

ABSTRACT

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REPERCUSSIONS OF A COLLABORATIVE FIELD EXPERIENCE IN KERAMBITAN, BALI.

Xóchitl Ysabela Tafoya, Master of Arts,
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Directed By: Professor Jonathan Dueck, Chair
Division of Musicology and
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The dance-drama called *Barong and Rangda* a ritual, is one of the vital events that breathes life in the small village, Banjar Tista, and extends beyond the boundaries of its “performance” area. In this thesis, I depend on Ronald Grimes’ concept of “ritualizing” as a continuum in the context of my fieldwork in Bali, Indonesia. The ritual cycle and the collaborative fieldwork process are analyzed through the impressions of each fieldworker. *Barong and Rangda* is a well-documented dance-drama and part of the longer Calonarang story. This dance-drama is a mythological battle between the lion, Barong, and the witch, Rangda, and is performed authentically to create spiritual balance and cleanse its community members of evil. This ritual performance reaches beyond the time and place in which the performance originates and creates a ripple affect on the village members, those in trance, musicians and cultural outsiders alike.

RITUALIZING BARONG AND RANGDA:
REPERCUSSIONS OF COLLABORATIVE FIELD EXPERIENCE IN
KARAMBITAN, BALI

By

Xóchitl Ysabela Tafoya

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Advisory Committee:
Dr. Jonathan Dueck, Chair
Dr. Robert Provine
Dr. Carolina Robertson
Dr. D.A. Sonneborn

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Dedication

To I. Nyoman Suadin, and to his family and the two villages of Banjar Wani and Banjar Tista for welcoming us into their ritual community. Through them, this thesis has become possible.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank friend, teacher and master musician I. Nyoman Suadin who patiently teaches me gamelan, and welcomed me into his family here in DC as well as in Banjar Wani.

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Introduction

Rituals are structured and framed within a ceremony. Groups use these sequenced actions to reinforce or regain social cohesion among members. Rituals are primarily a dialogue within a community. Thus, rituals have their place within a social groups; a specific dialogue composed by believing community members of the group.

Banjar (neighborhood) Tista is a village in the province of Karambitan, South Bali, Indonesia. Barong and Rangda is often a presented performance in many villages throughout Bali. But sadly, it has been profaned for cultural tourism. Positively, this thesis explores the discourse the Barong and Rangda dance-drama within a believing community. Specifically, I will discuss Barong and Rangda's meaning on both the village of Banjar Tista and the four members of my collaborative fieldwork team.

The ritual always is set in front of the temple for the sake of the protection the temple provides. In fact, the trancers are carried into the temple proper to recover. Trancers can be defined as participants who by the end of the ritual are unconscious. It is an experience of the loss of space and time. It is a complex and mysterious state.¹ Trancers may also experience symptoms such as uncontrolled bodily numbness and vivid dreams related to the ritual. The ritual reenacts the basic story of good and evil in the two characters of the lion and the witch Rangda. Therefore, the trancers attain good over evil.

¹ Judith Becker, *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion and Trancing*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004): 25.

These mythological characters have meaning in every aspect of community life. Each character ripples into the life of individuals and community. Thus, Barong, the lion is a welcomed figure and appears in variations as a tiger, elephant, dragon and lion. Enacted by one or two costumed and masked performers, the Barong figure in this case study is in the form of a lion. Rangda, considered a mythical “queen of witches” is a symbol not only of evil, but also the embodiment of fear of evil. Within the dance-drama, Rangda and Barong battle as audience members fall into trance with daggers. Rangda casts village members into trance with her horrible screams, enticing them to stab her with a kris, or a dagger. Those in trance not only stab Rangda but also turn the kris on themselves. The stabbing of Rangda and villagers is a method of cleansing themselves of the evil she embodies. This state of trance allows humans to bridge into the spiritual world and to escape evil or the fear of evil. Although, it is through trance that the evilness from the witch Rangda is overcome, those in trance are physically unharmed.

These issues just mentioned will be examined more specifically by four fieldworkers whose data describes three specific Barong and Rangda “performances” or known simply as “Barong.” These “Barongs” took place in the village of Banjar Tista during the summer of 2005. These three performances were “authentic” in that they were not performed in the theatre for the price of a ticket but rather in front of the village temple. When discussing the difference between an authentic and tourist performance the function and intention is dramatically different between the two. In this fieldwork research project, the Barong performances were authentic in that these were rituals with the intention and belief in the main characters (Barong and Rangda).

The Barong and Rangda ritual has been profaned as a tourist event. This profanation is fatal because it degrades the intention and meaning into adult tourist entertainment. Today, the Barong dance-drama are enacted specifically for tourists, thus the performers “act out” trance on stage.² At times, these professional presentations are available on the hour at every hour.

What is new and most meaningful in this group of young female ethnomusicologists is how Rebekah Moore, Rachel Muehrer, Lisa Davis and myself attempted to reach a collective understanding and articulate the ritual in a more clearer and profound level. Each team member entered the field with a particular set of backgrounds and beliefs. However, the team left with a better understanding of rituals and their effects.

The particular strength was a firm dependence on the notion of intentionality defined by German philosopher, Franz Brentano. Intentionality is expressed as “aboutness.” This “aboutness” is the real connection between the mental world and external world. Every ritual action has an object that is ritual ‘itself’. “Every belief, or desire has an object that they are about: the believed, the wanted.”³ Using Brentano’s definition of intentionality allows a sure path into studying rituals. Rituals allow humans to connect with a spirit world. The sacred intention unites two worlds. Every “aboutness” is relived, re-experienced not only by performers but also re-lived by the fieldwork team.

² This relationship between the authentic and tourists performances in Balinese performance traditions is very vast and cannot be discussed in the frame of this thesis.

³ Franz Brentano, *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint*, edited by Linda L. McAlister (London: Routledge, 1995), p.88-89.

It is to be observed that the actual performing ensemble, dancers, musicians, trancers had no formal education in Balinese music and its components. Nevertheless, they were able to the authentic intentionality or ‘aboutness’ of the Barong. Rituals can be studied but living inside a ritual holds greater value. There is a difference between listening to a ritual from those actually living it.

The village members of Banjar Tista have lived inside this ritual for many years. Each individual participant: musician, dancer, trancer, usher, priest and observer, shares the intentionality of the Barong. It came with mother’s milk. These three ‘Barongs’ carried an umbrella belief that is lived. Bretano’s concept of intentionality guides our analysis, and reveals specific benefits upon the collaborative team itself.

All four team members were prepared by various personal backgrounds, which provided a common thread between ritual experience, interpretation and unexpected personal reactions to the Barong. Together we created a new cloth: the authentic ritual plus collaborative insights and judgments. These acknowledge repercussions had lead to a deeper and mutual understanding of the ritual itself.

In subsequent inter-relations of the group and after the ritual itself, the ritual continues to reverberate beyond the time and space of our field experience in Banjar Tista. By recalling our individual accounts of the ritual and its repercussions, I will demonstrate that the ritual is still occurring, and will continue to develop within our field research group. This is not only true for our research group. I will also argue in this thesis that the Barong and Rangda dance-drama ritual does not end when the performers leave and those in trance awake. The continual intentionality created by the ritual has an effect on all who are connected to it: village members, those in trance, musicians and cultural

outsiders alike. The figures Barong and Rangda truly symbolize the deep meaning of Balinese life. They are part of the human lifecycle permeating Banjar Tista village.

The inner phenomenon becomes visible in a physical realization of worshipers who fell in to trance. This very thesis: footnotes, transcriptions of team members keeps alive and continues the inner phenomena. The dance drama of Barong and Rangda is a popular ritual. Many who have traveled to this small island to witness it. Yet, my claim that the inner phenomena continue is a primary contribution that I have uncovered. Finally, my thesis can help initiate a dialogue within ethnomusicological writing to discuss and understand the symbolized meanings. A fruitful harvest awaits us within revised collaborative fieldwork. Here, the ethnomusicological text can bridge the spirit world and the human world. This can only result in a deeper musical ethnography.

