the factor of *Musik Kontemporer* which unites it with the *Kreasi Baru* and *Gong Kebyar* traditions revelling in flamboyance, theatricality and interaction between the musicians and dancers. As Barkin comments, "musicians in Bali move with the sensibility of dancers, fully conscious of their bodies, bearing appearance, and physical relationship to and with their instrument and the performance environment"

Composers of today who are educated at the STSI may very well encounter some difficulties reconciling the old traditions with new developments they find in their interactions with the western world. The whole notion of 'individual' creation is becoming more and more the vogue for new students and they are being encouraged to form an independent compositional vocabulary. The Balinese culture may be one of the most adaptable on the earth today, but in spite of this composers are now creating in themselves a feeling of conflict between the secularisation of their culture and their religious beliefs which are still very much a part of Balinese culture. Here a tension is created between the opposing forces from the *Top-Down* and the *Bottom-Up,* or traditional as opposed to avant-garde textual models. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the main subjects represented in Balinese *Musik Kontemporer* is Balinese ritual. Using their own culture as a means to represent their devotion to their gods is a way to reconcile their rapidly changing world with the growing amount of compositional tools they have to create with. *Musik Kontemporer,* therefore, becomes a tool for the comprehension of their culture. I Wayan Sadra (a Balinese composer living and working in Surakarta) demonstrates this tendency in his *Musik Kontemporer* composition called *Lad-lud-an* which is strongly influenced by the multimedial nature of Balinese ritual. Another good example of this is the new work *Sembah* by the young Balinese composer I Made Agus Wardana. According to Wardana, 'sembah' means 'a song to my god', and although the text is improvised the combination of its ritual form and the use of sacred instruments (*Gender Wayang*) allows Wardana to reach *Taksu* during the performance. This work is influenced by Balinese tradition but adopts new performance techniques to reconcile the changing world with his religious beliefs. Other important Balinese *Musik Kontemporer* compositions include the groundbreaking *Eka Dasa Rudra* by I Komang Astita which is based on his musical experiences during the important centennial Balinese-wide ceremony of the same name, and *Kosong* by I Ketut Gede Asnawa which reflects another major ritual *Hari Nyepi* by having its performers sing *kidung* (religious texts) and mime religious tasks (Bandem 1981: 141).

According to Vitale, *Musik Kontemporer* is still a bit 'unnatural' in Bali, composed for a musical elite. Balinese audiences are generally unable to understand the 'point' even if there is some clear religious impetus behind the works such as those described above. Vitale considers *Kontemporer* to be a very limited category, about one tenth of one percent of what goes on in Bali. It is clear that a gap is growing between the desires of the institutions which provide people with a musical education, such as the STSI, and what the Balinese people want to see. In addition, relatively few opportunities prevail for one to hear *Musik Kontemporer*. According to Elaine Barkin, such events are usually programmed at Arts Festival concerts or at the SMKI (High School of the Arts) and elsewhere in the world, where most new music events take place under institutional and foundational programmes, where audiences are heavily populated with "affiliates of institutions, other professional musicians, and a cluster of committed independents." In western Europe, new music events are sparsely attended whereas in Bali concerts given under similar auspices are always well attended (even though the audience may react extremely derisively to performances that transgress their aesthetic boundaries). Audiences both for traditional and new music comprise a broad cross-section: city or large town dwellers (including children and teenagers), members of local music and dance academies, representatives of local government, and western visitors.

Astita, an important Balinese composer who is not averse to inventing new *Musik Kontemporer* texts, considers that this genre is important and that it has a future on Bali, even though he thinks it is still cramped by 'academic stuffiness', remaining largely restricted to events organised by the STSI. According to Astita, the reaction to new music is becoming more positive, although its general acceptance would grow if it was brought more to the villages and spread out more among the people; it would lose its sense of strangeness to the general public, and provide composers with a greater variety of compositional tools than exist only in the *Kreasi Baru* form. Maybe with the assistance of Astita who still teaches at the academy, this will be possible, although it should be noted that not everyone shares his attitude to *Musik Kontemporer*. Wardana, for instance, feels that composers have to stay within the confines of the tradition and not venture too far because it will only serve to alienate a conservative Balinese audience. Made has strong feelings about retaining what is traditional and what is new, but doesn't reject the fact that the traditional and the new can be mixed to create something different and exciting.

According to Wayne Vitale, contact with the West has had both its positive and negative sides, and has brought about a development in Balinese contemporary art which is creating a notion of 'individualism'. This contrasts to the 'collectivism' which has been a natural element of Balinese (and Indonesian) creation in the past—within the performance group—right from the very beginning. In Indonesia, people are talking about this on many different levels of daily life thanks to a general Indonesian policy which has infiltrated the mass-media. Questions like 'do

you know your neighbour' are entering into the collective subconscious of the Indonesian populace, which pertains to the Balinese as well. As a result, people are building higher walls between their houses and clearer family compounds so there is increasingly less ambiguity about what belongs to whom. Vitale also recognises that contemporary composers are becoming more and more aware of the fact that they are very often not recognised for the works they have performed. This is partly due to the general Indonesian tendency through the mass-media and the STSI (via Indonesia) and partly through the teachers there—such as Astita—who have studied in the West and have learnt the advantage within the music industry of having copyright control over the performances of their compositions. Vitale considers that Astita has been at the forefront of trying to get the idea of copyright fixed in Indonesia. Balinese composers want copyright protection on the one hand, but at the same time 'flagrantly' break the copyright laws regularly by 'stealing' melodies and other musical elements from compositions of other composers. This complicates the issue somewhat making it a difficult one to resolve.

4.8 Balinese Youth turning to Western Pop

Although the *Gong Kebyar* gamelan form is still immensely popular among a large percentage of Balinese people on all social levels, the attention of the youth of today, especially those living in the capital Denpasar and other tourist centres, has been drawn to forms which they recognise from mass-media. They have long been aware that Bali is no longer a place for the Balinese alone. As for the inhabitants of the rest of the world television and internet have made places external to Bali more accessible, and Balinese youth are looking for music which helps them to identify with other people from around the world. This, coupled with the fact that less and less time is available to spend on purely cultural matters, has led to a new middle-class Balinese audience identifying less with musical forms that are difficult to master, even though most people develop a sense of respect for those that do. *Gong Kebyar* is no longer the main form which is used for symbolic expression. In terms of time and ability *Kreasi Baleganjur* is less demanding and many Balinese people (especially male youths) are getting involved because it is less difficult to master. Balinese traditional cultural texts, despite the dynamic efforts coming from *Top-Down* in Balinese society, are unable to keep up with a new generation of young people. To use terminology from Chapter Three, new *indexical* (performance-based) forms radically different from forms related to the *Kreasi Baru* aesthetic are being developed; Balinese young people of today, alienated from traditional forms which no longer answer their desire for expression, are being led to create new music based on western pop. In other words traditional *icons* are for the young people of today not always appropriate, leading them to search for new means which can fulfil their *symbolic* needs in a changed world. Anglo-American style rock groups, providing new *symbolic* answers to new *iconic* questions, are popping up more and more all over the island.

Balinese youth have been forced to adjust to a myriad array of new musical forms and environments, many of which come from the West. These forms are not encouraged by the important Balinese institutions such as the Udayana University, STSI or SMKI (all in Denpasar). They have developed thanks to interaction between Balinese young people and the world set up for tourism. Forms of mass-media which an increasingly large number of young people all over the world are gaining access to via radio, television and the internet have also played an important role in this regard. It will be demonstrated further in this chapter division that a whole new range of music forms are developing, but this time external to the academies thanks to the above-mentioned influences, often based on Anglo-American popular music styles which are still not under the control of the state in the way that the *Gong Kebyar* of today is. These new forms are an essential cultural asset to make sense of a rapidly changing world just as *Gong Kebyar* was at the turn of the century. Here we have a noticeable move from *Top-Down* artistic stimuli, i.e. from institutions controlled by society, to music created from the *Bottom-Up*, by Balinese youth who do it as a personal reaction to their environment which is comparable to the dynamic environment in which the *Gong Kebyar* tradition developed.

In Western European culture there are quite succinct boundaries separating 'classical' or *formal* music from either popular or folk forms and as such pop music is considered by some levels of society to be inferior or at best of limited applicability. In contrast, pop culture is difficult to define in a Balinese context. For the general Balinese person, the main trait of traditional music is that it is able to indicate information about what its origin is through regional variation in style. In comparison western pop is considered to be 'universal', connecting the Balinese youth to the worldwide youth culture which recognises a particular way of speaking, acting and music-making expressed as *bodily hexis* in the sense intended by Bourdieu. The Balinese don't feel that either Anglo-American pop music or its imitations are in any way inferior to Balinese traditional music: young people and old people alike who I interviewed told me that they considered their 'enjoyment' of pop and traditional music to be essentially the same. Popular music has a vitality which they greatly enjoy and which allows them to experience a shared space enjoyed by other young people and to 'have a good time'. European musicology (or ethnomusicology) has had the tendency to view the imposition of western pop as a negative phenomenon. This is unfortunately an over-paternalistic neo-colonialist tendency which functions to make the same distinction between popular and 'classical' music present in western culture

The New Order Indonesian government presents to the Indonesian people of this generation a reality which resembles the American dream with all its modern conveniences. Western music is largely unrestricted in this new Indonesia, and as a result MTV and its Indonesian variations can play unhindered to a growing audience of Indonesians, including a large amount of Balinese people who are becoming members of the middle-class and whose life is resembling more and more the lifestyle propagated by the Indonesian propaganda machine via television centralised in Jakarta. Anglo-American music is, therefore, a symbol of a lifestyle which is accepted and encouraged by the government. Another interesting factor which explains the popularity of Anglo-American/Indonesian pop music is the fact that in the Old Order government it represented very much a reaction to the restrictions imposed by the system; western music was forbidden in Sukarno's quaint new socialist Indonesia. Ballinger confirms this in stating that "ever since Sukarno implicated western music into his nationalist rhetoric, in effect banning Anglo-American rock, certain forms of foreign music have signified opposition to the ruling regime." The Indonesian government has also characterized itself negatively in both the New and Old Order in its attempts to try and interfere in almost every element of Indonesian life. Certain radical variations upon western pop music represents to a whole generation a clear statement against this type of control. As Ballinger notes, "in the late New Order, punk, death metal and other 1990s *headbanging* genres, adopted from the Euro-American scene, have come to signify a gesture of generational opposition to the ageing regime, led by an old man [Suharto]." Many people would be surprised to know that on Bali the enthusiasm for western music is not thanks to a growing public of Balinese people who through contact with tourists admire the western way of experiencing music: tourists are a form of income and are experienced rather negatively thanks to the strict *bodily hexis* which governs Balinese life. Most Balinese people who are attracted by western style pop (even in its Indonesian guise) "follow an indigenous aesthetics and fashion, influenced by their own local elite, all-Indonesian trends, pop singers, and cinema stars" (Barth 1993: 245). Forms of western pop music, therefore, are at one and the same time representative of a new lifestyle promoted by the New Order government, a reaction against the Old Order government and a form of income.

The entrance of popular music into the Balinese world has certainly changed the music-making habits of a new generation of Balinese youth. The choices open to them, however, are quite wide. On the one hand, they can participate in bands either for Balinese or tourist audiences in many different musical styles including *Jazz, Reggae, Punk* and *House* music. There is also a movement in Balinese bands combining pop music with traditional music, which will be discussed in more detail further on. Even the PKB now has a division of its competition devoted entirely to pop music (called *Pop Daerah*). As discussed, there are also new forms of gamelan which are more accessible to an audience of young people thanks to their adoption of elements influenced by the pop-music tradition. One of the most prominent is *Kreasi Baleganjur*; it retains many of the elements of popular music because of its comparative simplicity and the dramatic intensity of group performances, as well as the well-known tradition of competitions and festivals comparable to that of *Gong Kebyar*. Playing *Kreasi Baleganjur* is at least as exciting as the most dramatic *Gong Kebyar* composition, so it retains this important level of dynamic 'theatricality' essential to much Balinese music. It also has the advantage of giving the members of the group the feeling that they are keeping the Balinese culture alive, making use as it does of traditional instruments from the *Gong Baleganjur* repertoire. Not all young people in Bali, however, have the chance to learn *Kreasi Baleganjur* due to lack of time or money. Other forms are available for their enjoyment, which includes most forms of western pop music. These have the advantage of providing the Balinese youth with a form of income in that they can perform for the tourist market. As will be demonstrated further on western popular music has other advantages not available in more traditional Balinese forms, demonstrating that it is not simply a question of tourist-enforced economics.

What is it about Anglo-American pop music, and the Indonesian derivatives which use these forms as textual blueprints, that makes them so popular among Balinese young people? According to Bakan, "the influx of western popular music culture into Bali has created an awareness of a certain kind of musical energy and intensity that is very appealing to Balinese youth" (1993: 335). As discussed above, *Gong Kebyar* is gradually losing its "symbolic" communicative potential for the average youth of today because of the enormous technical skill required to learn it. For many, *Kreasi Baru* music played on *Gong Kebyar* instruments, although recognisable, is becoming more of a strain to comprehend because of its increasing complexity. When asked to compare the advantages of disco and ritual performance, many of the interviewees I spoke to said that western dance makes them feel 'free', whereas ritual dancing has spiritual power ('*Taksu*'). There are a great number of young people who are forming pop bands and combining gamelan music forms with pop: it is highly accessible and its practitioners don't require a lifetime of training and practice to master. Ni Putu Tisna Andayani (daughter of the Balinese composer Astita) suggested that the number of Balinese rock bands could amount to thousands. Considering Bali's small size, this is quite a significant amount. Astita is of the opinion that all of the major forms of popular western style music are common and well-liked among Balinese young people.

The music that emanates from the West through the tourist industry has found a place in the lives of Balinese young people, especially those living in the larger tourist-based centres. Many western-style discos have popped up to cater to the tastes of western tourists. The many discos are most certainly frequented by a large population of Balinese young people from a wide-range of different age-groups from very young (one of the people I interviewed was only fifteen years old), to middle-aged. They generally come from a middle to high-class section of society. Discos which are frequented include *Janger* in Sanur, *Bintang Bali* and *Skandal*, although the Balinese themselves are sometimes in the minority as they are so expensive to visit. This does not mean, however, that the West has successfully recolonised Bali even in a non-violent sense, it means that the Balinese have appropriated yet another level into their own culture. They enjoy it and it gives them a sense of freedom, telling them they are not alone. It unites them with what they feel to be a world culture of young people who enjoy similar music and dance. The Balinese find the music played at these discos an important form of communication which they relate directly to their enjoyment of traditional music. This also helps to explain the popularity of fusion forms mixing pop and traditional music which are becoming increasingly more common in arts festivals in Denpasar, particularly the PKB.

The key words with regards western-style disco are 'fun' and 'freedom', but the group involvement in the music and the dance activities goes somewhat deeper than simply this. Firstly to be able to dance to this music one does not have to have had years of dance training. Although their own traditional music has its own exuberance and sensuality, especially with regard to speed and theatricality, it involves attaining a high level of technique, whereas pop music is open to a wider audience and permits more freedom of movement than the traditional forms. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Balinese that attend discos are often the same people who attend the new music festivals in Denpasar and are directly involved in playing in both rock-bands and traditional orchestras. As mentioned, there is no 'class' distinction between popular and classical music as is often present in our culture. For them the relationship between traditional and popular music seems a logical consequence.

Another element which should be considered is the analogy with trance which can be drawn if one compares Balinese traditional music which induces trance with new forms of popular music such as *House* and *Techno*. Some of the young people I interviewed seemed to be in a state of over-excitement, sweating profusely, eyes ablaze as if they were in a different world, heavily pumped up by the energy of the music and appearing highly susceptible to the dynamism of their environment. From my experience comparing these situation to Balinese trance dancing does not seem so absurd. In discussing the discos in Kuta and Sanur Bandem makes the following observation: "The resemblance of the nightly activities in these locations at the *kelod* extreme of the island to the dancing described in the old *Calonarang* is not too far-fetched" (Bandem 1981: 142). The Balinese concept of *ramai* which a disco amply fulfils refers to a state of being which they enjoy immensely, involving the whole sense of becoming lost in the crowd, becoming one of the mass rather than an individual. This music becomes a form of escape from an overcrowded Balinese existence which has many people together in the same compound, always busy with the affairs of those surrounding them, in addition to complex rules and rituals embodied in everyday activities. A desire for this kind of escape, which can also take place in cock-fighting or large-scale musical events such as musical competitions, is a perfectly natural one and it is in most respects positive that the Balinese youth of today have a place were they can regularly experience *ramai* in an environment which they recognise and which communicates to them on the right level. Pop forms which help the Balinese achieve *ramai* include *House, Techno, Punk* and other forms of *headbanging* music as we will discuss in the following paragraphs.

Punk was an abrasive and controversial style of rock music which had its origins in England from the mid-seventies until the early eighties. This music was hard and loud and stood very much against the conservative rock environment preceding it. The *Sex Pistols*, perhaps the most well-remembered and controversial of all punk bands, were pioneers in the field, introducing the strange fashion aesthetic (spiked hair and ripped clothing) and the music style. Although the music is aggressive and at the height of the punk movement in the U.K. there were associations with drugs, alcohol, violence and death, there have been elements of the punk aesthetic which have functioned to provide its audience with the means to emotionally and physically interact with their environment in a liberating fashion: punk became more than just a way of singing, it became a way of behaving and a dynamic embodied ontology. The punk aesthetic, therefore, is so much more than simply loud music and anarchy. It is representative of an anti-colonial tendency, one which stands against the stereotypes and represents a certain way of experiencing a spatial environment in a group comparable to Balinese *ramai*. The rather nightmarish texts of some of the songs, coupled with the catharsis created in this environment is not necessarily negative: the attraction is in the music itself, which is a sense of freedom to express oneself in a way that is not possible with other musical forms. It is not so much *what* the songs are singing, but *how* they are singing it: punk is not a collection of songs, it is a contemporary and aggressive confrontational ontology. In Bali and other places in Indonesia, punk music is returning, representing a way of life for a new generation of Balinese youth in Denpasar. The interesting fact here is that almost all of these 'punk' performances are designed for Balinese audiences: most tourists don't even know

about their existence. In all these situations the Balinese youth culture is clearly creating itself an environment which helps it to cope with their culture in a world which is overrun with people from outside (tourists, business-men and untrustworthy politicians) who add to a growing sense of ambiguity as far as self identity is concerned. Another advantage of the punk style is the fact that since it scorned musicianship and professionalism, it gave teenagers of all abilities the chance to express themselves vocally as had never been possible in the past. It has indeed been a resounding success in contemporary Indonesia. Pickles describes this new anti-societal Indonesian punk aesthetic as follows:

> Found objects were given new 'absurd' contexts: over-sized safety pins pushed through earlobes and spiked dog collars buckled around human necks. These visual statements set out to ridicule the conventions of respectable social life. The tough non-conformist attitudes of punkers were a reaction to a conservative government which offered limited prospects to its youth. (Pickles 2000)

This seems to directly echo the current situation in Indonesia after a long period under the corrupt New Order government. Pickles discusses the advantages punk offers to contemporary youth, forming as it does an expression of their dissatisfaction with their environment. What is also interesting is that it speaks across boundaries, at least in Indonesia: punk concerts put on in major Javanese villages are attended by people from all over Indonesia and sometimes even further. Punk music is also rife in Bali. *Superman is Dead* (SID), for example, is a Kuta-based punk band formed at the end of 1995 by three university students: "Our punk is about an anti-establishment attitude that's communicated musically with a letting go, anything goes kind of approach." Here the importance of 'letting go' or of attaining *ramai* is made possible thanks to the mediation of punk music. It also forms part of a movement among Balinese youth which states that individuals have a right to be different: Balinese society tolerates difference, but only to a certain degree, and many young people today feel highly alienated from their society. Punk music or 'headbanging' gives them the chance to do this: "the action of *headbanging* is a statement of alliance with 1921, an organisation supporting *Death Metal* which claims to stand for its members' right to be different, in whatever form…" This is a statement also true for other forms of rock music including *Heavy Metal* and *Death Metal*, which are similarly anti-professional, anti-aesthetic, and anti-society. Kadek, a member of a Balinese *Death Metal* group, notes that the words of the songs themselves are not so important, but "the attraction is more the music itself, it gives us hope, it's about freedom, it's an expression of our soul." Although forms of radical new music such as *Heavy Metal* or *Punk* do not receive direct assistance from society, *banjar*-approved groups run by the musicians set up major events held weekly: I was told of an event held in a performance space in Denpasar set up by a death-metal initiative know as the *Bali Corpse-Grinders.* They organised dance music parties which were held at *Lila Buana*, a performance space which used to be an old movie theatre (although it is now the sight of the new *Ngurah Rai* stadium). Another important event is the *Sunday Hot Music* parties which are held weekly for Balinese death-thrashers in Sanur. Like those organised by the *Corpse-Grinders*, the performers are largely unknown to tourists.

House and *Techno* are two related forms of popular music, created purely for a disco environment. It first appeared in New York and then in Chicago in the early 1980s, making use of new electronic technology: music was stripped back to a simple bass line and a loud electronic pounding. It has developed into an enormously popular form of disco music, and now dominates most mainstream discos around the world. In the mid-eighties in Detroit, undoubtedly influenced by the success of *House* music, *Techno* emerged. A group of teenagers got together and created synthesised music which reflected both the post-industrial decay of Detroit, and the growing importance of computer technology. *House* and *Techno* music are certainly highly influential forms to Balinese young people who hear their products and variations nightly at all the major discos. According to Perlman, *House* music is also highly popular in Central Java (Solo) where there is even a special genre *House Jawa* with its own specialist DJs, sometimes even with references to Javanese traditional music. Perhaps because of its likeness to Balinese traditional music which is loud and with the continuous and penetrating banging of the *kajar* instrument these forms of music hit the right note with Balinese young people who seem to enjoy these forms of popular music the most. Astita, a Balinese composer and teacher at the STSI, refers specifically to 'House' music as one involved with western-style discos, but at the same time refers to the phenomenon as 'tripping music' and observes the fact that many Balinese pop groups are getting together and using a combination of both sampled gamelan instruments and sometimes Balinese texts to create *House* works for use in discos primarily for Balinese consumption. Astita also recognises that this music form shares some characteristics with traditional music: "steady and hard rhythms over and over for a long time that tends to make people get into a trace and become involved with the music." A combination of sampled Balinese gamelan sounds and the loud and repetitive rhythms functions to overwhelm the (largely Balinese) audience who become incensed and sometimes even seem to reach a trance-like state. This dynamic experience of an environment also helps them achieve *ramai*, a sort of release from the restrictions on one's life within the confines of a densely populated *banjar*. Local musician Yong Sagita is well-known for his unique adaptation of *House* music which is often played in Balinese discos. Sagita uses Balinese gamelan music as part of the loud and repetitive *House* dynamic. The texts of his songs differ to the Anglo-American *House* aesthetic

in that they comment upon issues which Balinese people in Denpasar can relate to. On one of his recent albums a number of situations young people are typically confronted by in contemporary Bali are dealt with. The work *Toris* is about misunderstandings in a conversation with a tourist, and 'Hitom' and 'Bajang Sakura' are both about a Japanese girl (the Japanese are prevalent visitors to Bali). Another contrast is the fact that the songs sound more pleasant than the hard-core intensity of most Anglo-American or European *House* music.

A typical misunderstanding which arises in Balinese-European cultural interaction is involved with the sort of music tourists *expect* the Balinese to enjoy, and how in real-life the Balinese have played in on this expectation to help promote their restaurants or art-centres. Very often this takes the form of reggae music which did not, of course, originate in Bali. In a commercial sense it is considered to be appropriate for the tourist market. It provides genuine employment possibilities in the mid to lower priced hotels and clubs, which means real job prospects for people who can appropriate this music on Bali. It functions primarily to affirm the popular conception of Bali as a 'tropical beach paradise'. Balinese bands who play music for a Balinese audience, however, are disadvantaged by the emphasis on reggae for tourists, especially in Sanur: *Punk, Heavy Metal, Death Metal, House* or *Techno* groups have to specialise in a totally different genre if they wish to make any money out of the potentially lucrative tourist market. If they want to play anywhere outside of the context of specific events organised for mass Balinese audiences consisting of an increasingly growing public of young enthusiasts for *headbanging* music, they have to be familiar with reggae or related styles. Bands have to have up to forty songs pre-set by their employers which is a heavy pre-requisite. Fortunately there are some specific events organised purely for Balinese youth as mentioned above which support groups performing the type of music they seem to enjoy a great deal, particularly 'headbanging' music.

Why do the Balinese youth prefer *Punk, Techno* and *headbanging* music to *reggae* and softer pop? Radical sociocultural change and massive globalisation could certainly be influential factors. Physical space on the island is becoming increasingly more crowded with hotels and clubs, and as giant shopping malls fill spaces where temples, ricefields and sports facilities once lay, many young Balinese are choosing to fill their leisure time with music. It may be that music takes them beyond an increasingly alien landscape to a state of mind that is harder to colonise. Perhaps as a rejection of a tired and false neo-colonial aesthetic they are finding themselves again in this hard, loud, dynamic and aggressive music. Thanks to the influence they create with their 'unconventional' music, young Balinese people are demanding a right to profit from western culture without being restricted by it. How is it possible in a Balinese situation for bands such as these to survive, particularly since they don't recreate music which subscribes to a tourist-based market? Record-companies for one, firmly based in Jakarta, are unlikely to spend money to risk recording or marketing Balinese music: its audience is just too small for it to be considered marketable. There are a number of different situations which can involve the performance of pop music, which includes fund-raising parties where, for example, people buy food at inflated prices to raise money for the *banjar*. In these situations some pop music and *dansa* events can take place specifically for the younger audience, although *House* and *Techno* remain mostly in the context of the disco. There are specific events that occur for *headbanging* music which are popular among youth but can only be performed in large-scale facilities especially prepared for the purpose. An event called *Sunday Hot Music* was designed specifically for 'deaththrashing' music and took place at the writing of this work every second week in Sanur. As mentioned above, most tourists don't even know of its existence. The passage overleaf describes the event:

> Every second Sunday at around dusk, a stream of motorbikes starts trickling down from the Sanur bypass towards the beach at Padang Galak. They turn East at the shore, traverse the vast expanse of graded earth that is to be Bali's first 'Recreation Park', and come to rest at a grassy flat beneath the Penyu Dewata swimming pool. By nightfall, around 1000 two wheeled vehicles have banked up. They have come to witness what is currently Bali's biggest local music event - the bi-weekly Sunday Hot Music… 'Sunday Hot Music has produced a snowball effect whereby the more gigs there are, the more kids want to be in a band', says Gus Martin, Bali Post's resident rock historian who originally proposed the idea to the backer of Sunday Hot Music, Crapt Entertainment. According to Martin, Sunday Hot Music is more than just a music event, 'it has become an important part of teen life in Denpasar'. Whether Sunday Hot Music can

> be credited with creating the boom is a moot point. But clearly, the local music scene has shown signs of invigoration since the event started two years ago. Because of the increasing number of bands, Crapt has recently been forced to turn many hopefuls away. Each Sunday Hot Music showcases six bands, three of which are invited without audition and three selected after auditioning. Now Crapt has started to use a random pre-selection system to cull the pool… Some veteran Balinese musicians see the greater accessibility of musical equipment as having prompted the boom. (Baulch 1996)

Last of all, and probably the most 'Indonesianised' of all pop music forms, is the form of pop which is based on influence from Indian, Arabic and Malay music, known Indonesia-wide as *Dangdut.* Rhoma Irama, the well-known and sometimes politically oriented Balinese rock singer, is responsible for its popularity. It spread quickly over the whole of Indonesia, partly to do with communal recognition of musical forms and partly to do with it being pushed as a means for intercultural communication by the Indonesian government. The title *Dangdut* is actually an onomatopoeic term imitating the sound of beating a drum; its origins can be found in Arabic and Malay drum music. According to Astita, *Dangdut* is associated with the Islamic religion and to a lesser extent to Javanese culture. He thinks therefore that the existence of a large Balinese *Dangdut* movement is unlikely. He did admit, however, that Balinese pop groups are certainly influenced by this form and could be borrowing melodies and rhythms from the new Javanese rage. It has, however, been confirmed that there exists a form of *Dangdut* indigenous to Bali. I first heard it myself during a fieldwork trip in May 1998. While listening to the radio we heard some music which sounded to me like *Dangdut,* but this time in Balinese. My suspicions were confirmed by Dieter Mack, a German gamelan specialist, who had purchased a Balinese *Dangdut* cassette called 'Guna Karya' which included Balinese text.

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, music and dance are tools we use to experience or understand our environment. Because of globalisation the Balinese sound world has changed, consisting of more and more forms of western pop, even if it is only intended for a tourist audience. It is only natural, therefore, that the Balinese will feel the necessity to combine and mix traditional forms—which they are familiar with because of their busy religious calendar of rituals and performances—with western popular music, which is becoming more and more a standard part of Balinese existence. Through the last decade a new form has developed on Bali which is known as 'Dansa'. It is a type of formal disco which involves the Balinese adopting western popular music blaring out of speakers positioned on the stage and a number of scantily clad young girls doing what basically looks like 'disco-dancing', but in a form which is choreographed from beginning to end: something quite unusual for an uninitiated western observer. Such events are often organised by village youth clubs, held as fund-raising events, and Ballinger blames this on the influence of the music video programme televised nationally every Sunday afternoon (1993: 67). This is a clear example of the Balinese moulding external musical and dance-based influences into an understandable Balinese form; here the indexical element is formed into a new symbolic purpose. Sequences of 'Dansa' are often interspersed by traditional Balinese dances, and sometimes traditional Balinese figures—such as *oleg*, the female bumblebee figure from the famous *Gong Kebyar* dance *Oleg Tambulilingan*—interrupt or move between the dancers on stage. These combined forms allow the Balinese youth to 'physically' comprehend the musical influences flooding in from the West. Such musical influences are obviously a vital communicative form for the young people of today which have dramatic epistemological consequences for how they experience the world in general. This seems to me very much a 'Bottom-Up' approach to artistic creation: one where the artists are using their own ideas directly to create an understandable performance environment. This is especially popular among young Balinese people who, in an effort to 'make sense of their world' dissect the performance forms open to them and recombine them in a new way. This is an activity which takes place a lot in schools or at events held on a *banjar* level for young people. According to Tisna, teenagers love 'combining modern and traditional'. As Tisna says: "I want to do that. I have to do that. . . Something different from that one."

4.9 New Fusion Forms in Contemporary Balinese Performance

The Balinese youth of today are being bombarded by a world which undergoes a process of constant change, both in terms of cultural and societal values. As demonstrated, they are turning more and more to new forms of performance offered by this new world, all of which are available to them in the tourist centres in the form of discos and continuously more at home via television, radio and forms of sound-reproduction such as cassette recordings or (to a lesser extent) compact disks. There has also been a growth in the amount of fusion forms which have developed. Here I am referring to musical texts which involve the combination of western-style pop and Balinese traditional music and dance. It is not, however, a passive cultural process reflecting outside influence. It is rather the result of a dynamic desire to comprehend the new. From interviews I held in Bali in 1998, mostly with young Balinese people, it was made clear that this combination of traditional and modern forms is gaining in popularity and urgency. Using musical 'tools' they experiment and construct new forms with an excited energy. Balinese teenagers want to be able to experience this dynamic sense of change with their own bodies. This brings about a cultural interaction with time and space which creates interesting hybrid forms. Sometimes this can lead to

cultural change and development and in the following discussion the intention is to explore this particular topic in more detail. We begin with an introduction to what is referred to as *campuran* or Balinese fusion performance.

Campuran has been a part of Balinese performance for hundreds of years: one only has to look at the *Barong* dance which combines the Balinese witch (*Rangda*) with the friendly 'dragon' (the *Barong*) influenced by the Chinese flying dragon performances and possibly the Tibetan Tantric Buddhist movement. In the twentieth century there have been many types of fusion performance as well, including the *Janger* dance fusing western forms of *mis-en-scène* and costumes with Balinese coupling rituals. Today in Bali the rage is pop fusion, mixing western pop with Balinese gamelan instruments (either live or sampled), costumes, text and singing. I observed from interviews held in Balinese discos that young Balinese people particularly enjoy fusion forms that unite traditional dance and music with western pop music and jazz. It is a type of experimentation with their own culture and the contemporary world, a 'testing of their theories of the world' in a Smithian sense using tangible and sensual elements: "Tari Bali sama gaya yang disco enak" (Balinese and western fusion are great). Fusion forms in Indonesia are not unique: these days it is common event to hear a *kroncong* melody 'rhythmicised' with a disco beat or their already strongly embedded *Dangdut* tradition in a new variation. Fusion forms result from a new generation of Balinese people attempting to cope with rapid cultural change. It provides the creators and listeners with a satisfactory feeling of having created something which 'works' (successfully combining two elements which had previously been opposing), an answer of sorts to a musically-founded question.

Today, as part of the internationally known PKB (Bali Arts Festival) there is a division known as *pop daerah* which can be translated as *regional pop.* Like other divisions within the festival, a *banjar* is chosen in each of the regions (*kebupaten*) of Bali, differing each year. The chosen region has to send in an entry, in the case of regional pop a western-style pop-group. The Balinese competitive instinct makes them fiercely enthusiastic to participate in such events. These performances very often involve fusion pop, combining Balinese dance, vocals, theatrical elements and costumes with western styles. Just like the other events in the PKB, pop 'experts' are sent out from Denpasar to teach and often perform in the groups. Astita, for example, has two daughters (Wulan and Tisna) who were both sent out to different *kebupaten* to 'represent' the centrally chosen regions. The Balinese know that winning the competition will depend on how well their group performs, so they accept readily any outside assistance. The *Pop Daerah* bands have a similar amount of musicians to a rock band. The songs are written in Balinese, and often include fusion with Balinese gamelan instruments or melodies; this music is referred to as 'ethnic pop'. The singers also dance, similarly combining traditional movements and costumes with disco-style dancing. According to Wulan, they "mix-and-match" with Balinese and popular forms. They use typical instruments from a western pop group, and sometimes gamelan instruments like the *trompong*. The music itself sounds like pop with some Balinese influences. An example of this is the adoption of the Balinese rhythmic interlocking technique known as *kotekan*.

More and more Balinese young people are listening to exclusively western pop, and this worries many musicians who appreciate both Balinese traditional culture and contemporary 'fusion pop', seeing a true future in a form of pop which develops in its own cultural environment. Tisna Andayani, Astita's daughter and pop singer discussed above, believes in a form of music sung in Balinese and with both Balinese and western influences. Tisna finds the fact that many Balinese young people define themselves in terms of western pop a worrying issue: "Some of those kids who act really western think that everything Balinese is passé, because there's nothing new or modern about the Balinese way of life. This kind of attitude is dangerous - it degrades Balinese culture, and contributes to its deterioration." She is actively contributing to the 'ethnic fusion' genre, an evidently self-aware attempt to combine two contrasting cultural forms of expression. This demonstrates that the Balinese are attempting to find a distinctive Balinese identity within the popular music genre. There may be many hundreds of Balinese 'bands' based on the western model, but most copy western pop directly or the current Indonesian trends (such as famous Indonesian singers like Iwan Fals). There are some groups, however, who are trying to build a truly indigenous Balinese 'pop' text from *Bottom-Up* based on a combination of traditional and popular music. Astita is the figure responsible for the creation of the ethnic fusion genre combining contemporary Balinese issues with Balinese musical forms in an effort to set a standard for Balinese bands in the future. His main intention is to use the music to both perpetuate Balinese traditional culture and at the same time to adapt its musical forms to 'make sense' in relation to the popular music of the nineties. They want to demonstrate that by fusing Balinese traditional music, language and forms, a different type of pop music can be created which is uniquely Balinese. This group is called *Koka Studio. Koka* is a combination of the names of the two major creative forces behind the group, Komang (a derivative of Nyoman) and Kadek. *Koka Studio* released its first album 'Om Swastiastu' in 1997. The title itself is actually a traditional Balinese Hindu term for 'welcome'. Astita's daughter Tisna explained to me in an interview that the use of this term represented the band's desire to be welcomed into the Balinese musical world: they see their work as a 'first' on the Balinese popular music scene, and hope that it catches on. The subject matter of the songs themselves is involved with issues of importance to the Balinese of today. These extend from songs

concerning religious issues, such as *Canang Sari*—involved with the presentation of offerings to the Balinese spiritual world—to protest songs expressing their concern about the difficult issue of changes to the Balinese environment brought about by the rapidly growing tourist industry. The song *Inguh*, for example, concerns the confusion Balinese people feel because of the continually decreasing amount of land left for them or their gardens. Having been taken up by hotels and bungalows, there is no place left anymore for Balinese 'nature', only a superficial world designed for tourists which forces the Balinese to question their existence and their future. The songs even extend to the reality of the material world, which is certainly a significant factor to the Balinese of today: the song *Kartu Kredit* is a comical account of spending too much money using a credit card and discovering it at the end of the month. Both *Inguh* and *Kartu Kredit* are critical of Balinese society. This collection of music is an interesting mixture of themes, and the music itself resembles a replica of western pop music forms with its standard adoption of a drum machine and a western singing style. The idealism implicit in the band's hope to entirely change the Balinese soundscape is probably over-optimistic, but one hopes that such a venture will at least influence other bands to similarly question the omnipresence of Anglo-American and European musical texts.

4.10 *Conclusion: the future of Balinese music*

Balinese music certainly does have a future, an exciting one full of the innovation and dynamism it has shown during the twentieth century. The development of *Gong Kebyar* gamelan and its *Kreasi Baru* composition form has been quite noteworthy in its speed and variety, although the Balinese have always maintained in these forms a strong connection with existing Balinese traditions. According to Vitale, "*Kebyar* combines the allure of the popular music tradition—the exuberant, crowded atmosphere of festival performances, the rhythmic drive and tunefulness of its compositions, the style and stardom of its top players—with aspects associated with classical music: complexity and breadth of form, intricacy of detail in all the carefully worked-out interlocking parts, and great depth of musical language" (1996: 4-5). It is a living tradition that continues to grow and adapt to its changing environment. *Musik Kontemporer* has not enjoyed a great deal of success outside a small circle of observers within the STSI, although it remains a unique chance for Bali to integrate interculturally extra-Balinese musical forms, and is becoming a regular part of STSI end of curriculum assessment for music students.