This thesis reveals the repercussions of the ritual on our collaborative team, including our individual reactions to, and constructions of, the dance-drama. This thesis also discusses the formation, experience and continuing resonances of our collaborative fieldwork.⁴ By reflecting on the impact and afterlife of the Barong and Rangda ritual on our research team, I examine the benefits and problems of collaborative fieldwork for future work in ethnomusicology.

This thesis does not describe *the Barong and Rangda* ritual through collective authorship. Rather it is embedded by three separate vignettes based on interviews with each team member concerning the Barong. By juxtaposing these four vignettes

⁴ This thesis is not, an example of collaboratively written ethnography, although I hope to pursue such work with Moore, Muehrer, and Davis in the future.

plus some more formal analytic discourse, I present a diverse and reflexive account of this dance-drama and create an actual example of the new possible relationship between once performed ritual and its ongoing ripple within group witness.

This thesis is comprised of five chapters.

Chapter One includes background on collaborative fieldwork and describes the team's entry into the field.

Chapter Two, I familiarize the reader with the battle of Barong and Rangda and how we, as a collective team, experienced it.

Chapter Three discusses the "ritualization" of the dance drama, illustrated with individual accounts of the ritual itself and reflections on the relationship between the ritual music and the ritual.

Chapter Four considers the continuing repercussions of our collective fieldwork and especially its ritual dimensions. It demonstrates the various levels of ritual intentions, which are still present in the lives of our research team.

Chapter Five presents the conclusions of this study. It explores how this case study contributes to the field of ethnomusicology, especially in terms of understanding the benefits and drawbacks of collaborative fieldwork.

Chapter 1: Discussions of Collaborative Fieldwork

A journey is a person in itself; no two are alike. And all plans, safeguards, policing and coercion are fruitless. We find after years of struggle that we do not take a trip; a trip takes us.

John Steinbeck *Travels With Charley: In Search of America*⁵

When conducting fieldwork, one never expects nor presumes that field research will go as planned. Fieldwork creates uncontrollable factors and surprises, and drives the field researcher to extend his or her own boundaries. As Steinbeck said, trips take us: the field researcher. With this description in mind, this thesis takes the reader along on our trip to a small village called Banjar Tista, South Bali. Our journey to Banjar Tista, a small village in South Bali began through our collective friendship in Maryland with I. Nyoman Suadin, a master musician who showed us the dance-drama of Barong and Rangda.

There are benefits and drawbacks to collaborative fieldwork that the fields of anthropology and ethnomusicology have not fully examined. Although, this thesis is written by a solo author, it is dependent on the collaborative fieldwork. There are fewer academic writings on collaborative fieldwork than there are on collaborative ethnographic writing. In most cases collaborative ethnographic writing about any single performance or ritual cannot exist without collaborative ethnographic fieldwork.⁶ It is difficult to describe varied communities and music cultures without

⁵ John Steinbeck, *Travels With Charley: In Search of America*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1980): 3.

⁶ Alma Gottlieb, "Beyond the Lonely Anthropologists: Collaboration in Research and Writing," *American Anthropologists*, New Series 9/1 (March, 1995): 21.

reflecting on our field experiences as well as the stories and relationships that have taken place and are present during study. Our collection of experiences serves to paint a picture of a community and deepen our understandings of a music culture.

Furthermore, my thesis will demonstrate the significance of a collective or a group, but the acknowledgement of this collective experience is only now emerging in academic discourse. This discourse is significant because ethnomusicologists are almost always studying groups, or some facet of an established social structure. This group structure is already formed but never stated within research field techniques and in writing. For example, the works of Gottlieb and Kennedy discuss the lack of this collective acknowledgement.⁷ Gottlieb discusses the various reasons that collaborative writing and research is neglected; while Kennedy reflects on the various levels of collaborative projects, fieldwork and writing throughout her career. Both tackle the problems and benefits of collaboration, suggesting methods for practicing collaborative ethnographic writing, however, acknowledge collaboration experience is not the norm yet.

Collaborative fieldwork is not often discussed in academic settings for two main reasons. Firstly, this separation is partly due to an emphasis by American schools of conducting fieldwork and collaborative writing as a solitary one. In looking at ethnographic writing, the author is at times a solo author with solo entity

⁷ For further information, see Alma Gottlieb, "Beyond the Lonely Anthropologists: Collaboration in Research and Writing," *American Anthropologists*, New Series 9/1 (March, 1995). Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, "In Pursuit of Collaborative Work," *American Anthropologists*, New Series 97/1 (March, 1995).

creating relationships in the field. Anthropologist Ana Gottlieb aggressively questions the traditional understanding of authorship in ethnographic texts.⁸ She suggests that the author is usually reduced to a solo position because of traditional Western influences. Western scholarship admires the unaided, lone author: “We subscribe, perhaps somewhat unconsciously, to the widespread Western tendency to see the author, in particular, as a singular creation, standing alone in his/her [artistic] achievement.”⁹ Solo authorship as practiced in academia can run roughshod over recognition of field contacts and important personal relationships during research while the clearly collaborative nature of collective fieldwork creates problem of a glorified notion of the “lonely and single” author. This is part of the collaboration, both in writing and fieldwork research is often left out of academic discourse.

Secondly, there is a big taboo of mixing the professional and the personal or anecdotal within research. For example, Colin McPhee and his wife, Jane Belo, conducted fieldwork together in Bali. Both are specialist in Balinese music and culture. Belo wrote wonderful books on Balinese music and dance, but their ethnographies do not discuss their experiences as collaborators. There is no written acknowledgement of either partner in their manuscripts, though they conducted their research as a team. Such an account might have been of great value in clarifying the benefits of collaborative research and ritual studies of two scholars as partners in life and in interest area. Could it be they are victims of the taboo?

⁸ Alma Gottlieb, “Beyond the Lonely Anthropologist: Collaboration in Research and Writing,” *American Anthropologists*, New Series 97/1 (March, 1995): 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Intimacy is not part of published academic work, whereas in the field personal relationships are crucial to understanding a culture and to understanding the reactions of the researcher. Thus, there is a strong division between public presentation of our work, and the private relationships that are part of the workers. This wall and separation between scholarship and personal experience is high and thick. At times, hides and denies the original personal relationships in gathering of data. The practice of writing about our fieldwork experiences is often a solo one, regardless of how many intimate personal relationships were had or are still involved in and out the field.

Thus, these two reasons clarify what Gottlib argues. Scholars have not published collaborative fieldwork in the canon of collaborative ethnographic writing because much like anthropologists, ethnomusicologists have not fully examined the structures of their various relationships in the field. These relationships may be among fellow colleagues, domestic partners and a mixture of the two. It is these “sets of social and intellectual relationships, which bring [scholars] into the field, or enmeshed in the field, as members of a professional or personal team.”¹⁰ Thus, Gottlieb has argued that the implications of these constructed relationships, although they may be hidden and unquestioned in the field, become visible in the text. She calls us to declare and affirm these relationships and actively respond to them in and out of the field.

Collaborative fieldwork and collaborative ethnographic writing share two benefits. Firstly, collaborative fieldwork minimizes fictionalization. Field research,

¹⁰ Ibid.

field notes and personal stories are subject to the checks and balances of shared experiences between all collaborating participants. Analytic understandings are checked, names are remembered and emotions are re-experienced communally among researchers.

Secondly, collaborative fieldwork is the resolution of the misunderstandings within authorship. Historically, fieldwork was known as a solitary approach, where one only observes and reports.¹¹

While passive observation was common in the past because the written word was a passive form of communication, today participation is more commonly encouraged and practiced. Fieldwork is then based on a collective experience, drawing on relationships between field contacts, musicians and community members.