According to Windha, Balinese culture is like a turning wheel: although the music develops, it goes through periods tending more towards either innovation or conservatism. The more conservative musical development becomes, the stronger the grip of *Top-Down* forces over organic musical change, whereas during periods of innovation forces working from *Bottom-Up* have precedence. Wayne Vitale thinks that within the next five or ten years a radical new movement in *Kebyar* music is going to develop, comparable to the period when the *Gong Kebyar* craze began at the beginning of the century. At the moment, the forces working from *Top-Down* have a strong grip over musical development on Bali, so a period of radical reaction against this conservatism is not unforeseeable. As we have demonstrated in this chapter, contemporary composers of both the middle and new generations maintain an active and positive dialogue towards both western and Indonesian popular music. Developing a new musical style fusing popular music and dance styles with traditional music in some unique Balinese way is most certainly possible. Vitale agrees that such a situation could come about because contemporary *Gong Kebyar* music has become so baroque in its intricacy, so ornamented and so complex, that it really is ready for a period of dynamic change. Whatever happens, it will certainly remain very 'Balinese' in character.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS: *tradition is change*

In this study the intention has been to present a theoretical basis for an extended vision of music by developing the concept of the *musical episteme*. Each of the four chapters contributed a contrasting approach to music, beginning in Chapter One where music was explored as an 'episteme', through Chapter Two where we honed in on music as a unique type of dynamic cultural 'text', on to music as an 'embedded sign' in Chapter Three, and concluding with music as a sociocultural tool in Chapter Four.

The intention has also been to interpret contemporary issues in Balinese music and the aspect of interculturality related to the radical artistic development which has occurred on Bali during the twentieth century. I have attempted to demonstrate how the Balinese have used musical traditions both to perpetuate their culture and to help them adapt to a rapidly changing world. Examples of instances of musical behaviour which encouraged processes of modernisation included the *Kreasi Baru* tradition on the dynamic *Gong Kebyar* gamelan form which has been developing throughout the twentieth century, to more recent examples of the 'mix-and-match' textuality of Balinese youth who combine pop music with traditional forms of music and dance. Through examining the way the Balinese experience their music (or realise their musicality) I attempted to develop a basis for questioning musical institutions in our culture which perpetuate *product*-based approaches to music.

Before making any definitive conclusions I'd like to go over some of the major subjects covered. As mentioned, the theoretical discussions opening each of the chapters involved the development of models for comprehending 'musical experience'. The most important concept involved music as an *episteme* which reflects the way the members of a culture are taught to comprehend certain (non-verbal) aspects of their reality. The intention was firstly to present 'music' (in the form that it receives expression) as a type of *sensual knowledge*, that such 'sensual knowledge' is a term to refer to incoming non-verbal sensual data, and that this 'knowledge' can communicate information about our temporal and spatial environments (among many other things). Viewing music as an *episteme* requires a particular acceptance of processes mediating between 'the self' and 'the world'; these 'musical' processes involve both the '(musical) knowledge' which is manipulated *and* the way the members of a culture are taught to treat, realise and/or conceive of that 'knowledge'. The major intention, therefore, has been to demonstrate that *musicality* is in itself an ability we all have to deal with this incoming 'sensual knowledge'; more than its 'product', it is a socially inculcated set of skills we use to process incoming information. Here the *musical episteme* is seen as a tool for making 'musical' sense out of our environment. One of the primary purposes of presenting this approach was so that we would be able to discuss music as a *multimedial* experience rather than a *monomedial* form of expression, i.e., music is something which the whole body makes and experiences, reflecting an active way of interacting with the world rather than simply something we statically listen to as impassive participants. Balinese people are brought up in an environment in which they have constant sensual contact with their music, played with loud, unique and penetrating vibrations produced by the close tuning of paired instruments. Balinese musicians often begin learning music at a young age, often on their father's lap in the *Bale Banjar* (communal meeting place). The realisation of musicality is so based in bodily experience and great physical familiarity that is has, as Indonesians say, *mendarah daging* (literally: to become flesh, i.e. second nature). Although in Bali 'music' in the physical/sound-based form (realised dynamically in the head of the individual as well as in an externalised form) is almost always part of ritual-based significative acts, the intention is not simply to highlight this aspect. Rather, multimedial, non-aural aspects of the musical experience are demonstrated as being an essential part of the 'musical' significative act. The intention has been to demonstrate through the example of the Balinese culture that musicality is a human 'skill' used to create out of potentially disparate forms of sensual input a symbolic whole which 'makes sense' in a musical way. I'm not suggesting that this should be the only way we should analyse music, rather that this would enormously enrich our understanding of human musicality. Sadra, a contemporary Balinese composer, refers to the dynamic experiences a Balinese person is confronted with regularly during 'aesthetic events' in Balinese life in terms of a contemporary music-theatre composition of his called *Lad-lud-an*. The intention here is not to demonstrate that 'music' in a physical sense is all the information we take in through our senses, rather that our ability to make sense of that information can involve a dynamic process which involves more than simply listening:

> [In *Lad-lud-an*, these concepts are] expressed in music. It actually reminds me of my own cultural past in Bali. This perception resembles experiences I had when I was very young, when I went to temple festivals, a ritual that I cannot forget. How could I!? The moment I entered the temple, my ear was tempted by the sound of gamelan, my eyes were stimulated by the colourful offerings. When I began to pray, the priest sprinkled me with holy water, my mouth tasted the yellow rice and holy water that seems to only make us thirstier, [I could smell] the smoke of the incense and probably the smell of rotten food that had been cooked for the offerings days before. All of this opened my senses, the feeling in my skin, ear, eye, nose, so I would be more engrossed in the ritual, and become one with god.
> (Diamond 1990: 15)

In the second chapter we focussed on both western and Balinese approaches to 'texts' and textuality, particularly observing how texts are created and experienced. Using the Balinese culture as a model we create a theory to encompass a *musical text*, one that is adaptable to change, comparing it to the *disembedded text* the perfect example of which is western musicology which retains its sense of stasis and history. The *musical* or *artistic* text we present as a contrast represents a type of 'blueprint' for reality which individuals can actively adopt and mould to their own situation, standing against the transcendent Ricœurian text. In addition to exploring Balinese adaptable musical texts and 'models' used as a basis for music education, we discussed intercultural textuality and a notion I called 'self-reflexivity'. I attempted to demonstrate how the Balinese made use of western culture to

their own ends and in particular how they were able to take something and completely recontextualise it in terms of their own culture, particularly in the performing arts. This is also important when attempting to understand what the Balinese youth of today are realising by integrating different forms of western pop music, using it as a tool to comprehend their environment. In Chapter Three the intention has been to explore a contrasting method for experiencing the sign in terms of its temporal and spatial location and embodiment. Looking at the sign in terms of these parameters stands against the traditional Peircian or Saussurian sign which views it as something which can transfer meaning outside the contexts of its realisation; recognising essentially the possibility of an 'ideal' transcendent sign (the *icon* [pure meaning] or *Langue*). In Chapter Four we looked at what I called 'Bottom-Up' and 'Top-Down' stimuli for musical creation. If an existing societal or ideological structure is seen as rigid or conservative, groups of artists often begin to come together to create a code of signifiers which is intended to provide some sort of antidote to this conservatism. In terms of Balinese culture, *Bottom-Up* creation was strongly present after the downfall of the feudal system when the gamelan moved back into the hands of the villagers. They went through a period of radical artistic change based on new and vital ways developed to experience their music in a changing world. If, on the other hand the society itself takes matters into its own hand and applies a dogma, be it religious, natural or political, it will inevitably have consequences for music and other art forms. An example is the shift which has occurred in the latter half of the twentieth century when the power over artistic creation went into the hands of the Indonesian controlled arts academies. As we demonstrated in Chapter Four, however, the power is moving back into the hands of a new generation of Balinese youth who are creating dynamic fusion forms mixing Balinese traditional music and western pop (back to *Bottom-Up*).

The Balinese demonstrate with both their unique revitalisation of traditional forms and their recontextualisation of western popular music that *tradition* is not at all static or embedded in the past, and also the dynamic role music can play in processes of both cultural perpetuation and innovation, terms which are not necessarily mutually exclusive; perpetuating certain elements of culture can easily assist innovation in others. As Sadra the Balinese composer recognises: *tradition is change*. With this statement, Sadra is suggesting that it is only thanks to constant change and development that cultures can survive. The Balinese have an extremely strong sense of traditional culture, but as suggested by some members of the new Balinese academia, traditionalism does most certainly not suggest conservatism. On the contrary, it is on the basis of tradition that cultural change can take place. Vitale uses a particularly potent analogy, the Balinese art of carving:

> Because of the humidity, carving, like temple facades and temple gates and statues within the temple, corrode. . . and there's never been the feeling that they want to somehow coat it in plastic and make sure it never changes. I think they accept the fact that they're going to corrode and fall apart. They are often repaired also, but at a certain point if something completely falls apart, they're much more apt to start afresh, to make a new one and consecrate it newly then that will last its given lifetime. And because of that the art of carving is always alive.

Popular music is used by the Balinese in a similar way: by recognising the vital characteristics of this music that attracts the young people of today, the Balinese culture recontextualises this whole musical culture within their own, combining it with elements of traditional music with western pop to make it significant to a new generation of Balinese youth. Music in this context is demonstrated as having the potential to be in itself a powerful force able to initiate some level of cultural change, as demonstrated in the dynamic way Balinese youth are using pop music to help them adapt to a changing world. From the contents of this chapter, it is clear that Bali has seen many contrasting changes in the twentieth century, and is evidently continuing to change, as all cultures do and always will do. The Balinese obviously recognise the importance of these musical forms, and are adapting to them in a unique way so that their culture doesn't lose touch with a new generation of young people who are brought up in an entirely different cultural environment, influenced by various factors such as a new political regime, a new education system and an abundant and growing tourist industry. Thanks to their understanding of the importance of change—remember *Desa Kala Patra*—the Balinese are protecting their own culture. What is the future of Balinese music? According to some of the people I talked to, Bali is on a metaphorical bridge between two worlds: their artistic forms have become incredibly elaborated and the influx of western influence is only increasing. The prospect of following this development personally is one I look forward to with fascination and excitement.

Producing this work has been a very personal one. The theoretical steps I have taken have each represented a step towards a better understanding of the way music provides out lives with meaning. I hope that the reader has also been able to gain something from accompanying me on this journey. Perhaps one of the most important personal lessons was the gradual realisation that through participating in the cultural activities of another culture, in its dynamic temporal and spatial context, one not only learns a great deal about the culture in question, but also a lot about one's self. This includes one's prejudices and preconceptions, but at the same time it can be revealing in a positive way. The writing of this work has ultimately taught me that theory is just a set of structured ideas, a frame for the better understanding of human behaviour that consists of a set of beliefs or a system of understanding.

Writing and developing theory should be viewed as ‘self-reflexively’ as other types of human behaviour being analysed; one person can never consider him or herself to have the complete answer. Many theories have to be able to co-exist with a wide range of other theories which present equally valid ways of perceiving the world.

Bibliography

Alatas, Syed Hussein (1985) *The Myth of the Lazy Native,* London: Frank Cass.

Alcoff, L. (1988) “Cultural Feminism vs. Poststructuralism,” in *Signs* 13 (3), Spring.

Altman, Charles F. (1979) “Intratextual Rewriting: Textuality as Language Formation,” in *The Sign in Music and Literature,* W. Steiner (ed.), Austin: University of Texas Press.

Artaud, Antonin (1961) “Le theatre et son double,” in *Oevres complètes*, Tome IV, Paris : Gallimard.

Astita, I Nyoman (1998) “Balinese Court Music in Contemporary Bali,” paper presented at *The 4th Conference of Asia-Pacific Society for Ethnomusicology & The 6th International Conference of Ethnomusicology, R.O.C.,* (unpublished article).

Astita, I Nyoman *Janger* tape cover etc.

Attali, Jacques (1977) *Bruits: essai sur l’économie politique de la musique,* Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.

Attali, Jacques (1985) *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Austin, John Langshaw (1962) *How to Do Things With Words,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Baily, John, “Music Structure and Human Movement,” in *Musical Structure and Cognition,* P. Howell, I. Cross, R. West (eds.), London: Academic Press.

Bakan, Michael (1983) *Balinese Kreasi Baleganjur,* Michigan: UMI dissertation services.

Ballinger, Rucina, (1993) “Vibrant World of Music and Sound”, in *Periplus Guide to Bali,* Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Bandem, I Made (1981) *Kaja and Kelod: Balinese Dance in Transition,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bandem, I Made (1995) “Ramayana Fantasi Audio Animatronik”, in *Mudra,* 3 (3) 1995, Denpasar: STSI.

Barkin, Elaine (1990) “Balinese New Music Audiences” in (unpublished paper).

Barkin, Elaine (1994) *Compositional Collaboration with I Nyoman Wenten*, (unpublished paper).

Barth, Frederic (1993) *Balinese Worlds,* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Barthes, Roland (1972) “La Grain de la Voix”, in *Music en jeu 9,* Paris.

Barthes, Roland (1984) “De l’oeuvre au texte,” in *Le Bruissement de la langue,* Paris : Éditions du Seuil.

Barthes, Roland (1997) *Image, Music, Text*, London, Fontana Paperbacks: London.

Bateson, Gregory (1972) *Steps to an Ecology of Mind,* New York: Ballantine Books.

Baulch, E. (1996) “Punk Music on Bali,” *Inside Indonesia,* No. 48: www.insideindonesia/org/edit48.htm

Becker, Alton J. (1979) “Text-building, Epistemology and Aesthetics in Javanese Shadow Theatre” in *The Imagination of Reality,* A. Yengoyan, A. Becker (eds.), Ablex: Norwood.

Benveniste, Emile (1966) Galimard: Paris.

Blacking, John (1976) *How Musical is Man*, London: Faber & Faber.

Blacking, John (1979) “The Problem of ‘Ethnic’ Perceptions in Semiotics,” *The Sign in Music and Literature,* W. Steiner (ed.), Austin: University of Texas Press.

Blacking, John (1979) “The Study of Man as Music-Maker,” in: *The Performing Arts*, J. Blacking (ed.), London: Mouton Publishers.

Blacking, John (1987) *A Commonsense View of All Music,* Cambridge University Press.

Blacking, John (1992) “The Biology of Music-Making,” in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, New York: MacMillan Press.

Boon, James A. (1986) “Symbols, “Symbols, Sylphs and Siwa: Allegorical Machineries in the Text of a Balinese Culture,” in *The Anthropology of Experience,* V. Turner (ed.), Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Born, Georgina (1995) *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bossert, Philip J. (1985) “‘Plato’s Cave’, *Flatland* and Phenomenology”, in *Phenomenology in Practice and Theory,* Dordrecht, Martinus: Nijhoff Publishers.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1980) *Le sens pratique*, Paris : Les Editions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, R. Nice (trans.), Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power,* J. B. Thompson (official trans.), Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1992) *Les règles de l’art*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1998) *Les règles de l’art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire,* Paris : Éditions du seuil.

Brindle, Reginald Smith (1989) *The New Music: The Avant-Garde since 1945,* Oxford University Press.

Bruss, Elizabeth W. (1980) “Peirce and Jakobson on the Nature of the Sign,” in *The Sign, Semiotics Around the World,* Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Bullock, A. & Stallybrass, O. (1988) *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought,* London: Fontana Press.

Campbell, G. (1980) “The Study of Language Acquisition” in *New Horizons in Linguistics,* Harmonsworth: Penguin.

Carpenter, H. (1992) *Benjamin Britten: A Biography,* London: Faber & Faber Limited.

Carter, Angela (1982) *The Infernal Desire Machines of Doctor Hoffman,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Chomsky, Noam (1957) *Syntactic Structures*, The Hague: Mouton.

Chomsky, Noam (1959) “Review of Verbal Behavior by B.F. Skinner,” in *Language 35* : 26-58.

Clarke, E. (1993) “Generativity, Mimesis, and the Human Body in Music” in *Contemporary Music Review 9*.

Classen, C., Howes, D. & Synnott, A. (1994) *Aroma,* London & New York: Routledge.

Clemencic, René (1996) *Motetus: Music at the Time of the Notre-Dame in Paris,* CD Booklet, Dulcimer: CD STR 33398. *Original text in Italian. Translated into English by Kevin O'Neill.*

Cocker, Joe (1998) *Greatest Hits,* 7243 4 97719 2 5, track 4, EMI Electrola.

Covarubbius, Miguel (1963) “The Magic Theatre: Plays and Dances as Exorcisms”, in *Theatre Arts Monthly,* Vol. 20.

De Saussure, Ferdinand (1977) *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye, with the collaboration of A. Riedlinger, Lausanne and Paris, Payot 1916; trans. W. Baskin, *Course in General Linguistics*, Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.

Dalton, Bill (1997) *BALI Handbook* (2nd ed.), California: Moon Publications

De Smet, Chantal (1998) “Changing Societies: the arts and social change,” *European Journal of Arts Education,* 2(1), November.

Devale, Susan (1991) “Sekar Anyar: An Exploration of Meaning in Balinese Gamelan” in *World of Music* 33:1.

Diamond, Jody (1990) “There is no they there,” in Musicworks 47, Summer, Canada.

Dibia, I Wayan (1993) “Prembon: Sebuah Dramatari dan Konsep Olah Seni”, in *Mudra,* 3(3).

Dibia, I Wayan (1994) “Tari Tarian Bali Kreasi Baru: Bentuk, Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan”, in *Mudra* 2 (2).

Dibia, I Wayan (1994) “The Use of Masks in Balinese Performing Arts”, in *Indonesian Performing Arts Workshop*, Leiden: KITLV Press.

Dibia, I Wayan (1995) “Dari Wacak Ke Kocak: Sebuah Catatan Terhadap Perubahan Seni Pertunjukan,” in Mudra, 3 (3), Denpasar: STSI Press.

Dick, W. P. (1985) “The Rise of a Middle Class and the Changing Concept of Equity in Indonesia: an interpretation,” in *Indonesia,* No. 39.

Djelantik, A. A. M. (1994) “Peranan Estetika Dalam Perkembangan Kesenian Masa”, in *Mudra*, 2(2).

Echols, John M., & Shadilly, Hassan (1982) *Kamus Indonesia-Inggris*, Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia.

Eiseman, Fred B. (1989) *Sekala and Niskala: Essays on Religions, Ritual and Art, Volume* 1, Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Everyman Guides (1996) *Bali*, London: Everyman Guides.

Featherstone, Mike and Burrows, Roger (1995) *Cyberspace/Cyberbodies/Cyberpunk: Cultures of Technological Embodiment,* London: Sage Publications.

Feibleman, J. (1946) *An Introduction to Peirce's Philosophy,* New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Feral, J. (1980) “Kristevian Semiotics: towards a semanalysis,” in *The Sign, Semiotics around the World,* R. Bailey, L. Malejka, P. Steinder (eds.), Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Flew, Anthony (1971) “Plato and the Theory of Forms,” in *An Introduction to Western Philosophy,* London: Thames and Hudson.