Ethnomusicology lacks published works on collaborative fieldwork that carefully consider the fieldworker's various and complex levels of relationships and

¹¹ This notion was established in the beginning of fieldwork as a research tool in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology. Currently, this is not the case due to the demand for and practice of participant-observation rather than solely observation. Historically, music cultures were studied via the "armchair" approach (Berlin School) and then later shifted to entering the field through observation, as in anthropology. This shift continues with participant-observation (Hood), placing fieldwork as a non-exclusive act. Currently, fieldwork is shifting and taking a community approach, participating in the culture and the key emphasis and acknowledgement of the master teacher and field contact's voice in the ethnography text. Collaboration between two researchers and 'field contacts' are more present in ethnographic fieldwork.

community involvement. Yet, it can be argued that the greater the depth and breadth of relationships, the better the ethnographic practice. Richer stories are told and greater steps towards humanism are taken within a collaborative setting. Stronger and more diverse dialogues are built, forming an authentic window into a music culture.

In this thesis, collaborative fieldwork “provides a multitude of voices and textures each revealing [a profound] human experience.”¹² Our journey to Bali illustrates how participating in a collective team was essential to each of our understandings of the meaning and power of the ritual of *Barong and Rangda*.

The fieldwork we undertook in Bali began in the Division of Musicology and Ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland, College Park, as student members of the Balinese Gamelan Saraswati ensemble. I played in the ensemble with my colleagues Rebekah Moore and Rachel Muehrer. Therefore, three of the four researchers experienced the tutelage of I. Nyoman Suadin, director and master musician — and became his friends and colleagues.

I. Nyoman Suadin also leads a semi-professional ensemble in the Washington, D.C. area called Gamelan Mitra Kusuma. All three ethnomusicology students were also members of Mitra Kusuma, meeting for bi-weekly practices at Joe’s Emporium in Mt. Rainier, Maryland.

¹² Luke Eric Lassier, “Authoritative Texts, Collaborative Ethnography, and Native American Studies,” *American Indian Quarterly* 24/2 (Autumn, 2000): 606.



Figure 1: I. Nyoman Suadin (left) and his younger brother I. Made (right) prior to a tooth filing ceremony, July 2005

Not only did we all share an interest in this musical practice, but we were also all introduced to it in our undergraduate institutions. Muehrer was very active in the world music performance ensembles at Florida State University during her junior and senior years as an undergraduate. It was through those performance experiences that Muehrer decided to focus on ethnomusicology rather than classical guitar performance. She then enrolled in a Master's program to continue her study of Balinese music at University of Maryland, College Park.

My own path was similar. During my undergraduate studies at Scripps College, I was advised to participate in a non-Western music group at Pomona College in order to understand a performance practice unlike my own western classical background in violin. While at Pomona College, I. Nyoman Wynton was my

teacher. I. Nyoman Wynton was the teacher of my teacher I. Nyoman Suadin.¹³ As with Muehrer, it was at this point that I decided to focus on ethnomusicology rather than classical music performance. Balinese gamelan brought both of us to the University of Maryland.

As an undergraduate, Rebekah Moore studied voice. It was not until her work as a graduate student at University of Maryland that she began her study of Balinese gamelan. Muehrer, Moore and myself were all introduced to gamelan through the university either as undergraduates and/or graduates.¹⁴

Our friend Lisa Davis, a political activist from D.C., was traveling through Thailand doing research on the sex worker industry and serendipitously came across a free flight to Bali, thereby joining us on this journey. She stayed with us during the first week when we attended the battle of Barong and Rangda. Even though Davis carries interest in politics and social movements rather than “formal” musical

¹³ This relationship between I. Nyoman Wynton and I. Nyoman Suadin was not apparent to me until months after my first initial commitment to Mitra Kusuma. It was during one of Mitra Kusuma’s rehearsal breaks where we made this connection and realized this social network of Balinese master teachers is small and intimate.

¹⁴ Even though Muehrer and Tafoya had gamelan experience before graduate studies, Moore, Muehrer and Tafoya were all introduced to Balinese music and dance while as students in a university. Our understanding of gamelan broadened while at the University of Maryland together. It is here, with the teaching style and stories of I. Nyoman Suadin where in our journey begins in understanding Balinese gamelan and rituals.

understanding, she played a crucial role in the research team. Davis participation in this fieldwork, specifically her dialogue, witness account of Barong and Rangda and her interactions in the field were utmost important and effected our reactions and our conclusions. Davis, through experience traveling and living in many cultures and having a history of trance through hypnosis, was quick to understand the relationship between the community, the dance-drama and the trance. Davis, who would claim that she was the least musical of the research team, was exceptionally aware of the relationship between the music and her body. This awareness was not as present in the perceptions and memory of other three members of the team.



Photo: Rebekah Moore

Figure 2: Group drum lesson with I. Nyoman Suadin (left): starting counterclockwise from Suadin, Rachel Muehrer (background), author Xóchitl Tafoya (right back) and Abram Lipman (front) July 2005

It is to be noted that this collaborative team is made up of four females. Did

gender play a role in our collaborative research team? Gender implications were not openly discussed as a team, yet played a hidden role in the field nonetheless. Our gender positively impacted in our research approach and in the mutual sharing of our reflections openly. Gender as an asset in collaboration women's ethnographic methods has been commented on by Abu-Lughod, Reily, Kennedy, and Gottlieb, though in fact we were not self-consciously feminist in our approach.¹⁵

Elizabeth Kennedy, anthropologist and collaborative fieldworker, experienced all three levels of collaborative fieldwork relationships: domestic partners, female colleagues, and again, a mixture of the two. Kennedy is a veteran of a single-gendered research team, working with a feminist approach to ethnographic writing, and researching women-only rituals. She writes... "the sincere and honest commitment each [team member] had made to feminist growth for us and feminism [and humanistic] transformation of the world."¹⁶

Beyond a doubt, our particular team was influenced by feminism we had absorbed through women's published ethnographies. We were triply committed to learn about Balinese music, committed to each other, and to committed to an open and honest discussion of our before, during and after the experience. Four independent women with strong and clear notions of feminine self, and believers of individually and collective in gender equality. We were able to work well without conflict; to sit patiently through master lessons and assist each other with field

¹⁵ For further reading, see Abu-Lughod (1993), Reily (2002), and Kennedy (1995).

¹⁶ Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, "In Pursuit of Connection: Reflection on Collaborative Work," *American Anthropologists New Series* 97/1 (March, 1995): 26.

recordings such as photographs, video recordings and audio recordings. As stated before, the team hopes to work together again and compose a collaborative written ethnography.

Furthermore, our gender relationship allowed each female to develop her personal sets of relationship. For example, I functioned as the middle point of contact for all members of the team as well as between outside groups of our Banjar Tista performers and friends. Since I formed more personal contacts in Bali than did Muehrer, Moore and Davis, I uncovered more details concerning the ritual and stories of village life. Which nonetheless shared with them and likewise they shared their strengths with me. This mutuality banished the solo artistic expression.

This collaboration perhaps reflected our prior family, educational and geographical backgrounds. This enculturation, embraces our different process of learning and incorporating cultural knowledge, practices and values.¹⁷ These differences within the group were present and beneficial to our experiences in the field. Our individual experiences and the roles we played seemed to create a richer experience for all of us. By using and acknowledging these varied voices and experiences, both the research team and reader are allowed a diverse panorama of the dance-drama and its repercussions. Ethnographies describe the actions of people through various music cultures. By my experiencing the Barong Rangda dance-drama, I hope to present not only archival text but also to recapture the entire setting within a female collaborative context. As a group memory, this report is always based

¹⁷ Jennifer C. Post, ed., "Glossary," in *Ethnomusicology: A contemporary Reader*, (New York: Routledge Press): 415.

in recreated and shared memories.

My hope is to “provide a multitude of voices and textures each revealing human experience.”¹⁸ Thus, our continual conversations, which occurred before, during and after actual field experience, are crucial to our group reaction and understanding of the Barong and its repercussions. To this day, Moore, Muehrer, Davis and I continue to reminisce about our experiences in Bali, at graduate seminars, at social occasions and conferences. These persistent conversations, along with field notes and interviews, have kept the Bali experience alive. This, our female collaborative fieldwork created a field experience, which does not stop.¹⁹

In this thesis, I try to “re-experience the moment” by presenting our data as a collaborative dialogue.²⁰ I do this by juxtaposing the accounts of Moore, Muehrer, and Davis, based on interviews concerning their memories of the Barong and Randga ritual as well as my own reflective account. All are presented in field notes, analytic commentary and reflection and are embedded though out this thesis.

Whereas, no standard model for collaborative fieldwork is normative, yet

¹⁸ Lassiter, 606.

¹⁹ In the terms of Ronald Grimes and his term of ‘ritualizing’ here collaborative experience always recreates the experience as a foundation and recreates new experiences based on the previous one, adding more depth, memory and thought process on the initial event itself.

²⁰ Ronald Grimes, “Defining Nascent Ritual,” *Journal of American Academy of Religion*, (December, 1982): 169.

various collaborative models have been attempted.²¹ Herein, no formal model is proposed, rather the friendship model. This amicable model proved to be successful, even though friendship is never simply a universal harmonious experience.

There are, then, two main principal sections that I present. Firstly, the collaborative research team comprised of Moore, Muehrer, Davis and Tafoya is at the core. Secondly, the villagers of Banjar Tista, the audience members, and performers and musicians of the Barong and Rangda ritual — including the research team make up the second section. Thus we have a structure of a one “we” within another “we,” a group within a group experiencing this ritual group. It is never one person looking at one ritual, performance and event.

As Baudry states, “human relationships not only influence the quality of [research] work but are what makes fieldwork a meaningful experience.

Allowing friendships to develop; simply enjoying people as they are is not as simple as it sounds: Friendships and camaraderie are tainted with the

pragmatic uses that could be made of them.”²² The friendship structure of our group has in fact been fruitful because we were able to understand the profound repercussions of ‘aboutness’ of the ritual. Also, our diverse personalities contributed

²¹ Articles by Kennedy and Gottlieb discuss in depth the lack of collaborative fieldwork model.

²² Nicole Baudry, “The Challenges of Human Relations in Ethnographic Enquiry: `Examples from Arctic and Subarctic Fieldwork.” In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 83.

to a clearer understanding of ritual music. Thus, Beaudry's conclusions on the various challenges within ethnographic enquiry are appropriate and prove true in our specific research project. "Fieldwork remains a challenging experience because it teaches us that there are many different ways for human beings to be themselves."²³

Our team starting point begins in the shadow of the village temple where Barong battles Rangda. Thus three sets of fieldnotes record each team members experience, reactions and conclusions of the battle. We became aware of ourselves as a single 'we'. Thus, in our mutual sharing we witnessed the fruitfulness of the collaborative team effort.

To begin with, Rachel Muehrer describes her experiences and perceptions of the Barong and Rangda ritual by introducing a set of symbols that underlie the meanings of the ritual. Furthermore, she reveals the understandings and intentionality not only to the Barong and Rangda ritual, but also to the broader epic story of Calonarang. This fieldnote immediately follows this chapter, and is marked off as an extended remembrance of the field by its presentation in italics. Thus the reader can by using this format, experience these stories in greater detail and hopefully, better understand the give and take that is both part of ritual and collaborative fieldwork.

²³ Ibid.,

*Fieldnote: Kris, Trance and Banjar Tista*²⁴

The first time that we saw Barong ceremony... Rangda come out. I was surprised that she came out. And I did not expect that because Nyoman told us that this would be a temple ceremony and that the next night Rangda would come out. Nyoman told us the next night would be the actual Barong Ceremony. When Barong came out, it was completely amazing. I can't believe that two people could coordinate a costume like that. The thing was huge and sparkly and looked amazing. Barong looked like a lion. And they actually made it look like the gestures of a lion.

Another thing I remember was a young boy who was placed directly in front of us, lying down on the ground. When I saw him, passed out on the ground, I looked at Nyoman who had wide-eyes, and said to me, "TRANCE!" I then asked Nyoman, "Is it for real? Is he faking it?" Nyoman replied, "No! No! No! For real!" The young boy is passed out on the ground and then all of a sudden, in one leap he jumps up from the ground onto his feet... in one bound... with his eyes wide open starts freaking out and waving his hands and jumping around. At this point I hadn't even noticed that there was a guy standing there yelling at him.

"Who is the guy?" I ask Nyoman.

Nyoman responds, "Rangda." I noticed at this point that it was Rangda but they had taken off the physical mask of the long white dreadlocked hair, the elongated curling tongue. The man who was in trance as he enacted Rangda, still had the outfit on but was unmasked and revealing his face. Both face and chest were exposed. He had pillows strapped up against his chest on side of his body and several sarongs wrapped around his waist.

The young boy already had [made] a fist as he was jumping around hysterically. He was handed a knife, or kris, by village men who acted like 'crowd control' throughout the ritual. These people who were assigned on crowd control

²⁴ Rachel Muehrer, colleague, interview by author, 5 December 2005, College Park, Maryland. This is her account and transcription of her story and experiences of this dance-drama.

kept the people in trance from not hurting each other and also held Rangda physically up so when stabbed she would not fall over. With the kris in hand, this young boy begins attacking Rangda. And... Like, I said... it took me a while to realize that that was Rangda. And even though it was a man, it was very much this woman, this queen of darkness, this witch. Village members jumped up out of the crowd and were ushered by crowd control to Rangda. People would run up to Rangda while at the same time Rangda would also yell and taunt them back

And then people would respond with such anger and hate in their faces. And run up to her with all their might. There was never any blood when they got into trance or fell out of trance. Trancer's kris' would bend from pressing them so hard against Rangda and on themselves. The village men on crowd control, would unbend the kris and hand it back to the trancer to continue releasing the evilness from his body by each stab at Rangda. This exchange continued with a majority of those who fell into trance. This exchange would only stop once the trancer was drained and passed out back on the ground, falling out of trance into a deep sleep.

While people were still in trance, Rangda kept taunting and yelling at them. During the Barong and Rangda ritual in Banjar Tista, a woman got up and starting attacking Rangda. And I was surprised to see her because it's pretty rare for women to go into trance. She was in trance the second night as well. At first I thought that she was faking it. But she was crazy! She was running around the crowd screaming and jumping up and down higher than anyone else. So besides the fact that she was a woman, she really stood out. The "ushers" took back the kris' and then just as quick it started, it ended. And then I remember that when we were going to leave, Xóchitl, you had your head against the temple. And I asked you if you were "Ok". You told me that you felt nauseous. And we stayed there for a couple of minutes until your nausea passed and your legs regained feeling to walk back home to Banjar Wani.

Chapter 2: Barong and Rangda: The Impact of Tourism

Another point of mutual agreement within the team was the sad role tourism impacted Balinese music and dance. Tourism and its impact on the people and culture were visible minutes from departing the plane to the performance practice of the Barong itself. The dance of Barong and Rangda aims to restore the balance between two worlds: the human world and the spirit world. It is the music of gamelan that helps bridge these two worlds. Today, it is rare for a non-Balinese to participate and experience in a non-tourist Barong and Rangda dance-drama. The footprint of cultural tourism is visible in many performances throughout tourist centers in Kuta and Ubud. This could be the reason why this particular performance tradition has been widely written about by such scholars as Jane Belo, Collin McPhee, Edward Herbst and Judith Becker.²⁵ The team was aware that we were participating in an authentic ritual only in Banjar Tista.