Foucault, Michel (1966) *Lets mots et les choses,* Paris : Éditions Galimard.

Foucault, Michel (1994) *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences,* New York: Vintage Books.

Freadman, Richard (1992) “Derridaean Poststructuralism: (post-) Saussurian Linguistic Construction,” in *Re-thinking Theory,* Cambridge University Press.

Frederick (1995) “Rhoma Irama and the Dangdut Style: Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Popular Culture,” in Indonesia, No. 34, October.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, Clifford (1980) *Negara: the Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Geertz, Hildred (1991) “A Theatre of Cruelty: The Contexts of a Topeng Performance,”in *State and Society in Bali*, Leiden: KITLV.

George, David E. R. (1991) *Balinese Ritual Theatre,* Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

George, David E. R. (1992) “Performance as Paradigm: The Example of Bali,” in *Modern Drama*, 35 1.

George, David E. R. (1989) “Quantum Theatre – Potential Theatre: a New Paradigm?” in : New Theatre Quarterly, Spring.

Gintini, Tuti (2000) “Balinese traditional Arja opera cheers Jakartans,” in *Jakarta Post,* September 14.

Glass, Philip & Wilson, Robert (1976) *Einstein on the Beach, Opera in Four Acts,* performed by the Philip Glass Ensemble, New York, Dunvagen Music Publishers. [4 record set: CBS Masterworks, M4 38875].

Gold, Lisa (1993) "Musical Expression in the Wayang Repertoire: A Bridge Between Narrative and Ritual," in in *Balinese Music in Context,* D. Schaareman (ed.), Switzerland, Amadeus Verlag.

Goleman, Daniel (1995) *Emotional Intelligence*, New York, Bantam Books.

Goodman, P. (1973) "Speaking as an Action, Speech as a Thing," in: *Speaking and Language Defence of Poetry,* London: Wildwood House.

Gottdiener, M. (1995) *Semiotics, Socio-semiotics and Postmodernism: From Idealist to Materialist Theories of the Sign*, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Grauer, Victor (1997) "Toward a Unified Theory of the Arts", *Music Theory Online,* http://boethuis.music.ucsb.edu/mto/issues/mto.96.2.6/mto.96.2.6.grauer.html, [0.4].

Hardwich, C. (ed.) (1977) *Semiotic and Significs*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hanna, Judith Lynne (1979) "Towards a Cross-Cultural Conceptualization of Dance: and Some Correlate Considerations," in *The Performing Arts,* J. Blacking (ed.), Den Haag: Mouton Publishers.

Harsono, William H. (1989) "A Star is Banned," in *Inside Indonesia,* No. 21, December.

Havelock, E. A. (1943) *Preface to Plato,* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hatley, Barbara, (1996) "Cultural Expression," in *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-economic Transformation*, St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.

Henri, Adrian (1974) *Environments and Happenings,* London: Thames and Hudson.

Herbst, Ed (1997) *Voices in Bali: Energies and Perceptions in Vocal Music and Dance Theater,* Hanover: Weslyan University Press.

Hilton, Julian (1987) *Performance,* Hampshire & London: MacMillan Publishers Inc.

Hitchcock, H. "Minimalism", in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music,* S. Sadie (ed.).

Hobart, Angela (1987) *Dancing Shadows of Bali,* London and New York: KPI.

Hodge, Nicola & Anson, Libby (1999) *The A-Z of Art*, London: BCA.

Hoffman, S. *Epistemology of Music in Java*, Lebanon USA: American Gamelan Institute.

Hooykaas, C. (1964) *Agama Tirtha: Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion,* Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.

Horgan, John (1992) "Quantum Philosophy," in *Scientific American, Vol. 256, no. 1 July*.

Howard, M. C. (1993) *Contemporary Cultural Anthropology*, New York: Harper Collins.

Hough, Brett (1992) *Contemporary Balinese Dance Spectacles as National Ritual,* Melbourne: Monash University.

Hüsserl Edmund, *Kartesianische Meditationen*, in Husserliana vol. 1 1950; 2nd edn 1973; improved edition, ed. E. Ströker, Philosophische Bibliothek, vol. 291, Hamburg, Felix Meiner 1977; trans. D. Cairns (1960) *Cartesian Meditations*, The Hague: Nijhoff.

Hüsserl, Edmund (1982) "Ideas," in *Husserliana*, The Hague: Nijhoff

Innes, Christopher (1981) *Holy-Theatre: Ritual and the Avant-Garde,* Cambridge University Press.

Jakobson, Roman (1980) "Le Temps dans la Systématique des Signes," in *Dialogues*, Paris : Flammarion.

Jakobson, Roman (1985) "Dialogue on Time in Language and Literature", in *Verbal Art, Verbal Sign, Verbal Time,* London: Basil Blackwell.

Jensen, G. (1992) *The Balinese People: a Reinvestigation of Character,* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Mark (1974) *The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason,* University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Randal (1993) "Editor's Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu on Art, Literature and Culture," in *The Field of Cultural Production,* P. Bourdieu, R. Johnson (trans.), Cambridge: Polity Press.

Juniarta, I Wayan (2000) "Hindu epics in the spotlight in Bali," in *The Jakarta Post,* September 14.

Kagel, Mauricio (1972) *Con Voce* für drei stumme Spieler, Frankfurt, Henry Litoff's Verlag/C.F. Peters.

Kapferer, Bruce (1986) "Performance and Structuring of Meaning and Experience" in *The Anthropology of Experience,* V. Turner (ed.), Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kersenboom, Saskia (1995) *Word, Sound, Image: The Life of the Tamil Text,* Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Kersenboom (1988) "Voice and Difference – the Ludic Ground of the Text," in *Games of Gods and Man, Essays in Play and Performance,* Hamburg: LIT Verlag: 191-203.

Kersenboom, Saskia (1996) "Anthropology as Performance," in *Etnofor,* IX/2/96, Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis UvA: 78-86.

Kersenboom, Saskia (1999) "It takes three to Epistemology," in: *Subjectivity*, eds. Willem van Reijen/ Willem van Westeijn, Amsterdam: AvantGarde Critical Studies, Rodopi: 315-330.

Krause, Gregor (1912) *Bali,* New Zealand: January Books.

Krell, David Farrell (1978) *The Question of Being,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kristeva, Julia (1975) "The System and the Speaking Subject," in *The Tell-Tale Sign*, T. Sebeok (ed.), Lisse: The Peter De Ridder Press.

Langer, Susan (1953) *Feeling and Form : a Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Langer, Susan (1980) *Philosophy in a New Key,* Harvard University Press.

Lansing, J. Stephen (1974) *Evil in the Morning of the World: Phenomenological approaches to a Balinese Community,* Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Lansing, J. Stephen (1977) *Rama's Kingdoms: Social Supportive Mechanisms for the Arts in Bali,* University of Michigan.

Lansing, J. Stephen (1979) "In the World of the Sea Urchin: The Application of Husserlian Phenomenology to Cultural Symbols", in *The Imagination of Reality,* A. Yengoyan, A. L. Becker (eds.), Ablex: Norwoord.

Lansing, J. Stephen (1983) *The Three Worlds of Bali,* New York: Praeger.

Laskewicz, Zachar (2001) "The Self-Reflexive Cultural Myth: Bali and the Western Anthropological Fantasy Fulfilled," in *Myths, Rites, Simulacra: Semiotic Viewpoints,* Vienna: Austrian Association of Semiotics, pp. 235-250.

Laskewicz, Zachar (2002) "Pop Music & Interculturality," in *Refashioning Pop Music in Asia,* A. Chun, N. Rossiter (eds.), London: Routledge.

Laskewicz, Zachar (2002) "[radical] Experimentation, [enforced] Machination and [involuntary] Stage-Fright: the utter terror of the non-discoursal," in *Homo Orthopedicus,* Paris: L'Harmattan: 369-392.

Lee, Benjamin (1985) "Peirce, Frege, Saussure, and Whorf : The Semiotics Mediation of Ontology," in *Semiotic Mediation,* Orlando: Academic Press.

Leepa, Allen (1968) "Minimal Art and Primary Meanings," in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology,* G. Battcock (ed.), New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc.

Lentz, Donald A. (1965) *The Gamelan Music of Java and Bali: An artistic anomaly contrary to primary tonal theoretical systems,* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude (1958) *Anthropologie Structurale*, Paris: Plon.

Levi-Strauss, Claude (1962) *La pensee sauvage*, Paris: Plon.

Lindfors, Judith (1980) *Children's Language and Learning,* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Lyotard, J. F. (1988) *L'inhumain: causeries sur le temps,* Paris : Editions Galilée.

Lotman,Yuri (1977) *The Structure of the Artistic Text*, Michigan, Ann Arbor 1977. Translated by G. Lenhoff and R. Vroon.

Marshall, C. (1982) "Towards a Comparative Aesthetics of Music," in *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Music,* R. Falck, T. Rice (eds.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

McClary, Susan (1985) "Afterword," in *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* Manchester University Press.

McGraw, A. (1998) *Semara Dana Orchestra*, dissertation services, USA.

McGregor, W. (1987) "The structure of Gooniyandi narratives" in *Australian Aboriginal Studies,* number 2: 20-28.

McKean, P. (1979) "From Purity to Pollution: The Balinese Kejak (Monkey Dance)", in *The Imagination of Reality,* A. Yengoyan, A. Becker (eds.), Ablex: Norwood.

McPhee, Colin (1944) "Balinese Composer", "Last Days on the Island" in *This Far Island, Asia and the Americas.*

McPhee, Colin (1968) *Music in Bali,* London: New Haven.

McPhee, Colin (1970) "Dance in Bali," in *Traditional Balinese culture,* J. Belo (ed.), Columbia University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (1960) "Sur la phénoménologie du langage," in *Éloge de la philosophie*, Paris, Gallimard: 73-95.

[Merleau-Ponty, M. (xxxx) "Phenomenology and the Sciences of Man," in: *Phenomenology, Language and Sociology,* J. O'Neill (ed.), London, Heinemann.]

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (2001) *Phénoménologie de la perception,* Paris : Gallimard.

Merriam, Alan P. (1964) *The Anthropology of Music,* Northwestern University Press.

Moerdowo, R. (1983) *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts,* Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka.

Monelle, Raymond (1992) *Linguistics and Semiotics in Music,* Edinburgh: Harwood Academic Publisher.

Nash, Dennison (1964) "The Alienated Composer," in *The Arts in Society,* R. Wilson (ed.), New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Nattiez, Jean-Jacques (1987) *Musicologie Générale et Sémiologie,* Paris : Christian Bourgois Éditeur.

Nattiez, Jean-Jacques (1990) *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of Music*, C. Abbate (official trans.), Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nettl, Bruno (1964) *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology,* New York: The Free Press.

Nettl, Bruno (1983) *The Study of Ethnomusicology,* Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

Nice, Richard (1990) "Preface," in *The Logic of Practice*, P. Bourdieu, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nivendita, Sister, & Coomaraswamy, K. (1985) *Hindus and Buddhists,* London: Bracken Books.

Northmore, Mary (1999) "Women Who Make a Splash," *Asiaweek,* November 26.

Nunan, David (1991) *Language Teaching Methodology,* Hertfordshire: Prentice Hill.

Oja, C. (1990) *Colin McPhee: Composer in Two Worlds,* Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press 1990.

O'Neill, John, "Introduction," in *Phenomenology, Language and Sociology: Selected Essays of Maurice Merleau-Ponty,* London: Heinemann.

Ong, Walter J. (1982) *Orality and Literacy*, New York: Methuen.

Ornstein, Ruby (1980) *Gamelan Gong Kebyar: The Development of a Balinese Musical Tradition,* Wesleyan University [university dissertation].

Ortony, A., Clore, A. & Collins, A. (1998) *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parkin, David (1992) "Ritual as Spatial Direction and Bodily Division," in *Understanding Rituals,* D. de Coppet (ed.), London: Routledge.

Parmentier, Richard (1995) "The semiotic regimentation of Social Life," in *Signs in Society,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Parmentier, Richard (1985) "Signs' Place in *Medias Pes::* Peirce's Concept of Semiotics Mediation," in *Semiotic Mediation,* Orlando: Academic Press.

Peacock, J. (1968) *Rites of Modernization,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pears, Peter (1995) *Peter Pears Travel Diaries 1936-1978,* P. Reed (ed.), Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Peirce, Charles Sanders (1931-1958) *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, ed. C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss (vols 1-6) and A. Burks (vols 7-8), Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press 1931-1958.

Pinxten, Rik (1994) *Culturen Stervan Langzaam,* Antwerpen: Hadewijch.

Pickles, Jo (2000) "Punks for peace: underground music gives young people their voice back," in *Inside Indonesia,* http://www.insideindonesia.org/edit64/punk1.htm, October-December.

Pipier, Suzan, & Jabo, Sawung (1987) "Indonesian Music from the 50s to the 80s," in *Prisma*, No. 43, March.

Rabinow, Raul (1986) "Representations Are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-modernity in Anthropology" in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, J. Clifford, G. Marcus (eds.), Berkely: University of California Press.

Rai, I Wayan (1995) *Daftar Skripsi,* Denpasar: STSI.

Ramage, Douglas E. (1991) "Pancasila Discourse in Suharto's Late New Order," in *Democracy in Indonesia 1950s and 1990s*, Clayton: Monash CSEAS.

Ramstedt, M. (1993) "Traditional Balinese Performing arts as *Yajnya*" in: *Performance in Java and Bali,* B. Arps (ed.), School of Oriental and African Studies: University of London.

Randsell, Joseph (1986) "On Peirce's Conception of the Iconic Sign," in *Iconicity, festschrift for Thomas Sebeok*, Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag.

Rappaport, R. (1979) *Ecology, Meaning and Ritual,* Richmond: North Atlantic Books.

Reich, Steve (1996) *City Life,* CD Booklet, New York: Nonesuch Records.

Reich, Steve, *Music for 18 Instruments,* New York: Nonesuch 19448-2.

Richter, Hans (2002) *DADA: art and anti-art*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Richter, Karl (1992) "Slendro-Pelog and the Conceptualisations of Balinese Music: Remarks on the Gambuh Tone System", in *Balinese Music in Context,* D. Schaareman (ed.), Switzerland: Amadeus Verlag.

Ricœur, Paul (1986) *Du text à l'action,* Paris : Éditions du seuil.

Robinson, G. (1995) *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Rubin, Leon (1998) "Trance Performance in Bali and Training of the Modern Actor," in *Arts on the Edge Conference*, Perth: Edith Cowan University.

Sadra, I Wayan (1998) "Komposisi Baru: On Contemporary Composition in Indonesia," in *Leonardo Music Journal*, 1(1).

Sagita, Yong (1997) *Ogoh Ogoh: Haus Music,* Maharani: Denpasar [cassette with Balinese Haus].

Said, Edward (1985) *Orientalisms*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Sanger, Annette (1989) "Music and Musicians, dance and dancers," in *Yearbook for Traditional Music,* no. 21.

Schaareman, D. (1992) "The Shining of the Deity," in *Balinese Music in Context,* D. Schaareman (ed.), Switerland: Amadeus Verlag.

Schumacher, C. (1991) *Artaud on Theatre,* London: Methuen Drama.

Schumacher, Rüdiger (1994) "Musical Concepts in Oral Performances of Kekawin in Bali," [paper presented at KITLV Indonesian Performance Workshop].

Schutz, Alfred (1977) “Making Music Together: A Study in Social Relationships,” New York: Columbia University Press.

Shukman, A. (1977) *Literature and Semiotics: a study of the writings of Lotman,* Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

Silverman, H. (1987) *Inscriptions*, New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Silverman, Kaja (1983) *The Subject of Semiotics,* New York: Indiana University Press.

Smith, Frank (1985) “A Metaphor for Literacy: creating worlds or shunting information,” in *Literacy, Language and learning*, D. Olson, N. Torrance, A. Hildyard (eds.), Cambridge University Press.

Soedarsono (1995) “Transformasi Budaya,” in *Mudra,* 3 (3), Denpasar: STSI.

Sperber, Dan (1975) *Rethinking Symbolism*, Cambridge University Press.

Spitzing, Günther (1993) *Temples, Myths and Folk Art,* Cantecleer: De Bilt.

Stoller, Paul (1989) *The Taste of Ethnographic Things,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stoppard, Tom (1996) “The Real Inspector Hound,” in *Plays 1,* London: Faber and Faber.

Stuart-Fox, David (1992) *Bibliography of Bali: Publications from 1920 to 1990*, Bibliographical Series 19, Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

Styan, J. L. (1975) *Drama Stage & Audience*, London: Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Sydow, E. (1999) *Primate Practice*, in *The Bulletin,* January 14, Brussels: Ackroyd Publications Inc.

[Sykes (1976)]xxxx

Tambiah, Stanley J. (1968) “The Magical Power of Words,” in *Man*, Volume 2 1968: pp. 175-208.

Tambiah, Stanley J. (1985) “A Performative Approach to Ritual,” in *Culture, Thought and Social Action*, Harvard University Press.

Teeuw, A. (1979) *Modern Indonesian Literature (Vol. 2)*, Den Haag: Nijhoff.

Tenzer, Michael (1991) *Balinese Music,* Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Thompson, John B. (1981) “Ludwig Wittgenstein and Ordinary Language Philosophy,” in *Critical Hermeneutics,* Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, John B. (1991) “Editor’s Introduction,” in *Paul Ricoeur: Hermeneutics and the human sciences*, Cambridge University Press.

Turbin, Jonathan Edward (1981) *Embodied Consciousness in the Philosophy of Landscapes for Education,* Ann Arbor, Columbia University Teachers College [university dissertation].

Turner, Jane (1996) “Art Education,” in *The Dictionary of Art,* Vol. 15*,* London: Grove.

Turner, Jane (1996) “Impressionism,” in *The Dictionary of Art,* Vol. 15, London: Grove.

Turner, Victor (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Van Damme, Wilfried (1996) *Beauty in Context: towards an anthropological approach to aesthetics,* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Van Gennep, Arnold (1960) *Rites of Passage*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Varela, Francisco J. (1991) *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience,* Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Vickers, Adrian (1989) *Bali: A Paradise Created,* Singapore: Periplus Editions.

Vitale, Wayne (1990) “Kotekan: the technique of interlocking parts in Balinese music” in *Balungan,* 4 (2).

Vitale, Wayne (1990) “I Wayan Dibia: the relationship of music and dance in Balinese Performing Arts,” in *Balungan* Fall, volume 4 (2), The American Gamelan Institute.

Vitale, Wayne (1996) *Music of the Gamelan Gong Kebyar,* Volume 1, [book accompanying CD], El Cerrito, California: Vital Records.

Wallis, Richard (1980) *The Voice as a Mode of Cultural Expression in Bali,* University of Michigan [university dissertation].

Wenten, I Nyoman (1993) “What is at issue in Kreasi Baru?,” Los Angeles: UCLA dissertation services.

Whitmore, Jon (1994) *Directing Post-Modern Theatre*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Wikan, Unni (1980) *Managing Turbulent Hearts*: *A Balinese Formula for Living,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wirata, Putu (2000) “Balinese dance performance kicks up a fuss among scholars,” in *Jakarta Post*, April 20.

Wittgenstein, L.J.J. (1953) *Philosophical Investigations*, G.E.M. Anscombe & R. Rhees (eds.), Oxford: Blackwell.

Zukov, Gary (1979) *The Dancing Wu-Li Masters,* Toronto: Bantem Books.

Zürbuchen, Mary Sabina (1987) *The Language of Balinese Shadow Theatre*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Index

LISTIBIYA

This organisation is the ‘Consultative and Promotional Council for Culture’ founded on the initiative of a group of artists, academics and professionals with the task of ‘preserving’ and promoting the Balinese arts. In the light of recent developments in the Balinese arts which are attempting to save regional variety, *Listibiya* belongs to the past, even the period of the Old Order government. Mack considers the Listibiya to be a ‘typical Orde Baru [New Order] institution’. Correspondence from Dieter Mack received 25 March 1999.

MUSICAL COMPREHENSION

PEDAGOGY

PEKAN KOMPONIS

National composers competition held yearly in Jakarta.

s

Pemangku

PKB

STSI

Index & Glossary

In this work I have used primarily new Indonesian spelling This means I have sometimes changed the spelling from pre-colonial letters to the current Indonesian system. Italicised words in the definitions can be found in other parts of the glossary.

AIDS: Disease known as 'Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, the symptoms of which eventually lead to death as the victim's Immune system is broken down and the individual falls victims to a wide range of sicknesses.

3.3

a priori: Typically connotes a kind of knowledge or justification that does not depend on evidence from sensory experience. Talk of a priori truth is ordinarily shorthand for talk of truth knowable or justifiable independently of evidence from sensory experience.

1.3

Aga (see *Bali Aga*)

Aji ghurnita: An important *lontar* (Balinese palm-leaf manuscript) which contains vital information about the sacred importance of music.

1.8

aleatorical (see *aleatory*)

aleatory: Noun relating to events which take place at random or due to processes of chance. Appropriated for use in contemporary music by composers such as John Cage.

4.1

angklung (see *gong angklung*)

angsel: A Balinese musical term which refers to points of climax reached during a performance of Balinese gamelan.

1.4, 1.8, 3.5, 3.8

apartheid: A set of cultural and political rules and regulations which arose in South Africa and which referred to the segregation of black people from white people (to the expense of the negro community) on all levels of social existence including schools and other public facilities.

4.1, 4.2

arja: The name for the unique form of Balinese 'opera' which involves the singing of prose (primarily from the *geguritan* texts) and their translation into local dialects by servant characters to make the stories comprehensible to all.

2.2, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10, 3.1, 3.8, 3.9, 4.4, 4.5

artistic texts: Performative or textual models provided by culture which help to form an individual's conception of his or her own reality.

2.7, 4.4, 4.5

ASTI: The older name of the STSI (*Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia*: Indonesian College of the Arts).

2.7, 4.4, 4.5,

Attali, Jean-Jacques

Ch.1 Intro, 1.2, 1.3, 1.92, 1.93, Ch.4 Intro, 4.1, 4.2

Austin, John (1911-1960)

1.6, Ch.2 Intro, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3

bale banjar: The term 'bale' refers to a house or pavilion, whereas the *banjar* is the place where members of a village get together. The term itself refers particularly to the central space of Balinese *banjar* where the members of a community perform music, drama or dance, or hold meetings regarding village affairs.

2.2, 3.6, 4.4, Final Conclusions

baleganjur: A form of processional gamelan which has gongs and other percussion instruments (particularly cymbals which produce *kotekan*-like rhythmic sounds), often used for particular ritual functions.

2.4, 2.6, 3.6, 3.8, 4.5, 4.6, 4.8

Bali Aga: The 'original' Balinese inhabitants who were able to escape the waves of influence from Java and who have maintained their traditional customs and cultural forms despite the massive changes that have been brought to Bali through colonialism and the tourist industry.

3.8

Bali Beach Hotel: The first major large-scale hotel built on *Kuta* beach. It has completely burnt down a number of times and the Balinese considere it to be inhabited by spirits.

2.5, 2.6, 4.4

balian: Traditional Balinese 'healer'. Their technique is based on restoring a sense of balance to the human body.

1.8, 3.8

bali-balihan: Secular dances performed in the *jaba* or outer courtyard of the temple, usually beyond the prescribed sacred space itself (although this space is often consecrated by a priest before performance).

2.6, 3.4, 3.6

balungan: Name used by the Javanese to refer to the repeating patterns of melody and the gong structure (*colotomy*) which underlines it. A simple form of numerical notation is used to designate the tones on the simplest gamelan instruments, although rhythmic developments and complex melodic patterns are passed on orally, allowing for both new development and maintenance of a connection with the past.

1.75, 1.77, 4.1

Bandem, I Made

1.8, 2.2, 2.5, 2.6, 3.4, 3.6, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8

Bangli: Positioned in East Bali, this city dates from the early 13th century. In the *Majapahit* era it broke away from *Gèlgèl* to become a separate kingdom. In 1849, Bangli made a treaty with the Dutch, giving it control over the defeated north coast kingdom of *Buleleng*.

3.6, 4.6

banjar: The local area of a Balinese village in which community activities are organized. This is the smallest division of Balinese population and usually consists of a group of families who are expected to help each other, particularly as far as religious matters are concerned.

1.78, 1.8, 2.2, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 3.1, 3.5, 3.6, 4.3, 4.5, 4.6, 4.8, 4.9

bapang: [1] Balinese fancy collars worn during *janger* performances, [2] Part of a Balinese *kreasi baru* composition.

1.76, 2.7

baris: Balinese dance portraying a warrior in battle. Danced primarily by men.

1.4, 2.6, 2.7, 3.5, 4.34, 4.4

barong: Mythical lion-like creature, star of the *Barong* dance and a firm champion of the powers of good in the eternal struggle against evil. Many consider it be a development upon the Chinese dragon dance.

1.8, 2.4, 2.5, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 4.9

barong landung: Literally 'tall' *barong*; these enormous puppet figures are seen at the annual festival on *Pulau Serangan* (turtle island) situated south of *Sanur*.

3.6

Barthes, Roland (1915-80)

1.1, Ch.2 Intro., 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.10, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 4.3

baru (see also *Orde Baru* or *Kreasi Baru*)**:** Indonesian word for 'new'.

bebali: Bebali dances are ceremonial, performed in the *jaba tengah* or middle courtyard

2.6

bebasan (see *sekehe bebasan*)

Benveniste, Emile:

Ch.2 Intro.,2.1

Beratha, I Wayan

1.4, 1.8, 2.5, 2.7, 3.4, 3.7, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, 4.7

berutuk: This performance used to only take place in the Trunyan village in the province of Bangli. There have been, however, some recent changes to the way this ritual functions as is typical of Balinese ritual behaviour.

3.6

Besakih: The all-encompassing and central Balinese 'mother' temple.

3.5

bhangadina: Early Balinese performing artists who travelled from kingdom to kingdom and entertained royal guests. Similar in principle to the troubadour in the European middle-ages.

2.3

Bharata-Natyam: Form of Indian temple dance based on religious and practical theory recorded in the *Natyasastra.* It has its roots in the Sadir and Dasiattam dance traditions of Tamil Nadu in South India. The present form, however, dates from the beginning of the 19th century.

1.4, 1.92

binatang (tari)**:** A form of Balinese dance based on the movements of animals.

2.7

blueprint (see *cultural blueprint*)

bodily hexis: *Bodily hexis* is basically a name for human behaviour which is restricted by a given individual's *episteme.* Human behaviour is envisaged as a dynamic realisation of the very core of who we are. Without knowing it, in other words, just by interacting with the world in everyday existence we are expressing the basic ideas which lie at the foundations of our culture

2.6, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 4.8

bondres: Character in the *topeng* form of masked theatre. *Bondres* reads and translates the decorated text into a form understandable to the audience, whereas other 'masked' characters communicate only with dance. This explains why the *bondres* uses only a half-mask (the others are full).

2.2, 3.9

bottom-Up (see also *Top-Down*): Term used to describe artistic experimentation which emerges from artists reacting against the system, thanks to their own vision of reality as opposed to one imposed on them by a socially motivated doctrine or *dogma*.

Ch.1 intro., 2.6, Ch.4 intro., 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.6, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, final conclusions

Boulez, Pierre (1925-)

1.3, 2.9, 3.3, 4.1

Bourdieu, Pierre (1930-2002)

Ch.1 intro., 1.3, 1.5, 1.9, 2.2, 2.7, 2.10, Ch.3 intro., 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.7, Ch.4 intro., 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.8

Cage, John (1912-1992)

3.3, 4.7

cakapung: A particular form of recitation which involves a group of older Balinese men getting together, reading and discussing the meaning of sacred texts, and the communal adoption of onomatopoeic phrases which turn the event into a dynamic musical performance.

2.2

calonarang: Ritual dance performance involving the conflict between good and evil and the maintenance of a steady balance between the two; the *Rangda* and *Barong* figures play an important role in the proceedings..

4.8

campuran: Indonesian term referring to contemporary styles of performance which mix western popular music and Indonesian (specifically Balinese) performance.

4.9

Catra, I Nyoman

2.7

ceng-ceng: Balinese cymbal-like instrument which is used in the well-known performance event.

3.8, 4.6

Coast, John

2.5, 2.9, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6,

colonialism: A colonial relationship is created when one people or government extends its sovereignty and imposes political control over an alien people or territory.

1.2, 1.7, 1.8, 2.6 2.8, 2.9, 3.4, 3.6, 4.1, 4.3, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.34, 4.35, 4.4,

colotomy: In gamelan performances, the set of tones making up the *balungan* (Java) or *pokok* (Bali) is punctuated by a row of cyclically repeating gongs. Thus system is referred to by ethnomusicologists as *colotomy*. The cyclical nature of these patterns is still considered by many to be an important ontology related to the Hindu-Buddhist notion of time.

1.3, 1.75, 1.77, 1.8, 1.93, 2.8, 3.5, 3.7, 3.9, 4.1

communion*:* A state of being or ontology which is achieved through the sensual realisation of a common spatial and temporal environment with the *Other* (whether that 'communion' is real or imagined).

2.3, 2.4, 4.2

community (see *musical community*)

competence (see *cultural competence)*)

comprehension engines: Term used to refer to the specific abilities individuals have to make sense of aspects of their culture.

2.3, 2.4, 2.10

creative engines (see *comprehension engines*)

cultural blueprints: Performative models provided by culture which help to form an individual's insight into his or her own reality. In this work its realisation is similar to that of an *artistic* or *cultural text*.

1.636, 1.651, 2.431, 2.441, 2.45, 2.5, 2.513, 2.55, 2.71, 2.72, 3.416, 5.1121, 5.122, 5.756, 6.1241, 6.141, 6.316, Final Conclusions

cultural competence: *Term introduced by Bourdieu which refers to the ability inculcated into human behaviour to appreciate art. It puts the hierarchical social class distinctions above any presumption to universal aesthetics.*

1.341, 1.342, 1.7322, 3.514

cultural texts: Performative or textual models provided by culture which help to form an individual's conception of his or her own reality.

2.7, 4.4, 4.5

cybernetics: Interdisciplinary science dealing with communication and control systems in living organisms, machines, and organizations.

1.2

cyberspace: Environment created by the global networking of computer systems.

1.246

Dada: Artistic and literary movement reflecting a widespread nihilistic protest against all aspects of western culture, especially against militarism during and after World War I.

1.327, 1.44, 1.4411, 1.4412, 1.4413, 1.4415, 1.4416, 5.154, 5.5152, 5.623

daging (see also *mendarah daging*)**:** Indonesian word for 'meat'.

dalang: The puppeteer who tells the story and beats the time in a *wayang kulit* shadow puppet performance. He is a man of varied skills and considerable endurance and leads the performance in both Javanese and Balinese culture.

2.324, 2.334, 2.353, 2.361, 2.362, 2.372, 2.434, 2.441, 2.52, 2.521, 2.522, 2.523, 2.531, 2.532, 2.534, 2.535, 2.541, 2.542, 2.55, 2.74, 3.342, 3.443, 3.7232, 4.463, 5.223, 5.314, 5.324, 5.331, 5.333, 5.37, 6.316, 6.321, 6.325, 6.511, 6.5131, 6.5152, 6.5134, 6.5334, 6.5335, 6.543

Dalcroze (see *Jaques-Dalcroze, Emile*)

dana (see *semara dana*)

dance-theatre: Relatively new movement in twentieth century dance which combines theatrical movement in the context of dance performance. Also refers to contemporary Indonesian dance forms including *sendratari.*

4.435, 6.156, 6.251, 6.361, 6.542

dangdut: A new form of pop indigenous to Southeast Asia which arose in the 70s. The name actually refers onomatopoeically to the sound of an Arabic drum, and the music itself combines Malaysian, Indian and or Middle-eastern rhythms and music drawn from the *Orkes Melayu* which originates from a combination of Arabic, Indonesian and European musical styles in colonial Malaysia and Indonesia.

6.2226, 6.623, 6.63, 6.636, 6.661

dansa: A new form on Bali which is a type of formal disco which involves the Balinese adopting western popular music blaring out of speakers positioned on the stage and a number of scantily clad young girls doing what basically looks like 'disco-dancing', but in a form which is choreographed from beginning to end.

6.6, 6.635, 6.64

Dasein: Concept attributed to Heidegger which describes the practical nature of existence, the state in which we relate to the world.

1.2451, 1.2453, 1.571, 1.62, 1.731, 1.7326, 2.172, 3.12, 3.14, 3.144, 3.211, 4.225, 5.243

death metal: Relatively recent movement in contemporary pop music which fuses elements of the *Heavy Metal* style with a rather negative punk aesthetic.

6.614, 6.632, 6.634

deconstruction: A relatively new branch of critical theory attributed to Derrida which contests the idea that language can guarantee absolute meaning in any form of discourse, and it attempts to analyse texts by uncovering the conflicts within them and deciphering some of their multiple meanings.

1.241, 1.242, 1.264, 1.3213

decontextualisation (see also *disembeddedness*)**:** A cultural process involved with removing an item from its sociocultural situation, viewing it in its own terms, transcendent of the environment in which it is created.

1.3215, 1.432, 1.53, 1.554, 2.143, 6.2222, 6.3, 6.31, 6.36

deictical (see *deictics*)

deictics: A quality of language which involves pointing out the specification of items. Deictical terms include 'this' and 'that'. In terms of this study, music is also assumed to perform a deictical function, i.e. pointing the audience members towards a specific type of event, for example a type of ceremony or ritual, or a type of performative environment, such as a discotheque.

1.4415, 2.264, 2.64, 3.312, 3.723, 3.7232, 3.7235

Denpasar: Current capital city of Bali.

Derrida, Jacques (1930-)

1.241, 1.242, 1.26

desacralisation: The term *desacralisation* refers to the tendency in culture to reuse in some way a cultural icon or symbol of great religious symbolism in a non-religious environment and in doing this to drain it of its sacred meaning.

6.3, 6.31

Desa Kala Patra: Of original Sanskrit origin, these words refer to the time, place and circumstance of cultural events as they occur and for the Balinese refer to a tendency to rethink signification in terms of the new environment in which *cultural texts* are realised.

1.423, 1.554, 1.6534, 1.72, 2.2632, 2.3227, 2.331, 2.341, 2.372, 2.434, 2.52, 2.74, 3.14, 3.44, 3.62, 4.17, 4.174, 4.3, 4.435, 5.1, 5.2, 5.21, 5.22, 5.221, 5.23, 5.231, 5.232, 5.233, 5.234, 5.235, 5.3, 5.312, 5.72, 5.722, 5.723, 5.142, 6.14321, 6.1433, 6.235, 6.3441, 6.5134, 6.532, 6.5543, 6.7, Final Conclusions

desa (see *Desa Kala Patra*)

De Saussure, Ferdinand (1857-1913)

1.23, 1.231, 1.232, 1.233, 1.331, 2.1, 2.12, 2.121, 2.122, 2.172, 2.27, 2.41, 2.411, 2.412, 2.413, 3.11, 3.112, 3.13, 3.131, 3.512, 4.124, 5.221

Dibia, I Wayan

1.4331, 1.6532, 2.433, 4.443, 4.471, 5.111, 5.1123, 5.14, 5.141, 5.353, 5.713, 5.714, 5.756, 6.15, 6.153, 6.154, 6.155, 6.1724, 6.316, 6.325, 6.331, 6.341, 6.342, 6.424, 6.512, 6.531, 6.5334, 6.552

disembeddedness: Theoretical term referring to the fact that a cultural item is viewed *on its own terms* rather than through its environmental (embedded) context.

1.3213, 1.322, 1.326

disembedding: The process involved in the decontextualisation of given *cultural texts*.

1.221, 1.3213, 1.3215, 1.323, 1.325, 1.432, 1.523, 2.125, 2.25, 2.3222, 4.224

distanciation: Term invented by Ricoeur to refer to the process which is gone through when a text is decontextualised from the environment in which it is created. It is one of the primary products of Ricœurian hermeneutics.

2.14, 2.141, 2.143, 2.144, 6.5131

dogma: A code or systematised formulation of tenets pertaining to a set of societal beliefs.

3.512, 5.225, 5.311, 6.2232, 6.242, 6.252, Final Conclusions

drama gong: A type of theatrical performance similar to the Balinese *arja* but developed in a more contemporary context.

6.14321, 6.316, 6.5333

Eka Dasa Rudra: The name for one of the biggest ceremonies held in *Besakih*, the mother-temple of Bali. It only takes place once every one hundred years.

6.14321, 6.1632, 6.172, 6.1721, 6.1722, 6.1725, 6.2224

embeddedness: Term referring to the dynamic context in which given cultural signs are realised, standing against structural theory which attempts to *disembed* or *decontextualise* cultural systems from their context.

1.241, 1.312, 1.52, 2.121, 3.1, 3.12, 3.123, 3.14, 3.144, 3.145, 3.15, 3.541, 4.1, 5.24, 6.17

embedded participant:: The person or persons involved in a cultural act of some kind.

1.3542, 1.7332, 1.7333, 1.7334, 3.543, 5.245

embedded sign (see *embeddedness*)

embodiment: Philosophical process inititated by Merleau-Ponty which views the senses as an important part of human signification.

1.213, 1.2452, 1.3542, 1.7334, 2.22, 2.233, 3.133, 3.543, 4.1, 4.11, 4.111, 4.112, 4.113, 4.12, 4.123, 4.124, 4.125, 4.132, 4.14, 4.141, 4.142, 4.143, 4.15, 4.151, 4.16, 4.163, 4.164, 4.17, 4.171, 4.172, 4.174, 4.2, 4.21, 4.221, 4.23, 4.231, 4.232, 4.3, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.334, 4.4, 4.43, 4.434, 4.44, 4.441, 4.443, 4.46, 4.461, 4.462, 4.463, 4.471, 4.472, 4.473, 4.474, 4.5, 4.6, 5.165, 5.245, 6.236, Final Conclusions

empiricism: A doctrine that affirms that all ideas and knowledge are *a posteriori*, that is, derived from and based on experience, and denies that they can ever be *a priori,* that is, discoverable without having to rely on the senses.