There was a constant team conversation about the sacred vs. profane, the sacred vs. secular, ritual vs. entertainment. The secular and entertainment 'Barong' were performed in populous Balinese cities as distinction to the villages of Banjar Wani and Tista.²⁶ These villages, Tista and Wani, practice the ritual for spiritual

²⁵ There are several scholarly writings on the ritual as a sacred even and as a secular, tourists event. These scholars have made significant contributions on Balinese music and dance and are used to illustrate the depth of study on this ritual within academia.

²⁶ The relationship between cultural tourism and Balinese art production is too vast for the scope of this paper.

purposes. Our contact, friend and teacher, I. Nyoman Suadin grew up in the village of Banjar Wani, Kerambitan. Banjar Wani, and the adjacent village Banjar Tista, is the actual site for our summer field project in 2005. The team was aware of this sacred “aboutness” in its purity in fact the Banjar Tista was the only village in the district, which practiced this ritual authentically.



Figure 3: Map of Bali, Indonesia. Kerambitan located south of Tabanan²⁷

Although this ritual is a sacred Hindu event, it has been downgraded for tourists. This altered ritual is performed throughout Bali in metropolitan centers such as Kuta Beach (South Bali) and in Ubud (Central Bali) for non-Balinese. City presentations differ vastly from village presentations. Here, the shift from ritual to entertainment is easily recognized.

In the cities of Ubud and Kuta, tourists can see hourly staged performances of Barong and Rangda complete with gamelan, dance ensemble and trancers. These performers are paid to entertain non-Balinese and do not carry the same intention as they would if they were performing in the villages. Obviously the Barong and Rangda

²⁷ (Accessed, [27 March, 2006], <<http://www.bewishbali-tour.com/map%20bali.gif>>

dance dramas of Ubud and Kuta cannot hold the same function and intention as the rituals in our village of Banjar Tista. Our team was deeply aware that in the village of Banjar Tista, the sacredness and belief of the battle between good and evil is the spiritual bread and butter of the village because they never perform the ritual for monetary gain. This village shares Bretano's intentionality of aboutness. The team concluded that Banjar Tista breathes the intentionality day and night in a "belief has an object [with] which they are about."²⁸ Although these tourist performances are plentiful, there is an obvious economic benefit to hosting a Barong in a small village community. The village Banjar Wani hosted a tourist "Barong" which backfired at much evil came upon the health of the village.

The Epic Calonarang

Muehrer's insight of the relationships between the 'Barong' to the epic Calonarang should be noticed. Calonarang dance drama is in two parts. The Barong and Rangda ritual is part of the Calonarang dance canon, a two-fold dance-drama and improvised comedy. In it, Barong dances and performs the story of king Calonarang whose daughter, a princess, desires to marry. But Calonarang does not approve of the courtship and the battle commences between the two characters, Barong the lion and the witch Rangda.²⁹

Again, it is after this particular battle when trance occurs. The ritual of

²⁸ Franz Bretano, *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint*, edited by Linda L. McAlister (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 88-89.

²⁹ Personal contact, I. Nyoman Suadin.

Barong/Rangda is staged and orchestrated in every detail. It is physically framed with ushers, male community members, who not only outline the stage but also see to the well being of the audience/community members, and prevent those in trance from hurting anyone. In the battle, the witch Rangda symbolizes the evil in us all. It is Barong who is good, and who will save the village by encouraging community members to fight the inner evilness known as Rangda. Barong is defeated by Rangda.³⁰ Those community members who fall into trance are believers in Barong, and help defend the lion-like figure by stabbing and fighting Rangda with krisses or daggers. Acting in 'goodness' the trancers eject the 'evilness' concentrated in their bodies. With each thrust of the kris, the evil is released. Time is "reoriented into a two-dimensional phenomenon."³¹ This two-dimensional phenomenon is the contact of the spirit world with the human world; polarities of evil and good are at a balancing point. It is only after the battle when community members, musicians and performers fall into a trance.

Protective Spirits and Double Meanings

Notable are the masked figures. They are a significant characteristic and are always presented in Balinese music art and dance. Each mask carries a meaning:

³⁰ Edward Herbst, *Voices in Bali: Energies and Perceptions in Vocal Music and Dance Theatre*, (Handover: Wesley and University Press): 72.

³¹ Greene, Oliver, "The Dugu Ritual of the Garinagu of Belize: Reinforcing Values of Society through Music and Spirit procession." *Black Music Research Journal* 18/5 (Spring, Autumn, 1998): 162.

either cosmological or social. In the Barong, two significant masks “manifest the invisible side of Balinese life.”³² Barong and Rangda have historical plus a symbolic meaning throughout Bali. All these figures on stage appear throughout the neighborhood in folk art, woodcarvings and decorative textiles. Thus the figures of Barong and Rangda underlie the hidden and lived aboutness of Balinese identity and culture-

The masked figures are traditional. They are seen not only in Balinese performance and are used, seen and touched in everyday life. Only in an actual authentic performance, the Balinese masks are imbued with *Taksu*, spiritual energy. *Taksu* not only makes the physical mask sacred but supplies “spiritual energy that integrates the state of the performer with the physical form of his own body and that of the mask.”³³ Plus, *Taksu* is basic in discussing Barong and Rangda because of its contact between the sacred and the profane. Hobart describes and gives a background to these masked figures, and characterizes Barong and Rangda as “express[ing] the tensions and conflicts that are inevitable human in existence, and they suggests a way of overcoming them.”³⁴

The sacred significance of Barong and Rangda are set against their secular meanings in the drama. Barong is merely a generic name and the second name of an

³² Angela Hobart, *Healing Performances of Bali: Between Darkness and Light*. (New York: Berhahan Books, 2003): 123.

³³ Edward Herbst, *Voices in Bali: Energies and Perceptions in Vocal Music and Dance Theatre*, (Hanover, Wesley and University Press, 1997): 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

animal: lion, tiger, and bull, deer. It takes two male dancers to present the lion, Barong, much like a Chinese dragon as body and legs of a gold and red Chinese dragon. These two men present the four legs of the golden lion. Barongs are protectors of the village but are much loved by villagers. Such admiration is reflected in wood frames of gamelan instruments such as the *ugal*, *polos* (brass metallaphones) and even the *ceng-ceng* (cymbals) using a gold lion image. This image is also carved on home shrines. The face of the golden lion is also present in cremation ceremony. Although Barong is a highly sacred, it functions also as a common secular stamped on house wall carvings and decorative arts.³⁵ He is considered a deity.³⁶ Finally, it is to be noted that Rangda also carries her spiritual meanings as a female. Hobart states that Rangda goes by many archetypes and is known as a ‘witch, a mother and fear itself.’³⁷ A fear that grips every human heart.

Although, each village has a set of guidelines, both the village of Wani and Tista share a specific history in this dance-drama. But it is only Banjar Tista that has kept the dance-drama in its pure form and has achieved fame on the account of this

³⁵ Rangda, in Balinese performances is not only perceived as a symbol of fear or evilness but is also carries positive symbols as well. There are rituals, practiced in Bali showcasing Rangda in this manner. For this case study and specifically within this framework of the Barong/Rangda ritual, the image of a witch, fear itself will be a focus.

³⁶ I. Wayan Dibia and Rucina Ballinger, *Balinese Dance, Drama and Music: A Guide to the Performing Arts of Bali* (Singapore: Peripulus, 2004), 70.

³⁷ Hobart, 125.

loyalty. But, in contrast, in 2001, Banjar Wani decided to perform the dance-drama with false intentions for the sake of tourist-cash and one performance and subsequently suffered violent aftermath and repercussions.³⁸ As a result, village members became ill and some were injured. I. Made Pasek's explanation touches 'aboutness' of the Barong Rangda dance-drama.