1.22, 1.221, 1.222, 1.23, 2.314, 3.11, 3.111, 4.131

engines (see *comprehension engines*)

episteme: The term *episteme* is an important creation of Foucault, referring to the broad tendencies adopted by a culture thanks to the complex familial and social systems in which they are brought up.

1.1, 1.2, 1.21, 1.214, 1.221, 1.232, 1.2351, 1.244, 1.313, 1.5, 1.51, 1.52, 1.521, 1.522, 1.523, 1.54, 1.541, 1.542, 1.554, 1.562, 1.631, 1.642, 1.652, 1.653, 1.6532, 1.6534, 1.6535, 1.66, 1.7, 1.71, 1.73, 1.813, 1.82, 2.1, 2.124, 2.144, 2.17, 2.171, 2.323, 2.3225, 2.3227, 2.613, 2.63, 2.71, 2.73, 3.111, 3.132, 3.31, 3.311, 3.351, 3.342, 3.44, 3.511, 3.513, 3.5151, 3.522, 3.542, 3.7234, 3.8, 4,124, 4.13, 4.161, 4.224, 4.31, 4.452, 4.474, 4.6, 5.1421, 5.222, 5.363, 5.3643, 5.6312, 5.653, 5.8, 6.251, 6.314, 6.411, 6.51, 6.511, Final Conclusions

epistemology: Branch of philosophy that addresses the philosophical problems surrounding the theory of knowledge. Epistemology is concerned with the definition of knowledge and related concepts, the sources and criteria of knowledge, the kinds of knowledge possible and the degree to which each is certain, the limits of knowledge, and the exact relation between the one who knows and the object known.

1.1, 1.21, 1.211, 1.213, 1.23, 1.231, 1.3, 1.31, 1.312, 1.323, 1.324, 1.331, 1.344, 1.345, 1.35, 1.353, 1.36, 1.45, 1.5, 1.51, 1.522, 1.631, 2.175, 2.3225, 3.11, 3.711, 4.11, 5.2, 5.22, 5.232, 5.3, 5.452, 5.5333, 5.543, 5.61, 5.62, 5.6312, 6.44, 6.663

esthesic: Esthesic processes are those undergone by individuals who are confronted by a symbolic form, processes which may result in significations of an entirely different symbolic entity to those intended by the artist.

1.3261, 1.3262, 1.327, 1.652, 1.6532, 3.142, 3.143, 4.234

eurhythmics: In 1915 Jaques-Dalcroze in Geneva developed a system uniting music and movement which became known as Dalcroze *eurhythmics*. It has since been taught in schools and colleges all over the world and has influenced many modern dancers.

1.4414, 5.631

events/happenings: Particular types of performance, often based on *aleatorical* processes, which were 'composed' as a part of the *Fluxus* movement which took place in the USA in the sixties. *Events* tended to be controlled environments, whereas *happenings* were in general more *aleatorical*. *John Cage* and Merce Cunningham were important figures in the *Fluxus* movement who composed *events* and *happenings*.

1.4415, 1.442, 2.24, 5.633, 5.6331

expressionism: This is a movement or tendency that strives to express subjective feelings and emotions rather than to depict reality or nature objectively. The movement developed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a reaction against the academic standards that had prevailed in Europe since the Renaissance (1300-1600), particularly in French and German art academies.

1.3213, 1.4132, 1.44, 1.4413, 1.4415, 3.351, 5.152, 5.6222

Fals, Iwan

6.2225, 6.5332, 6.623, 6.663

fluxus: The 1960s was a decade when politics was high on the agenda and performance art was often used to express this. Central to the development of this performance art of the 1960s was the *Fluxus* group, which formed in and around the New York lofts of artists such as Yoko Ono and Larry Poons. It was in this context that *events* and *happenings* took place, largely *aleatorical* artistic outings.

1.4411, 1.4415, 3.35, 3.352, 5.154, 5.633, 5.6331, 6.1631

folk-knowledge: Anthropological term used to refer to the general attitudes people of a culture have outside of academia. Like the notion of *episteme* it is a tendency rather an absolute rule. Differing from *episteme* however is the fact that *folk-knowledge* is used within the field of anthropology whereas *episteme* is used in contemporary philosophy.

1.3212, 1.331, 5.111, 5.5113, 5.544, 6.611

futurism (see *Russian Futurism* and *Italian Futurism*): This was an early 20th-century movement in art that pointedly rejected all traditions and attempted instead to glorify contemporary life, mainly by emphasizing its two dominant themes, the machine and motion.

1.44, 1.441, 1.4411, 1.4412, 1.4415, 1.4416, 5.154, 5.623

gambelan: The Balinese word for *gamelan,* the Indonesian percussive orchestra. It is clearly related to the term *gamelan* which spread down to Bali from Java during and before the *Majapahit* empire.

6.434

gamelan: Traditional Javanese and Balinese orchestra which usually consists of purely percussive instruments such as xylophones, cymbals, inverted pots and gongs.

gamelan suara: Chanting ensemble, usually consisting of men. *Suara* is Indonesian for voice. They usually come together to perform this way because they don't have access to a real gamelan or because it is required for religious purposes. This ensemble is taken advantage of as part of the *Cak* performance.

5.77

gangsa: Set of instruments in the Balinese *gamel*an orchestra which elaborate upon the central melody (*pokok*) in the form of the uniquely Balinese style of decoration known as *kotekan*. These instruments resemble xylophones.

4.441, 4.452, 5.6334, 6.142, 6.1844, 6.5541

gaya: This word is used in general Indonesian to refer to power or force of some kind. In this work it is used however to refer to a Balinese performer's ability to create a dynamic and vital link between him/herself and the audience.

4.474, 6.131, 6.661

gede (see *gong gede*)

geguritan: Body of texts which form an important part of Balinese traditions, evolving out of an age when the life of the peasant rather than purely the life of the aristocracy became a subject of interest in literature. They are presumed to have originated in 1825 during the reign of king I Dewa Agung Sakti in Klungkung, East Bali.

2.3227, 2.361, 2.373, 2.535, 4.435, 5.233, 5.45, 5.453, 5.454, 6.5335, 6.543

gender (see also *gendèr wayang*)**:** Balinese musical instrument two or four of which form the smallest Balinese gamelan orchestra (referred to by the Balinese as the *gender wayang*). This ensemble is primarily used to accompany Balinese *wayang kulit* performances which are presided over by *dalang*.

gendèr wayang: The smallest gamelan orchestra still played on Bali. It is used to accompany Balinese *wayang kulit* and usually consists of two or four *gender*.

1.6534, 1.7326, 2.324, 2.361, 2.434, 2.52, 2.522, 2.541, 2.542, 2.612, 3.515, 3.5162, 3.543, 4.31, 4.445, 5.1121, 5.311, 5.324, 5.333, 5.35, 5.353, 5.77, 6.232, 6.55444

genderan: Musical term used to refer to a particular melodic development in the relatively recent *gong kebyar* orchestra.

6.1252, 6.3442

generative principles: One of the main notions which underlies Bourdieu's concept of *Habitus.* They are the behaviourally structured set of principles which we embody in daily life, influencing the decisions we make.

3.41, 3.411, 3.414, 3.415, 3.416, 3.42, 3.43, 3.431, 3.434, 3.435, 3.441, 3.442, 3.443, 3.444, 3.4, 3.512, 3.513, 3.62, 3.64, 3.641, 3.643, 3.647, 4.152, 4.162, 4.174, 4.224, 6.123, 6.51

German expressionism (see *Expressionism*)

globalisation: The growth and acceleration of economic and cultural networks which operate on a worldwide scale. The term refers to that whole complex of flows and processes which have increasingly transcended national boundaries in the last twenty years.

1.222, 3.111, 3.8, 6.3, 6.33, 6.334, 6.341, 6.342, 6.35, 6.53, 6.5511, 6.5512, 6.552, 6.61, 6.63, 6.635, 6.64, Final Conclusions

GOLKAR: Indonesian political party representative of both *Sukarno*'s "Guided Democracy" and *Suharto*'s *New Order* ('orde baru').

5.234, 6.2235

gong: Percussion instrument which usually produces a long deep sound. It is used as a part of Javanese and Balinese gamelan to differentiate and map out the repeating colotomic patterns underlying the melodies.

gong angklung: A form of gamelan used primarily for religious purposes. Its scale is *slendro* (pentatonic) and it is an 'antique' in comparison to the comparatively more modern form *gong kebyar*. The *angklung* is a bamboo

percussion instrument still used in Java, and the name of this gamelan form is often considered to be related to this even though that instrument is no longer used in contemporary *gong angklung* music.

3.643, 5.324

gong baleganjur: An ensemble consisting of cymbal-like instruments, gongs and Balinese drums. The cymbals (*ceng-ceng*) play *kotekan*-like rhythmic patterns. The form is processional and is used primarily for religious or social functions, although a recent revival (referred to as kreasi baleganjur) has swept across the island attracting young people and inspiring them to create new and more dynamic performances.

gong gede: Old and stately gamelan ensemble which played *lelambetan* (traditional melodies) for the ancient Balinese royal figure-heads. Even though *lelambetan* play an influential role in Balinese contemporary music, the older ensemble has fallen into disuse. When gong kebyar spread across the island, most *gong gede* were melted down to build the newer ensemble which has led to the gradual demise of the orchestra. It should be noted that the *STSI* is still attempting to breathe new life into this ancient orchestra.

2.612, 6.624

gong kebyar: Relatively new form of gamelan invented around the turn of the century to make a rapidly changing environment comprehensible to a new generation of Balinese people. The ancient gong gede were melted down as the new craze sped across the island. Bali was ripe for change after the tragic puputan and after the older gong gede were taken by the villagers to avoid the Dutch getting hold of them. Gong kebyar itself refers to more than the instruments, but rather a whole sense of musical aesthetics based on virtuosic flair and dynamic theatricality. Colonialism and new forms of education all played a role in developing this form; it brought about a cultural revolution.

6.12 [all]

gong semara dana: Contemporary form of Balinese gamelan which uses a seven-tone scale.

gerak: This word literally translates as ‘movement’ from Indonesian although in the context of this study it refers to a particular category of judgement in contemporary music festivals, particularly *kreasi baleganjur.* It is used to judge the ability of the members of an orchestra to interact with their audience in a physical fashion, represented in their playful *theatricality* and specific dance patterns composed as part of the musical composition.

4.442, 5.144, 6.1822, 6.413, 6.434, 6.44, 6.55443

guided democracy: When the system of parliamentary government proved ineffective, largely thanks to the president's capricious and unsystematic administration, Sukarno in late 1956 called for the dissolution of all political parties. In 1959 he instituted his so-called *guided democracy*, shorthand for a planned economy and presidential dictatorship, and the following year he dissolved the elected parliament.

6.21, 6.211, 6.212

Habibie, Jusuf

6.2224, 6.241

Habitus: Bourdieu uses this term to refer to the environment in which cultural acts occur, influencing people to make choices and to interpret signs in certain ways. It is therefore far more than simply a way of interpreting signs; it is a cultural theory which attempts to confront the whole context which results in the potential an individual has at his or her fingertips when interpreting and creating signs in culture.

1.314, 2.42, 3.4, 3.41, 3.411, 3.412, 3.413, 3.414, 3.415, 3.42, 3.43, 3.341, 3.342, 3.44, 3.441, 3.51, 3.512, 3.513, 3.5151

halus: Composed and respectful behaviour (which characterises Indonesian *bodily hexis*, their composure or way of relating to their world).

3.541, 6.183

happenings (see *events/happenings*)

hari nyepi: Balinese religious event where everyone is silent and stays indoors.

6.1722

Harrison, Lou

5.63

Hatta (1902-1980)

6.211

haus music (see *house music*)

headbanging: Term used to refer to music evoking a typical *heavy metal* aesthetic, i.e. loud and strong rhythms, strained voices and songs with anti-societal themes to get the audience into a similar frame of mind.

6.614, 6.632, 6.634, 6.635

Heavy Metal: Style of rock music characterized by aggressive, often virtuosic, guitar solos, strong emphasis on percussion, often including hugely expanded drum kits, and extreme levels of amplification.

6.6, 6.623, 6.634

hermeneut: Someone who practices *hermeneutics.*

1.2352, 2.15, 2.323, 2.352

hermeneutics: The study of the theory and practice of interpretation (usually of *texts*).

2.13, 2.14, 2.172, 2.22, 2.261, 2.34, 2.351, 2.71, 3.35, 4.6, 6.611

hexis (see *bodily hexis*)

house music: Disco-based electronic dance music that first appeared in New York and Chicago in the early 1980s, using new technology (including samplers and synthesizers) to strip dance music back to simple bass lines and a heavy drumbeat, using the synthesizer sounds and treated vocal lines to add interest.

1.572, 1.7323, 6.2221, 6.2225, 6.232, 6.2343, 6.341, 6.6, 6.624, 6.63, 6.611, 6.6313, 6.633, 6.634, 6.635

Hüsserl, Edmund (1859-1938)

1.233, 1.245, 1.2451, 1.2453, 1.6, 1.61, 1.62, 1.63, 1.631, 1.632, 1.634, 1.641, 3.132, 3.144, 3.351, 4.11, 4.13, 4.131, 4.132, 4.133, 4.134, 4.14, 4.141, 5.51

hyper-literacy: Tendency in the western world of hermeneutics and philosophy to assume that our form of approaching texts is universal when it is in fact a particular product of western literate culture. Hyper-literacy refers to the practical application of the epistemology supporting these beliefs to all aspects of another culture.

1.344, 1.35, 1.352, 2.14, 2.145, 2.173, 2.22

hypertext: A method of presenting information in which text, images, sounds, and actions become linked together in a complex, nonsequential web of associations that permit the user to browse through related topics, regardless of the presented order of the topics. These links are often established both by the author of a hypertext document and by the user, depending on the intent of the *hypertext* document.

I: This name is used to demonstrate the sex of the individual concerned. *I* is used for males and *Ni* is used for females.

icon: In art, a painted image of a saint or other holy figure, especially in the Eastern Christian Church. The word is derived from the Greek *eikon,* meaning "likeness", or "image". The image is believed to be sacred in itself and to be an aid in contacting the holy figure that it represents. In semiotic theory it refers to a sign which directly resembles or imitates its object.

1.211, 1.232, 1.261, 1.3212, 1.3214, 1.343, 1.71, 1.731, 2.121, 2.31, 2.314, 3.3, 3.312, 3.32, 3.321, 3.322, 3.323, 3.33, 3.351, 3.352, 3.42, 3.642, 3.645, 3.7232, 3.8, 6.14, 6.14, 6.3441, Final Conclusions

iconicism: A belief in the possible existence of a language of pure icons. *Peirce* was a clear iconicist.

3.35

iconicity: A quality of an object which reflects its essential iconic nature.

2.314, 3.351

illocutionary act: In performing an illocutionary act, a speaker takes on a certain role and assigns a corresponding role to the hearer. By giving an order, speakers express the desire that their hearer follow a certain course of conduct and present themselves as having the requisite authority to oblige the hearer to follow the course of conduct in question, simply because it is their will.

2.163

imbal: Javanese musical technique where two melodies are fused to form a single flowing melody. In western music the only comparable structure is *hocketting* which was used in music of the *Middle-Ages.*

6.1251

imperialism: Practice by which powerful nations or peoples seek to extend and maintain control or influence over weaker nations or peoples. Scholars frequently use the term more restrictively: some associate imperialism solely with the economic expansion of capitalist states.

5.46, 5.5112, 5.5113, 5.524

impressionism: Movement in painting (and music) that developed in late 19th-century France in reaction to the formalism and sentimentality that characterized the academic art of that time. The Impressionist movement is often considered to mark the beginning of the modern period in art. By extension, the term also came to be applied to a certain style of music of the early 20th century.

5.62, 5.621, 5.622, 5.6221

improvisation: [1] The art of extemporization or creating all or part of a composition at the moment of performance. To improvise effectively a musician must thoroughly understand the conventions of a given musical style. These conventions provide a sort of mental library for the musician—effective chord sequences, rhythmic patterns, melodic motives, and so forth—that are combined, varied, and used as a starting point for new inventions. Such resources help give the resulting music the cohesiveness it needs while allowing room for spontaneous creativity. [2] Theoretical term used by Bourdieu to refer to the active realisation of a given cultural sign in a spatial and temporal environment.

1.262, 1.344, 1.73, 2.22, 2.27, 2.3221, 2.3226, 3.35, 3.352, 3.416, 3.42, 3.43, 3.431, 3.432, 3.434, 3.441, 3.442, 3.444, 3.532, 3.62, 3.642, 3.643, 4.112, 4.232, 4.234, 4.6, 5.114, 5.141, 6.1243, 6.1631, 6.1633, 6.1724, 6.181, 6.333, 6.334, 6.5134

interculturality: The growing need in contemporary culture to adapt cultural elements from other cultures, often combining it with their own. *Interculturality* stands opposed to *globalisation* and Americanisation which are usually used to refer to the spread of western culture.

1.6535, 2.432, 4.47, 5.1, 5.153, 5.154, 5.155, 5.16, 5.161, 5.1621, 5.1642, 5.1642, 5.1643, 5.165, 5.166, 5.411, 5.5151, 5.53, 5.541, 5.543, 5.6, 5.6113, 5.62, 5.623, 5.6312, 5.65, 5.653, 5.8, 6.554, Final Conclusions

inculcation (see *social inculcation*)

index: A particular type of sign which, according to Peirce, is based on a quality of an object which leads the person for whom the signification occurs to read meaning into it. A perfect example is a wind-vane which signifies the direction of the wind thanks to its pointing function, i.e. thanks to being directly moved by the wind. See also *icon*

and *symbol* which make up Peirce's complex approach to the sign in human understanding. In this work, however, the index is considered in a contrasting fashion thanks to influence from Jakobson's later writing.

2.64, 3.3, 3.312, 3.32, 3.321, 3.323, 3.351, 3.352, 3.42, 3.43, 3.63, 3.8, 5.355, 6.3441

indexicality: The ability of a sign to work in an *indexical* fashion. In the context of this study it is referring to the dynamic realisation of a sign in a spatial and temporal environment (similar to *de Saussure's* notion of parole).

3.322, 3.323, 3.35, 3.352, 3.532, 3.6, 3.63, 6.141

interactivity: Through interacting as performing artists, we can provide information about our own traditions and compare them to that of the other culture as part of a dynamic *process*-based approach. *Interactivity* in artistic communication should be seen as an essential tool of post-structuralist anthropology.

4.172, 4.2, 5.161

interpretant: According to Peirce, an *interpretant* refers to a sign that is formed by an individual of a given 'object'. Peirce codified an *interpretant* to be a sign in itself and so in turn be tied to some signified object, or perhaps to more than one such, each being in need of a still further *interpretant*, and so on, in some cases ad infinitum.

1.232, 3.132, 3.142, 3.2, 3.312, 3.313

intertextuality: In the context of this work, the term intertextuality refers to the ability of a given musical text to refer to either another musical text or to some contrasting cultural event. A clear example is the ability music has of indicating events, like a tooth-filing ceremony on Bali. Musical intertextuality can also have environmental consequences, i.e. thanks to the intertextual function of music, a simple room can be changed into a disco.

2.64

irama: A term used to refer to a particular function of Javanese music where the *kendang* player— thanks to increases or decreases---in tempo, heralds in new rhythmic patterns which are intuitively sensed by the performers in the *gamelan* orchestra.

1.7321, 2.3226, 3.721, 6.3442

Irama, Rhoma

6.2225, 6.2226, 6.3442, 6.623, 6.636

Italian futurism (see *Futurism*)

jaba tengah: The middle courtyard of the temple separating the outer from the inner sections.

janger: A genre of Balinese performing arts created in the early twentieth century which has its roots in some extinct social dance customs.

6.2225, 6.2226, 5.7, 5.77, 6.214, 6.2222, 6.552, 6.661, 6.663

Janger: Balinese night-club situated in Sanur.

6.6311

Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile (1865-1950)

1.4414

jegog: Xylophone-like instruments (used in the gong kebyar orchestra).

6.5452

jeroan: The most sacred part of the Balinese temple, positioned in the centre of the building complex.

5.721

joged bumbung: Balinese music-dance form which has its origins in old Balinese coupling rituals. The instruments are large bamboo constructions played with two mallets, and there are always at least two (as everything in Bali comes in pairs). A solo female dancer lures one of the audience members to participate in the dance which becomes a playful coquettish performance as the female attempts to ward off the male while retaining a sense of Balinese poise.

5.752, 6.552, 6.5541

jouissance: A term referring to pleasure with some sexual connotations. Barthes refers to this as 'pleasure without separation' [*plaisir sans séparation*], noting that *Text* is involved in a process of *participation,* standing clearly against the static image of the text. Further, Barthes relates the whole process of *jouissance,* the role of the individual in the textual experience, to musical experience, suggesting that music is an 'access' or means to this state.

2.2632, 2.2633, 2.362, 2.362, 2.384, 2.63, 3.7231, 3.7235, 4.463, 4.474, 5.723

jublag: Large Balinese gamelan instruments which produce low, echoing tones. They are played with large mallets.

4.452

juru (see *juru tandak*)

juru tandak: Figure who reads the text in *Kawi* and Balinese for the dancers in *Sendratari* performances. Plays a role similar to the *dalang* in *Wayang Kulit.*

1.321, 6.325, 6.5134

Kadiri empire: A specific example of an empire of Javanese origin; it is remembered for sponsoring some of the great poetic works of Old Javanese literature. It held power in the latter half of the Middle-Ages.

5.422

kaîket: Translates into English as 'connectedness' in a social and sacred sense to one's *banjar* community. To make this connectedness work and to help those involved recognise its workings, complex processes of social inculcation are developed thanks to education in religious and secular performance (including dance and music).

3.145, 3.413, 3.541, 3.452, 4.452, 5.242, 5.31, 5.316, 5.355, 6.1823

kajar/kempli: Balinese instrument consisting of a single inverted kettle. Provides a continuous tempo around which the Balinese composition develops.

4.414, 4.452, 4.462, 5.314, 6.5541, 6.633

kakawin: The great Hindu tales when stored in the form of poetry. These texts were originally translated into ancient Javanese (from Sanskrit) during the middle-ages.

2.362, 2.521, 2.535, 2.71, 4.463, 5.322, 5.44

kakayonan: An all-pervasive symbol which appears at the beginning of a *Wayang Kulit* and other performances. It is a cosmic tree with its composite male and female elements, growing at the centre of the universe: it is the source from which all life arises and to which it all returns.

5.3, 5.31, 5.314

kala (see *Desa Kala Patra*)

kali yuga: The Balinese believe in cyclical time, or *Kali Yuga*: at the end of each *Kali Yuga*, the universe is destroyed by fire and flood, and a new golden age begins.

4.31

Kandinsky, Wassilly (1866-1944)

Kantilan: Small metallophones belonging to the gangsa of a typical Balinese gong kebyar ensemble.

5.311

Karangasem: Balinese district or state on the East of the island. The capital is Amlapura.

2.384, 5.453, 5.554, 6.5334

karawitan: The Javanese developed a system of notation for the melody which is sort of comparable to recording the chords for a well-known song: everyone knows their place in the performance, and only the basic elements are recorded for everyone to be sure about which piece they will be performing. Outside of this, the complex and subtle interlocking patterns and rhythms are improvised based on current performance practice. This system is known as *karawitan*, although this is basically the name for the collection of melodies itself which could equally as easily be a part of oral culture.

1.323, 2.53, 2.531, 2.532, 2.533, 6.3441

kawi: This term could be translated as 'flowery-old language' comparable to Shakespearean English which is sometimes incomprehensible for a contemporary audience.

2.363, 2.373, 2.521, 2.523, 2.53, 2.531, 2.531, 2.532, 2.54, 4.435, 5.223, 5.244, 5.454, 5.552, 6.111, 6.252, 6.321, 6.5131

kebjar (see *gong kebyar* or *kebyar duduk*)

kebupaten: A Balinese region or state.

6.313, 6.363, 6.365, 6.662

kebyar (see *gong kebyar* or *kebyar duduk*)

kebyar duduk: Form of Balinese contemporary dance which makes use of the new *Kreasi Baru* musical style and its dynamic vitality.

1.431, 4.475, 6.13 [all]

kebyar trompong (see also *kebyar duduk*)

1.431, 4.475, 6.132, 6.135

kempli/kajar (see *kajar/kempl*i)

kepahlawanan (tari): A particular genre of contemporary Balinese dance based on heroic characters.

6.153

kerakyatan (tari)**:** A particular genre of Balinese dance based on the structure of society.

6.153

Kerambitan: A West Balinese city.

5.76, 6.236

keras: A term used to refer to characters in Balinese performance who are unrefined, rough or unpleasant. It stands in opposition to the term halus or alus which refer to refined and dignified characters.

3.541, 6.183

Kersenboom, Saskia

1.261, 1.53, 2.122, 2.13, 2.172, 2.175, 2.261, 2.324, 2.341, 2.351, 2.352, 2.42, 2.52, 3.11, 3.114, 3.122, 3.2, 3.23, 3.3, 3.33, 3.412, 3.42, 4.112, 4.125, 4.6

Ketut: The first name for the fourth-born child following Balinese naming traditions.

Kidung: Form of Balinese song.

6.1722

Klungkung: East Balinese city.

2.373, 5.45, 5.453, 5.462

KOKAR: Term for the Balinese high school of the arts which is no longer in use. It is now referred to as the SMKI.

5.144, 6.1432, 6.311, 6.5541

Komang: Balinese first name derived from 'Nyoman'.

Kotekan: Uniquely Balinese melodic and rhythmic form based on a number of different melodies forming together a single tune. The only comparable forms are the Javanese form known as *imbal* and the **hocketting** technique which was used in the Europe of the middle-ages. In order for the melody to be heard as it is intended the performers have to have reached a state of intense collaboration, reflecting the Balinese communal way of living.

1.572, 1.7322, 3.542, 3.643, 4.441, 4.442, 4.443, 4.45, 4.452, 4.453, 5.311, 5.316, 5.353, 5.354, 5.3541, 5.3542, 5.355, 5.632, 5.6332, 5.6334, 5.722, 5.751, 6.1251, 6.1252, 6.1432, 6.18, 6.181, 6.182, 6.431, 6.513, 6.5133

Kreasi Baleganjur: New form of gamelan based on the older processional form *baleganjur*. The term *kreasi* refers to the innovative aspect. This form has become very popular among Balinese youth and major competitions are held every year to celebrate its emergence.

3.643, 4.442, 5.143, 5.144, 5.145, 6.18, 6.182, 6.1821, 6.1822, 6.1823, 6.2235, 6.364, 6.4, 6.412, 6.413, 6.414, 6.421, 6.425, 6.43, 6.431, 6.432, 6.433, 6.433, 6.434, 6.435, 6.54, 6.545, 6.5451, 6.5544, 6.55443, 6.62, 6.624

Kreasi Baru: A new style or aesthetic which was brought into the Balinese vocabulary around the turn of the century. This style is characterised by sudden change and development, and a dynamic sense of theatricality. The term itself can be used to refer to a particular musical structure (similar to the *sonata form*) but its ramifications in contemporary Balinese culture are far wider than this.

6.14 [all], 6.181 [all]

kris: Balinese sacred dagger used primarily in rituals such as the *calonarang.* kurang ajar: A term used by Indonesians to refer to people who are (literally) 'less educated'. What they really mean is that the behaviour of outsiders seems to be less refined than they are themselves, which is most likely true considered the natural grace of Indonesians and the relaxed and sometimes untidy appearance of western visitors (who are very often on holiday there).

3.521

Kuta: Balinese coastal village not far from Denpasar. It is a major tourist destination.

3.642, 5.232, 6.231, 6.241, 6.63, 6.6313, 6.632

Laban, Rudolf von (1879-1958)

1.432

labanotation (see also *Laban, Rudolph von*): notation system for dance invented by Laban.

1.432

lagu: Indonesian word for melody.

4.432, 5.651

landung (see *barong landung*)

langage: *Langage* is a term introduced originally by de Saussure. According to de Saussure, *Langage* was the added contents of both *Langue* and *Parole*. A realisation of *Langage,* according to Barthes, was the combination of a given structuring system and its realisation, for example, 'art-deco design in the twentieth century' or 'French literature'.

4.432, 5.651, 1.211, 2.121, 2.122, 2.23, 2.27, 2.312, 2.4, 2.41, 2.411, 2.412, 2.413, 2.414, 2.42, 2.421, 2.422, 2.511, 2.512, 2.71, 3.15, 3.321, 3.4, 3.512, 5.241

legong: Well-known and revered dance form remembered for its creation in Sukawati, Bali.

1.553, 3.543, 5.453, 5.723, 5.77, 6.213, 6.2222, 6.232, 6.2353, 6.321

lek (see *stage-fright*)

lelambetan: The name for older melodies originally played on the now antique *gong gede* orchestra. These melodies, however, still form the basis for many contemporary gong kebyar compositions.

6.1241, 6.1433, 6.363, 6.5541

leyak: Balinese demon or witch.

3.522, 3.642, 5.232, 5.322, 5.323, 5.6

liminality: Anthropological term used to refer to the brief period of time separating two phases of life. To designate this 'change' rituals are often adopted to enunciate the change making it all the more pronounced for the person/people involved. Examples of typical ceremonies of this nature include the celebration of marriage, achievement of 'manhood' or funerals.

listibiya: *Listibiya* stands for 'Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pemindaan Kebudayaan' and was established on 21 August 1966. This organisation is the Consultative and Promotional Council for Culture founded at the initiative of a group of artists, academics and professionals with the task of 'preserving' and promoting the Balinese arts. In the light of recent developments in Balinese art which are attempting to save regional variety, *Listibiy*a seems a little outdated, belonging to the period of the *Old Order* government.

6.2235, 6.3443, 6.361, 6.543

locutionary act: Austin's term to refer to the act of uttering a given statement or command.

2.163

lomba: Indonesian word for competitive events (which are particularly popular on Bali).

lomba baleganjur: Competitive event held between groups performing the relatively new style of processional gamelan known as *kreasi baleganjur.*

4.442, 6.2235, 6.411, 6.413, 6.425, 6.43, 6.432, 6.433

lontar: Balinese manuscripts which were written in central Java during the 9th century. They were brought to Bali to be studied and copied onto palm-leaf manuscripts.

1.6534, 2.1, 2.3227, 2.342, 2.343, 2.36, 2.361, 2.362, 2.384, 2.434, 4.31, 5.233, 4.313, 5.333, 5.35, 5.351, 5.545, 6.251, 6.3441

Lotman, Yuri M.

1.57, 1.7321, 2.1, 2.15, 2.16, 2.5, 2.51, 2.511, 2.512, 2.513, 2.515, 3.112

Lyotard, Jean-François (1924 -)

1.261, 1.352, 2.14, 4.125, 5.222, 5.545

Made: Balinese first-name for the second-born child following Balinese naming traditions.

Majapahit empire: A great Hindu-Buddhist empire which existed in the 15th century across a large part of what we now knowas Indonesia. It extended to Bali and is seen as an important turning-point in Balinese history as Javanese Hindu-Buddhist scholars and members of the aristocracy fled to Bali to escape the islamisation of Central Java.

2.314, 4.431, 5.42, 3.421, 5.423, 5.43, 5.431, 3.433, 5.434, 5.435, 5.44, 5.451, 5.452, 5.461

Maria, I Ketut

1.431, 1.4331, 4.475, 6.131, 6.132, 6.423

Mario (see *Maria, I Ketut*): name western friends such as Walter Spies used to refer to I Ketut Maria.

Mask: *Masks* are utilised extensively in Balinese performance, particularly *topeng* which has a single dancer alternately between various *mask*s, some of which are spoken and some of which are used purely for dance. Each of the *masks* has its own specific music and set of dance movements.

mask-theatre: *Topeng* is the most common form of Balinese mask-theatre, although Tejakula (a North Balinese village) is well-known for having invented the form *Wayang Wong* which has *Wayang Kulit* characters acted by real-life performers who wear masks.

5.244, 5.33

McPhee, Colin

1.323, 1.4332, 1.553, 1.7334, 2.3227, 5.133, 5.233, 5.5, 5.55, 5.551, 5.552, 5.553, 5.554, 5.612, 5.63, 5.634, 6.122, 6.123, 6.133, 6.152, 6.18, 6.231, Final Conclusions

mediation: Important term in contemporary semiotics. One of Peirce's major realisations was that signs mediate between the world and our realisation of that world.

1.232, 1.2453, 1.261, 1.3213, 1.62, 1.6543, 3.111, 3.131, 3.132, 3.21, 3.51, 3.71, 3.715, 4.131, 4.141, 4.6

mendarah daging: Indonesian term referring to Balinese or Indonesian learning processes where knowledge 'becomes flesh' , i.e. embodied in a corporal environment.

1.4332, 5.143

Mengwi: Balinese state in West Bali. Contains the huge state temple *Pura Taman Ayun*.

5.45, 5.453

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (1908-1961)

1.245, 1.2452, 1.2453, 1.61, 1.62, 3.63, 4.11, 4.131, 4.134, 4.141, 4.142, 4.143

motet: vocal composition, usually on a sacred text and historically intended to be performed in Roman Catholic services. The musical structure of motets became extremely complex during the 14th century and incorporated an isorhythmic technique, the repetition of separate, overlapping rhythmic and melodic patterns, usually in the tenor part.

1.6535, 5.25, 5.233

multimediality: Approach to literature and music which considers all of the senses, including vocal and written representation, as valid forms of textual communication. *Multimediality* stands in opposition to *monomediality*.

1.344, 1.3541, 1.411, 1.413, 1.4132, 1.433, 1.45, 1.443, 2.71, 4.113, 4.233, 4.234

multimedial text: A textual vehicle which is completely *multimedial* in nature, i.e. considers all elements of sensual communication including taste and smell.

1.422

musical communion: Term which refers to the sense of community felt when two people enjoy a particular spatial and temporal environment at the same time. Many consider the sense of musical communion to be universal, although field-work and other practical experience have taught me to be wary of such emotions.

5.1642

musical community: The ability music has to unite people in the collective phenomenological 'we'.

1.63

musical intertextuality: A specific form of *intertextuality* where musical performances directs the listeners *indexically* to other musical forms or alternative forms of *multimedial* communication such as religious ceremonies or spatial environments (like parties or discos).

2.264

Music-Theatre (see also *New Music-Theatre*): Contemporary form of entertainment which combines art forms, particularly music, dance and drama. This is a blanket term which refers to forms as diverse as opera and musicals.

1.351, 1.4413, 2.3222, 4.5, 5.233, 5.431, 5.452, 5.453, 5.6311, 5.711, 6.113, 6.1431, 6.5131

musical experience: A term which refers to music as *process* rather than *product*. Here the action of creating music is considered as a significative object rather than the completed object itself.

musical text (see also *textuality*): A specific type of *performative* or *artistic text* which is realised spatially and temporally in a given environment.

music semiotics: Branch of the contemporary semiotic movement which seeks to explore the *semiosis* of musical *signs.*

musik kontemporer: Indonesian term for avant-garde music. In terms of Balinese culture this music is only composed for academic purposes.

mutuality: A sense of togetherness which is made by possible thanks to music.

mutual tuning-in relationships: Speciic relationships that are created between individuals while sharing a musical experience.

muzak: Late-twentieth century term to refer to scientifically tested aural environments which supposedly help production in factories and other work-based environments

nawasanga: A set of guiding principles expressed in the form of a map often used as a mnemonic device or to store information.

Negara: Name of Balinese city and the Indonesian word for 'state'.

new complexity, the: A relatively recent movement in music which serialises more than just twelve tones, extending the serial method to include dynamics, note length etc. The notation is very exact and requires virtuosic ability to perform.

new order, the (see also *orde baru*): The 'New Order' government in Indonesia ushered in with the removal of Sukarno from power and the transferral of power to Suharto (aligned with the military) in his place.

ngunyal-angkihan: The Balinese title for their form of cyclical breathing necessary to play the *suling* (Balinese flute).

Ngurah Rai (see *Rai, Ngurah*)

Noise/Sound distinction: The contrast between the definitions of *noise* and *music* are important sociocultural factors which are inculcated through educational processes in society, both in formal and informal situations.

Ni: This name is used to demonstrate the sex of the individual concerned. *I* is used for males and *Ni* is used for females.

Nyepi (see *Hari Nyepi*)

Nyoman: Balinese first-name for the fourth-born child following Balinese naming traditions.

objective conditions: A set of social or cultural rules which are inculcated into individuals as part of either formal or informal education..

occident: A synonym for western culture (i.e. occidental culture)

odalan: Balinese temple ceremony.

Ong, Walter

ontology: A term used to refer to philosophical investigation of existence, or being.

1.214, 1.246, 1.4334, 1.653, 2.24, 2.321, 2.3221, 2.73, 3.541, 3.7234, 4.3, 4,32, 5.313, 5.316, 5.32 (all), 5.353, 5.6, 6.1632, 6.333, 6.632

Orde Baru: The 'new order' government, its systems and organisations, ruled over by Suharto as part of a.corrupt state.

5.56

orientalism(s): Said adopts the term 'orientalisms' to describe a general attitude towards the orient by the occident which allowed colonialism to take place.

5.165-6, 5.34, 5.411, 5.5, 5.51, 5.511 (all), 5.521, 5.523, 5.531, 5.545, 5.553, 5.56, 5.62, 5.6222, 6.2, 6.2233, 6.35

Other, the: Phenomenological term used to describe the unknown environment which we constantly try to assimilate in our lives using the only vital tools we have to perceive it: our senses.

5.51, 5.5111-3, 5.5152, 5.542, 5.542, 5.553, 5.6, 5.62, 5.621, 5.632, 6.1432, 6.142, 6.55448

pancasila: Code of order adopted as the official Indonesian philosophy during Sukarno's. Based on the tenets of the following parameters: belief in God, nationalism, democracy, humanitarianism, and social justice

5.56, 6.21, 6.212, 6.2222, 6.24, 6.242, 6.244, 6.5332

pancasilaism: A term used to refer to the application of the Indonesian code of order known as the *pancasila.*.