To be noted that both villages performed identical ritual drama, yet with different intentions. Intention is a total focus and belief in a particular action.³⁹ Intention demands a singleness of purpose and a striving for the object of that purpose which is balance and resetting of each village. The intention supports the music and rituals. It touches on the human life cycle-birth: birth, marriage, health and death. The complete cycle of life is involved. In the village of Tista and Wani the ritual reflects the Hindu calendar and new agricultural season. The intentionality of the ritual must be embraced and believed by each gamelan musician, village faithful and all possible and spontaneous trancers alike. Hobart describes and gives background to the many myths around these masked figures but regardless, describes the story between Barong and Rangda "as a venue to express the tensions and conflicts that are inevitable [in] human existence, and [ritual] overcomes these."⁴⁰ These tensions and conflicts are represented within three-hour ritual and are resolved on the stage by the

³⁸ This was told to me in an interview with I. Made Pasek of an exceptionally 'violent' Barong/Rangda ritual. Banjar Wani is now a peaceful village and does not perform any sort of 'trance' performance practice due to fear of evil spirit's entering the village.

³⁹ Bretano, 89.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

use of kris. To the teams surprise, this deep level of resolution and spiritual belief, impacts not only the villagers but the research team also.

We attend now to the negative repercussions in Banjar Wani. The small village Banjar Wani, commercialized and thereby polluted the Barong ritual. In 2001, a wealthy village male, Mahendra, wanted to promote tourism in Banjar Wani by producing the complete epic of Calonarang of which the battle between Barong and Rangda is the final part. After this particular presentation of the Barong, as expected, some members fell into trance and attacked Rangda with their kris or dagger. Shortly after the first appearance of trancers, the entire village fell into trance. Many people were ill for several days. Although it was not the real intention of Mahendra to attain “real” trance, nonetheless, the entire village was in a real trance authentically and not faked. A “real” village trance had occurred. This particular ritual of the Barong was for “entertainment only” but was “punished” by the gods. A single dance drama that “was not real but became real.”⁴¹

As a result, all performances of the Barong were declared illegal within Banjar Wani. Plus, all performance of the Calonarang including costumes, gamelan instruments and staging were outlawed. These prohibitions were intended to cleanse the village of the evil magic of Rangda herself. Even though the village “merely acted” this battle rather than “ritualizing” it for spiritual “aboutness,” my teacher I. Nyoman Suadin declared that these unintended outcomes resulted because the gods were angry that they were “performing” for tourists and not for the gods themselves.

⁴¹ Personal Communication, I. Nyoman Suadin. Silver Spring, Md. 7 March, 2006.

I. Nyoman Suadin declared that the prohibitions declared in Banjar Wani and its acceptance uncovered a deeper aboutness that surrounds the surface performance of the Barong. This deeper aboutness is called *bhara gade or bataro gede* meaning m “protective spirit”. This protective spirit has two spellings. The whole village embraces the deep manifestations of this protective spirit. It is at this deeper level of the bataro gede, protective spirit, where our collaboration was apprehended and affected by this same bataro gede. Heretofore, the Barong has been discussed in its historical and symbolic presentation within the temple area. This description describes the “surface level”. A level that has been documented in various scholarly texts and observed at a non-scholarly level as well. Beneath this surface level, *bataro gede* is embedded and revealed itself to the village when they all fell into a trance and stabbed Rangda. This bataro gede is present not only the village of Banjar Wani, but also in every acre of entire island of Bali. This universal acceptance of this deep protective spirit beneath all ritualization was uncovered by teacher I. Nyoman Suadin, as that which truly lives and is the deep level of “ritualizing”. It is at this deeper level that my following account of our collaboration fieldworkers felt aftershocks of this very protective spirit. The bataro gede was at work within our team. The exact location of its manifestation was on the only road in the village of Banjar Tista. This road divides the temple from the cemetery. Two of the most sacred spots of the village and at this sacred intersection, the team, myself plus I. Nyoman Suadin witnessed and felt the protective spirit of bataro gede. This intersection is considered not only the holiest but also the safest location in the village. At this safe and holy spot we were participating in the Barong. At a surprising moment, after the gamelan

had stopped and the Barong ritual ended, and trancers were safely healing in the temple, at this point I became numb from my waist down. The team members were in the state of awe realizing that this experience was a first which words could not explain. Moore will in fact have a dream that very night and the next two nights at for which I. Nyoman Suadin's mother, a priestess, will give her a protective tea. My body returned to normalcy after twenty minutes.

These reactions can be more appreciated if we recall three significant aspects of the Barong ritual in the village of Banjar Tista alone. Firstly, the ritual is always religious and never an economic enterprise. It always experiences trance and serves its purpose to heal and regain balance. Secondly, it is the only village where females regularly fall into trance in the providence of Kerambitan. Thirdly, Banjar Tista seriously practices the sanghyang tradition. This tradition stresses the ritual as an offering to Taksu, the goddess of charm and messenger from the spirit world to the trance-medium. This sanghyang tradition asks the goddess Taksu to "allow the dancers to be seen as the characters in the Legong [the dance], not themselves."⁴² This tradition adds great weight to the village's intentionality.

⁴² Marcia Siegal, "Luminality in Balinese Dance," *TDR* 35/4 (Winter, 1991): 87.



Figure 4: Photo of fight between Barong and Rangda. Banjar Tista in Karambitan, Bali.

Taken July 6, 2005 by Rachel Muehrer.

In Figure 4 we can see the entire layout. The temple and its wall are lined with children and adults. It is in the temple itself where the trancers will be placed overnight until they “awake” and heal themselves. There are adults, male and female, which forms the pool of possible trancers. These trancers represent the releasing of personal evil spirits within themselves by the use of the kris into Rangda. According to the sanghyang tradition there are three background notions that explain the trance. First, trancers are “blessed” with this opportunity to heal themselves. Secondly, the village of Banjar Tista is deep into the spiritual practice of the Sanghyang tradition. Thirdly, trance also because of protective spirit, bataro gede, is embedded throughout the entire island. The bataro gede is the guiding intentionality, which underpins the Barong in Banjar Tista. It echoes after the ritual has been completed. This protective spirit accounts for the numbness from my waist down.

Field note: Numbness⁴³

Two hours into the ritual, I noticed eight men and women encircling the stage. Among them, the pomade player who while hammering the brass xylophone, suddenly collapsed and passed out in the middle of the gamelan space. The ushers shoved his body in front of us. Suddenly, he leaped up with his one fist in the air into which an usher placed a dagger. At first, I presumed that this gamelan member was 'tipsy'. The communal rice vodka glasses filled with Ark had been passed for two hours. I simply glanced at him but continued to concentrate on Rangda. Suddenly, this pomade player unto the 'stage' and stabbed the ground and then stabbed into the witch, Rangda with all his might. It was a real stabbing and it was quite realistic yet shocking.

The pomade performer stabbed Rangda over and over again with full force. The person playing Rangda suddenly stripped his costume and mask and exposed his bare torso. He showed everyone the sashes around his body. Rangda continued to stab openly and welcomed the stabbings of other trancers. After two trancers had stabbed Rangda, 4 more trancers came out of the audience and were given a Kris by the ushers. Still a seventh tracer appeared, a female in her twenties. She began to yell and waved her arms and focused her eyes on Rangda.

I was taken aback as I watched as these village members fall into trance. For more than an hour, they stabbed Rangda in the effort of shedding in their bodies. After which, the trance initiates fell to the ground and were then picked up one-by-one by family members and ushers and taken back to their to wake up.