6.242, 6.342

pandawa brothers (see the *Mahabharata*)

pangisep (see also *pangumbang*)**:** The male instrument of the Balinese gamelan which is tuned slightly higher than its female counterpart.

5.311, 5.353

pangumbang (see also *pangisep*)**:** The female instrument of the Balinese gamelan which is tuned slightly lower than its male counterpart.

5.311, 5.353

panji stories: A set of tales celebrating courtly intrigue and the life of valiant princes stemming from original old Javanese and Balinese sources.

5.45, 5.451, 5.452

panyembrama: Balinese choreography composed specifically for a tourist audience to prevent sacred dances from being performed in mundane situations.

2.633, 3.643-4, 3.714, 3.7231, 5.64, 5.721-3, 6.1243, 6.153, 6.2234, 6.232-3

paradigm: A term to designate all the elements of a particular category or epistemology, the single active expression of which is a *syntagm.*

parekan (see also *penasar*): Characters in *Wayang Kulit* plays that act as mediators translating the language of the gods and aristocracy (usually Old Javanese, Old Balinese or Sanskrit) into the everyday language of the Balinese audience.

Partei Komunis Indonesia (PKI): The Balinese communist party which was wiped out in the dreaded coup of 1966.

5.5334, 6.211, 6.221

parwa: Balinese prose texts often in Old Javanese or Sanskrit.

2.521, 5.711

patra (see *Desa Kala Patra*)

pegulingan (see *Semar Pegulingan*)

Peirce, Charles Saunders (1839-1914)

1.23, 1.232, 1.233, 1.2351, 1.261, 1.3213-4, 1.62, 3.1, 3.111, 3.112, 3.13, 3.131, 3.132-3, 3.141, 3.3, 3.31, 3.311-3, 3.32, 3.411, 3.6, 3.62, 4.133, 4.221, 4.6

pekan komponis: An important competition for composers in Indonesia held yearly in Jakarta.

pelog: The least sacred of the major two Balinese gamelan scales. The other is known as *slendro.*

4.31, 5.154, 5.233, 5.32, 5.324, 5.554, 5.634, 6.181, 6.1842, 6.553, 6.622

pemade: Major instrument of the *gong keby*ar ensemble, forming part of the *gangsa* which function to decorate the *pokok* (main melody).

5.311, 6.55447

pemangku: Type of Balinese priest who is not necessarily of a higher caste.

6.313

penasar (see also *parekan*)**:** Characters in *Wayang Kulit* plays that act as mediators translating the language of the gods and aristocracy (referred to as *kawi*) into the everyday language of the Balinese audience..

2.372, 2.385, 2.533, 2.535, 3.342, 4.435, 5.33, 5.331-3, 6.2222, 6.325, 6.5335

pencipta: Indonesian word for composer which derives from the Indonesian root word 'cipta' for creative force or creative power.

5.13 (all), 6.1432, 6.1433, 6.16, 6.1631

pendet: Balinese welcoming dance.

pengarang: Indonesian word for 'composer' or 'artist' which is similar to *penusun*.

5.131

pengawak: Indonesian word for body which is used to designate the second movement in the *Kreasi Baru* musical text.

4.413, 6.1241, 6.314

pengawit: Indonesian word for head which is used to designate the first movement in the *Kreasi Baru* musical text.

4.413, 6.1244

pengecet: Indonesian word for foot or tail which is used to designate the third movement in the *Kreasi Baru* musical text.

4.413, 6.1241, 6.1244, 6.1252, 6.314, 6.3442

penusun: Indonesian word for a type of composer who uses already existing material; commonly translated as 'arranger'.

5.131-3, 5.1422

penyambutan: Name for dances which are designed to welcome the gods into the temple or foreign guests and/or tourists to Bali.

2.8

performance art: Presentational genre of art, which, along with a strong visual element, usually incorporates elements of theatre or film, dance or movement, poetry, or music, and usually involves a degree of improvisation.

1.652, 2.24, 2.371, 3.352, 3.434, 6.171, 6.181

performance text: Texts which are realised as performance; form of notation or agreed upon set of conventions later to be realised as performance.

2.175, 2.22, 2.24, 2.3, 2.323, 2.372, 2.54, 2.55, 2.7, 4.112, 4.233, 5.121, 5.223, 6.111, 6.313, Final Conclusions

performative text: Texts which can only be realised in a performative context, i.e. they are only realised when they are performed.

2.371, 2.411, 2.512, 2.7, 2.73

perlocutionary act (see also *locutionary act* and *illocutionary act*)**:** Austinia term for the actual act performed as it is realised; may not be actually what the person producing the act may want to achieve.

2.163

phenomenology: A century-old international movement in philosophy that has penetrated most of the cultural disciplines, especially psychiatry and sociology. Phenomenologists tend to focus on the socio-historical or cultural life world and to oppose all kinds of reductionism and to oppose speculative thinking and preoccupation with language, urging instead knowledge based on 'intuiting' or the 'seeing' of the matters themselves that thought is about.

1.233, 1.61 (all), 1.62 (all), 1.63 (all), 1.64 (all), 1.65, 1.66, 3.11, 3.132, 3.144, 3.2, 3.211, 3.311, 3.351, 4.1, 4.11, 4.12, 4.122, 4.13, 4.131-3, 4.14, 4.16, 4.164. 5.51

PKB (see *Pesta Kesenian Bali*)

PKI (see *Partei Komunis Indonesia*)

poietic: Term used by Molino to refer to the act of artistic creation as realised or intended by the artist him/herself.

1.3261, 1.3262, 3.142

pokok: The name the Balinese use to refer to the underlying melodic pattern which is marked by gongs.

4.453, 5.314, 6.1251-2, 6.363

polos: The term used to refer to one of the rhythmic patterns in the complex Balinese form of musical decoration known as *kotekan.* Practically all cultural elements have a 'male' and 'female' side, and the partner of the *polos* form is referred to as *sangsih.*

3.542, 4.441-2, 4.453, 5.511, 5.353

positivism: Belief system in science emerging from separate movements in nineteenth-century social science and early twentieth-century philosophy. Key positivist ideas were that philosophy should be scientific, that metaphysical speculations are meaningless and that there is a universal scientific method.

1.1, 1.22, 1.221, 1.222, 1.23, 1.232, 1.233, 1.2351, 1.3, 1.3211, 1.351, 1.353, 1.53, 1.82, 2.162, 2.172, 2.3224, 3.211, 4.1, 4.122, 4.131, 4.152, 5.222

post-colonialism: Broad movement, largely in literature, of people born and brought up in colonial countries in a post-colonial age. Using the colonial language a body of writers develops a discourse often questioning the *episteme* of the original source country.

1.26 (all), 1.3, 1.311, 1.342, 1.3542, 3.211, 4.6, 5.1, 5.1621, 6.1821

practice: In the context of this study, practice refers to the activities one performs while interfacing with the world.

Prakempa: A *lontar* which contains vital information about the sacred importance of music.

4.31, 5.233, 5.313, 5.351

praxis: The exercising or the practising of an art, science or skill.

prembon: A Balinese collage of different types of performance, although it means different things to people.

2.612, 4.472, 5.7, 5.71, 5.711-4, 5.722, 6.2353, 6.5444

process-based: A form of analysis based not on the end-product but instead the process that is gone through to produce the product.

1.36, 1.53, 1.543, 1.6, 1.633, 1.65, 1.653, 1.66, 1.71, 1.711, 1.733, 1.7334, 1.811, 1.82, 4.224, 4.3, 4.32, 5.161, 5.65

product-based: *Product-based* analysis prioritises *what* is to be experienced over the whole process of 'experiencing' which I posit is essential to understanding human musicality.

1.3, 1.36, 1.4, 1.412, 1.442, 1.53, 1.54, 1.541, 1.65, 1.653, 1.66, 1.7, 5.161, 5.65

punk aesthetics: Both an approach to fashion and a political doctrine that is opposed to all forms of government. The *punk aesthetic* is based on the tenets of anarchy. They believe that the highest attainment of humanity is the freedom of individuals to express themselves, unhindered by any form of repression or control from without.

1.813, 2.631, 3.433, 3.61, 6.2221, 6.6, 6.614, 6.624, 6.63, 6.632, 6.635

punk rock (see also *punk aesthetics*): An abrasive, controversial style of rock music, most potent between 1975 and 1978. It was characterized by short, abrupt songs, emotionally extreme statements, and a style of playing that favoured basic, energetic musicianship.

6.632

puputan: An important and tragic moment in Balinese history. It was a horrifying event which resulted in the mass ritual suicide of some of the major royal families on the island. Various monuments are now to be found in different places in Bali mourning its occurrence.

3.642, 5.46, 5.462, 5.463, 5.464, 5.512, 5.512, 5.523, 5.56, 5.6112, 6.11, 6.112, 6.114, 6.331, 6.433

pura: Balinese temple.

rap music: A style of music that first appeared in the mid-1970s as an outgrowth of popular dance music. Developed, as was break dancing, by urban American blacks, its format originally consisted of a disc jockey (D.J.) playing snatches of a record in short bursts, punctuated by rhythmical scratching of the needle on the record, while a "rapper" sang or recited in fast, slangy, rhymed lyrics.

6.2225, 1.572, 6.5332, 6.623

ramai: Balinese term referring to a state of being involving the whole sense of becoming lost in the crowd, becoming one of the mass rather than an individual.

3.541, 4.33, 4.334, 5.242-3, 5.34, 5.3542, 5.6114, 6.413, 6.435, 6.5513, 6.624, 6.6314, 6.63

reong: Long Balinese instrument played by a number of musicians who beat out rhythms on inverted pots.

3.643, 4.414, 5.722

representamen: This is a 'sign' which the instigator of the process of *semiosis* has in his or her mind, in other words the image which is provided to an individual by the senses.

1.232, 3.132

Ricœur, Paul (1913-)

1.2352, 1.3212, 2.1, 2.1, 2.13, 2.14, 2.141-5, 2.172, 2.175, 2.2, 2.21, 2.261, 2.31, 2.313, 2.34, 2.34, 2.341, 2.351, 2.352, 2.414, 2.45, 2.71, 4.121, 4.161, 4.6, 6.5452, 6.611, Final Conclusions

rites of modernisation: Term invented by Peacock to refer to performances which function to bring about or encourage processes of cultural change. Used originally to refer to Javanese *Ludruk.*

rites of passage: Ceremonies which mark a person's progress from one role, phase of life, or social status to another. The term was first used by the Belgian anthropologist Arnold van Gennep. The basic life changes are birth, puberty, marriage, and death.

1.7334, 2.631, 3.123, 3.145, 5.355

rock music: Group of related music styles that have dominated popular music in the West since about 1955. *Rock music* began in the United States, but it has influenced and in turn been shaped by a broad field of cultures and musical traditions.

2.432, 3.514, 3.517, 6.1433, 6.2221, 6.2225, 6.632

samsara: Fundamental concept of reincarnation in *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*.

4.341, 4.472

sangsih: The term used to refer to one of the rhythmic patterns in the complex Balinese form of musical decoration known as *kotekan.* Practically all cultural elements have a 'male' and 'female' side, and the partner of the *polos* form is referred to as *sangsih.*

3.542, 4.441, 4.442, 4.453, 5.311, 5.353

Sanur: Important Balinese coastal village in South Bali. The nightclub called *Janger* is in Sanur.

3.642, 5.712, 6.215, 6.231, 6.234, 6.234, 6.241, 6.63, 6.631, 6.6313, 6.632, 6.634, 6.635

Sapir - Whorf hypothesis (see *Whorf-Sapir hypothesis*)

Saussure (see *De Saussure*)

Schönberg, Arnold (1874-1951)

1.3213, 1.4132, 1.4413, 1.4415, 3.351, 5.6312, 5.632

segregation: In the context of this study, *segregation* refers to the way art is segregated in our society, based on how we are taught to behave in relation to it.

1.413, 1.522, 1.66, 1.73, 1.8, 1.82

seka: Small social groups in Balinese banjar, performing a wide variety of tasks as diverse as road-building, text recitation and gamelan.

2.36, 2.362, 2.535

sekehe bebasan: A small *seka* where ancient Balinese texts are 'read' or 'sounded'.

2.362, 2.363, 2.52, 2.53, 2.531-3, 2.7, 2.71, 2.74.3.441, 6.5335

seledet: Characteristic eye movements of Balinese performers who interact with one another in a theatrical fashion.

6.134, 6.422

self-reflexivity: A characteristic of cultures which allows its members to step back and look at the culture which they form a part of, and provide in some form commentary on it, allowing it ultimately to change and develop.

1.261, 1.263, 1.3542, 5.16, 5.165, 5.2, 5.24, 5.243, 5.245, 5.8, 6.2351, Final Conclusions

self-reflexive interculturality: Tendency of artists and academics to turn to other cultures to find what they want rather than what is actually there.

5.16, 5.161, 5.165, 5.543, 5.61, 5.6114, 5.623, 5.6312

selonding: Ancient form of Balinese *gamelan* which is still played by the *Bali Aga* people who resisted the changes brought about by the entrance of the *Majapahit* empire in the 15th century.

4.433, 6.5544, 6.55442

semar pegulingan: Ancient form of gamelan played in the royal courts outside the bedroom window of the royal family.

3.643, 5.324, 5.351, 5.55, 5.553, 5.554, 5.6334, 5.634, 5.74, 6.1251, 6.1432, 6.1721, 6.18, 6.183, 6.1842-4, 6.321, 6.5452

semara dana (see *gong semara dana*)

semanalysis: A method of semiotic analysis founded by Kristeva who formed part of the *Tel Quel* group. Based on a dynamic rather than a static model of *semiosis.*

2.2631, 3.313

semiology: Field for the study of the sign expolated by Ferdinand De Saussure in his famous lecture series.

1.23 (all), 1.331, 2.121, 2.412, 2.71

semiosis: This term refers to the process of signification as it comes to bear in the mind of the party partaking in the semiotic event.

1.232, 1.324, 1.42, 1.543, 1.631, 1.633, 2.13, 2.314, 2.323, 2.413, 3.12, 3.121, 3.132, 3.141, 3.144, 3.15, 3.21, 3.3, 3.312, 3.313 (all), 3.321, 3.42, 4,231, 4.3, 4,31, 4.6, 5.13, 5.21, 5.312, 5.315

semiotic mediation: Term used to refer to the way a sign 'mediates' between an individual and reality.

3.132

semiotics: The science of signs expolated by Charles Peirce.

1.1, 1.23 (all), 1.32, 1.326, 1.3261-2, 1.327, 1.331, 1.351, 1.57, 1.711, 2.125, 2.173, 3.1, 3.11, 3.111, 3.112, 3.121, 3.131, 3.14, 3.2, 3.311, 3.321, 5.5334

seniwati gallery of art: Gallery on Bali dedicated to art created by women.

6.544

serialism: A term used to refer to the *twelve-tone* method developed by *Schönberg*.

2.25, 2.3221, 3.35, 3.351, 5.6332

Sex Pistols: Influential rock group who heralded in the punk era with their anti-societal and anti-aesthetic music.

1.341, 6.632

sign: A communicative medium which mediates between the world and the subconscious of the person for whom the sign signifies. It is not an object, but rather the property of an object which communicates something to someone. It is an important artefact for the French school of *semiology* and the American school of *semiotics.*

signified (see *signifier/signified*)

signifier/signified: Basic terms devised by *De Saussure* to define an object and its realisation in the mind of an individual. This is the basis of *De Saussure's* field of *semiology.*

1.231, 1.24, 2.122, 2.13, 5.221

sign mediation (see *semiotic mediation*)

Singapadu: Balinese city positioned approximately half-way between Denpasar and Ubud.

6.2235

Singaraja: Important North Balinese city which was the early colonial capital before Denpasar.

5.165, 5.462, 5.612, 5.752, 6.112, 6.115

slendro (see also *pelog*)**:** The most sacred of the two Balinese gamelan scales.

4.31, 4.445, 5.233, 5.324, 5.351, 5.553

SMKI: Balinese high school for the arts.

1.342, 5.144, 6.144, 6.1634, 6.311, 6.313, 6.321, 6.324, 6.364-5, 6.6

social inculcation: Cultural process which involves the inculcating of certain approaches to cultural artefacts thanks to repeated behavioural influences from the social environment. It recognises cultural tendencies rather than specific facts.

1.312-4, 1.342, 1.65, 1.642, 1.6535, 1.66, 1.733, 3.413, 3.5, 3.51 (all), 3.52 (all), 3.53 (all), 3.54 (all), 3.61, 4.144, 4.154, 4.162, 4.171, 4.2, 4.223, 4.232, 4.234, 4.33, 4.333, 4.474, 5.241, 6.234, 6.51, 6.611, Final Conclusions

sonata form: The sonata (taken from the Italian word suonare, "to sound") is a musical composition for one or more instruments. The term sonata form refers to the musical form typical of the first movements of 18th- and 19th-century sonatas and related genres. Since the mid-18th century, the term sonata has generally been used for works in a

three- or four-movement format for one or two instruments, as in the piano sonata (for solo piano) or violin sonata (for violin with a keyboard instrument).

2.631, 5.1121, 6.1241

sopan-santun (see also *tata karama*)**:** Name for the Balinese (and Indonesian) code of ethics and manners children are socialised with from the earliest age and which regulates all interpersonal conduct.

3.521

soundscape: Term used to refer to a particular kind of music which views sound in terms of its position in a spatial environment rather than merely only a temporal one. Made popular during the seventies as professional recording techniques filtered into popular culture.

speech-act: *Austin*'s term for *speech events* which are uttered with the intention to bring about real changes in the world.

2.16, 2.163, 2.313, 2.315, 2.332

speech-event: The title for the practical realisation of a *speech-act.*

1.231, 2.13, 2.143, 2.163, 2.314

Spies, Walter (see also *Walter Spies Foundation*)

4.475, 5.231, 5.5, 5.514, 5.533, 5.5331, 5.54 (all), 5.6113, 5.75, 5.752, 5.753, 6.12, 6.231, 6.23441

stage-fright: Geertz's translation of the Balinese term *lek* which refers to the fear Balinese have that someone will see through the 'role' they put on to the outside world in the context of everyday social life. The maintenance of a mask to the outside role is an important part of Balinese existence.

3.522, 5.242

STSI: *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia* - the Indonesian Academy of the Arts.

1.323, 1.424, 1.4331-2, 1.6532, 2.3226, 2.343, 2.535, 4.471, 5.111, 5.114, 5.125, 5.14, 5.141, 5.1422, 5.144, 5.234, 5.353, 5.713, 5.756, 6.121, 6.1265, 6.14, 6.143, 6.1431-2, 6.15, 6.153, 6.162-3, 6.1632-3, 6.172, 6.1723, 6.1845, 6.19, 6.214, 6.2221, 6.223, 6.2235, 6.224, 6.244, 6.246, 6.253, 6.31 (all), 6.32, 6.324, 6.33 (all), 6.34 (all), 6.35 (all), 6.36 (all), 6.414, 6.423, 6.44, 6.5, 6.542, 6.5451, 6.552, 6.554

suara (see *gamelan suara*)**:** The Indonesian word for 'voice'.

sudra: Balinese title for both the lower caste which makes up around 90% of the Balinese population and the language they speak.

4.435, 5.315, 5.35, 5.44

Suharto (1921-