I tried to stand up and return home. I called Rachel and reported that I could not move and had to stand leaning against the temple wall prior to walking back home. I could not walk. I told her I also extremely nauseous. It took me around 20 minutes to stand to stand securely. I had to lean my body on the stonewall of the temple before I could walk. Rachel stood patiently and watched me. I was numb and had lost feeling from the waist down. When I recovered, Rachel and I left to meet everyone in the local café. Rebekah was quite frightened and for the next three days

⁴³ Xóchitl Tafoya Fieldnote, Banjar Tista. Kerambitan, Bali.

had nightmares.

Looking back at my experience of the Barong ceremony and Rangda I do not know at what point I felt sick and wanting to vomit. I realized it once I had to move and return home. During the ceremony, I felt fine and do not have any memory loss of what my body felt like. From what I remember, I had feelings in my legs. This numbness was not at all similar to when your leg falls asleep after being kept in one position for one time. I cannot say at what time this “sickness” fell over me. But only that it did.

Chapter 3: Music and Ritual of Barong and Rangda

In the Barong ritual, the role of the gamelan is crucial in bridging the spirit world and the human world. The gamelan has a four-fold effect. It is the “music [which] sets the stage, introduces the characters, fills the aural environment, and embraces all in its imaginary world.”⁴⁴ The gamelan music is the key to time and timelessness. In addition, it is not only the four-fold effect of the music, but the performers themselves form a large social unit. Both time and the timeless echoes throughout the entire ensemble: music and musicians.

The specific function of Balinese dance in the Barong is to narrate and pantomime these ancient Hindu stories of gods and goddesses. Equally important, the dance is a bridge between two worlds: the human and spirit world. Since, Banjar Tista relies on the Taksu tradition, the dance is trance-oriented and each movement of the dancers as well as each kebyar section of the gamelan, both seek this finality.

Bali is a place where “life, ritual and theatre, consciousness and psychic detachments, are inextricably intertwined.”⁴⁵ Our collaborative fieldwork and notes confirm that there is a unified overlapping of life, ritual and theatre. Turner was the first to discuss the breaching of the space between two worlds as liminality. Our fieldwork in Banjar Tista, experience the overlapping planes and upon which our own personal overlapping reactions were injected into the liminality. Thus, the two worlds of

⁴⁴ Becker, *Deep Listening: Music Emotion and Trancing*, 2004:75.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 84.

luminality were experienced by everyone who participated. Then this luminality was re-experienced within the context of these fieldnotes.

In Banjar Tista, this liminality is evident in the trance state and also in the style of the dance. This dance style employs constant moving of the dancer's body, the jittering of the fingers and sidewise stepping.⁴⁶ Thus out of this constant shifting and never static dancing, the liminal affect is achieved.

Furthermore, this liminal affect can be observed in the physical "shimmer" of the music itself. During the first hour of Calonarang opera, an ensemble (10-15 instruments) of brass xylophones called the *Kantilan*, has interlocking parts, harmonically related by microtonal intervals. The highest pitched being reached by *the Polos and Sangsi* instruments.⁴⁷ These interlocking parts create a shimmer of overtones due to the inherit nature of the pitches. In addition, the never-ending shimmer of the entire gamelan continues. This music creates a liminal affect through the vibration of these brass made notes. The dancers help create this affect through the jittering fingers and sidewise stepping. These two elements achieve Turner's liminality.

The relationship between music and trance has been explored by Rouget (1985) and most recently by Becker (2004).⁴⁸ Rouget surveyed various trance practices throughout the world. He states that trance can happen with or without music, and trance can occur when one is listening or not listening. On the other hand, Becker focuses on

⁴⁶ Siegal., 89.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 89.

⁴⁸ The relationship between music and trance is one which again is too broad for the scope of this paper.

music and aurality, describing various modes of listening dealing with the unconscious. In Banjar Tista, music is of the utmost importance in recreating the story of Calonarang.

There are certain melodic motifs associated with each character: Calonarang, his daughter, and Mpu Bahrata. During the attack between Rangda and the entranced villagers, the gamelan plays a short and furious ostinato pattern.⁴⁹ This ostinato pattern has a four beat gong cycle in which the *kantilan* and *cheng-cheng* (brass cymbals) emphasize this four beat gong cycle. (See figure 5: Part A and B). These two instruments constantly highlight the gong cycle with single strokes (A) or at times also double the beat cycle by playing eighth notes (B).

Becker's field recording, contains the shouting of Rangda at the entranced with provoking screams. Her screams ride above the firm ostinato pattern. This pattern is constant and continues as long as there are trancers. The tempo of this pattern also fluctuates depending on the behavior of those in trance. The drum, although not included in the transcription of Figure 5, plays a role with its improvised drum pattern that supports and punctuates the intensity and movement of the trancers.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Judith Becker, "Encounter" music, *Deep Listening*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 84. This field recording by Becker is played in Kuta Beach, Bali, Indonesia during the confrontation of Rangda and Barong. It is one of the few audio recordings of this enactment. During my fieldwork, I was not able to make field recordings of this ritual in Banjar Tista.

⁵⁰ This statement is only assumed from the recording. There is no video, which accompanies the recording. According to my experience in Banjar Tista and what I saw with the gamelan musicians who also were fell into trance and attacked Rangda that the

In Audio Example 1, there is a short gong cycle of four beats played by the gongs, chang-chang and gangsa instruments (see Part A). The gangsa, that is, the melodic instruments of the gamelan (ugal, sangsi, pamade and kantikan), all play a four-note ascending pattern in unison and is repeated though out this 4-beat gong cycle. Depending on the trancer, this gong cycle shifts in tempo and ultimately slows down as the trance ends. It is through this particular music of the Barong that the spirit world meets the human world. The Balinese believe it is the music of these instruments that help bridge these two worlds together, and it is here that we three ethnomusicologists experienced the repercussions of trance and collaborative fieldwork.

	1		2		3		4	
Gong							X	
Small Gong			X				X	
Cheng-Cheng (B)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
(A)	X		X		X		X	
Kantikan (B)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
(A)	X		X		X		X	

Figure 5: Transcription of “Encounter” music played during the confrontation of Rangda and Barong, Recorded by Judith Becker.

shifting tempo is intended by the musicians to bring village members into trance and to bridge the spirit world into the human world. It is also not to be overlooked that the gamelan members themselves can be in the state of trance and within this liminal space as well.

Becker suggests that this encounter “does not cause the trance...but creates an aura of a differing reality, a sound-mediated reality that renders plausible the appearance of deities and demons on the realms of humans.”⁵¹ Here the musical intentions of the gamelan musicians bridge human and spirit world. During an interview, I. Nyoman Suadin, confirmed Becker’s understanding of this bridging. When asked about the music of Barong and Rangda and its relationship to the ritual, he replied:

Nyoman: It is a special song. It’s a special occasion. It is through the story first that you have trance. There is no song for trance, but the audience knows when trance is going to happen.

In I. Nyoman Suadin’s understanding, the music in the ritual functions not only as a mode of communication with the gods, but also with the audience. The gamelan tells the audience that trance is going to occur. It also carries an obvious narrative function, which identifies the singing and dancing of the characters.

In other words, the music is not only narrative, but cues the progression of the ritual. The audience catches these cues since they are familiar with both music and ritual. They are cultural insiders. The ascending 4-note pattern communicates tension to everyone present. They know what Rangda’s screaming portends.

Understanding the context, however, is crucial to trance. Becker describes this ritual as a ‘habitus of listening.’ Becker defines habitus as an “embodied pattern of action and reaction.... we listen in a particular way without thinking about it, without realizing it.”⁵² This habitus can happen unconsciously but is directly impacted by the various interactions that are part of the performance and surroundings.

⁵¹ Ibid., 84.

⁵² Becker, 71

At this point, the habitus of listening among the collaborative team was deeply involved in Banjar Tista presentation (musicians, performers, village members), and very much so about our own reactions of the musical meaning of the dance-drama. When conversing with Moore, Muehrer and Davis about their experiences with the music, all three reported varied reactions and perceptions on the role music played. It became evident that our perceptions of the music we heard in Banjar Tista, specifically its role in the dance-drama, and even its musical characteristics, did not have similar meanings to our team. All four members remember specific musical characteristics or, at times, nothing at all. This merely reflects that each member had their own past experience with the divine, rituals and spirituality. I report differing reactions of Davis, and Moore.

Davis is the only team member with no formal music training but was the only one out of the three to give a detailed and illustrated account of the function of the music. Davis, who was influenced by the drum, not only remembers the music in the ritual, but also how her body reacted and responded to the music:

Tafoya: What do you remember about the music?

Davis: I loved it. The one thing that really stuck out was the drumming. It almost felt that the drumming led everything else. And it's amazing and very different from what I have been exposed to. But why not, drumming is so primal. And inside of our bodies, there is rhythm. There has always been this drumming rhythm, in the womb and my own heartbeat.

But the drums led the participants in the trance ceremony. I felt that the drum lead them to attack the actors in what to do. And you can feel it in the dirt.

The drum is what I am very attracted to, because it is the drum that creates and leads to trance. You feel the music, you can feel the vibrations, and you can feel it in your body. And you can lose it just by watching the drummer.

I think that a lot of people were in the trance, too.... maybe in a hypnotic level. And you hear that call before the witch appears and it is powerful and gives you a chill. Even on second night, when we knew what to expect, it was her call that

was the darkest moment. And I think that call is the darkest moment in us all. And you can feel it in your body.⁵³

This above account describes the music's impact on Davis's physical being, and also her perceptions of trance and various modes of community healing.⁵⁴ Her comments presented an insight that highlighted how the ritual music is felt, "...drumming is so primal and inside our bodies, there is rhythm." Our collaborative experience was also affected by the trance. Davis recalls that there were many '...people were in trance, too....maybe in a hypnotic level. Her report of her experience is a sample of understanding rituals within a group context. Even without a dagger or *kris*, audience members participate in the stabbing of Rangda. Our fieldnotes record our team reactions to this ritual moment.

As to the music, Davis, who is the most familiar with trance through her own experience with hypnosis, was able to understand the function of the music without

⁵³ Personal interview, L. Davis.

⁵⁴ Again, this is interesting to note here because it is Davis who is devoutly Buddhist and also grew up with hypnosis and as a child, and was the only one of us who vividly made the connection between music and body during her interview. This can be used to illustrate both Eastern and Western notions of spirituality. My own personal experience of the music was only felt within the context of the entire ritual creating a loss of feeling in my lower body, retold in "numbness." Perhaps this is a small miniscule portion of the memory loss which those entranced experience when they 'wake'. This lack of memory is what happens specifically in trance and rituals as a whole.

having researched or studied the music of Bali. She shared her reactions to the music with us.

In addition, Moore's reaction to the music was contrary to Davis:

Tafoya: What do you remember about the music?

Moore: That is the thing; I was totally not focused on the music even then I was aware of it. What I remember is the throbbing in the *riong* part. 'Chang-chang-chang-chang-chang-chang' really fast. That is basically all.⁵⁵

Moore's response is interesting since she was not focused on the music but was aware of the simple ostinato pattern. Where as Davis attended to the role of the drum, Moore, on the other hand focused on the repeated pattern and pulse of the gong cycle. These two reports even though are in conflict illustrate the presence of the spirit among the field researchers. This statement reflects Becker's discussion of the "habitus of listening." Becker has argued that "[we] listen in a particular way without thinking about it, and without realizing that it is even a particular way of listening."⁵⁶ Even though we have four different responses to the ritual music, this merely reveals that are four various modes of self-presence, self-awareness and response to ritual possibilities. As each team member listened and reported in her particular way and each report reflected her "habitus" personality. This rich harvest of details and combinations could indicate an new model of fieldwork. For example, questioning the role of music in trance, we learned through collaboration how each member listened and absorbed the music. The ostinato pattern was noted by both Muerher and myself. The heavy heartbeat was remembered by

⁵⁵ Personal Interview, Rebekah Moore.

⁵⁶ Judith Becker, *Deep Listening: Music, Emotion and Trancing*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004) p. 71.

all three ethnomusicologists but not by the non-ethnomusicologist. Davis memory of the drum in the trance section impressed all four team members about the significance and importance of body reactions

Fieldnote: July 1, 2006

The first night of three Barong rituals, I saw an adult male rise up from his back in trance. My first memory of the Barong rituals and the three that we saw, was everyone telling us to move away from the dance space. This was surprising and got me a little scared. During first night, we were at the right of the gamelan and then we were sitting in front of the wall. It was really shocking! I think I was really prepared to see spirit procession. I did a lot of reading during undergraduate experience so I guess that I was prepared for it but it proved not to be enough. I had no idea there was going to have stabbing because I had no information about the ritual itself. I was terrified. Rangda was terrifying! I am pretty sure that Rangda was miced. Her vocal part was so scary!

“Spirituality” is not merely a human manifestation. It’s wrong to think of these only as physical and empirical. People creating these scenes...that everything is constructed. It is ethnocentric to think that these beliefs system are fake. As many times before that I told myself this...“these are people who are susceptible to trance and are really great ‘acting out’ the trance.” But on seeing, I made a totally different judgment. This is how a belief system works...something is going on. And there are many things that go on in this world that I will never understand. It was a humbling moment.

The whole setting affected me. I don’t really remember the dance...even though I saw it three times. The first time the, audience members or villagers starting stabbing Rangda. I started crying even though I was sitting next to Nyoman. I was frightened. There was a clear challenge to my belief system. Not that I would not deny anyone their belief system. I myself, was not clear about what I was supposed to believe. I consider myself a rational person in that I tell myself that a belief system is incredibly powerful and makes incredible things happen. I was scared because all of a sudden it was a clear challenge on my belief system. I don’t think a lot about spirituality. Being in Bali was different because everything is rooted in the Hindu belief system. That was frightening! Perhaps this is not the right word but I keep saying it. Stunned I think. Stunned. I stopped crying at the end of the dance. The music was winding down. And the spirit

*performance was coming to the end. After the ceremony I was cold and shivering. When I saw Xóchitl's reaction, I was really freaked. Also, I told myself that all this was real.*⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Rebekah Moore, Interview February 3, 2006.

Chapter 4: Echoes of the Spirit.

If you look at Bali, the group is everything...you have community, you have family. The group is everything. It's a commentary of community in Bali, which in the U.S. we do not have... The whole community is in the trance.

-Lisa Davis

Rituals are created and performed for the group unified by religion, ethnicity, geographical region or kinship. Rituals are not isolated events or mere performances; indeed, they are opposed to isolation. The village itself is a family with very close bonds, common and primal. However, due to the particular spirituality of the Barong ritual, these bonds became flesh and were witnessed and experienced collectively and individually by our own team.

Cultural anthropologist, Victor Turner established the idea of “*communitas*” as socially experienced. *Communitas* produces a “bond uniting...people over and above any formal social bonds.”⁵⁸ Balinese Gamelan, as well as Balinese aesthetics, are socially experienced and are always in a group frame. These social bonds as Turner writes can be found in Barong and Rangda ritual. Firstly, in the music ensemble; secondly, in the actors who portray Barong and Rangda. For example, there is an entire bond of equality in the village of Banjar Tista. All present: performers, musicians, dancers and audience members are united to each member while presenting the ritual. Each person is equally important as the next person.

However, due to the spirituality of the bondings, the ritual is still preserved and kept alive in the living drama. The protective spirit of *bataro gade* seals this bond between all participants. The Balinese call this unity and space *bataro gade*. It is very

⁵⁸ Victor Turner, “Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors.” In *Ritual, Play, and Performance: Readings in the Social Sciences/Theatre*. Schechner, Richard et al Eds., (Seabury Press, New York, 1976): 114.

difficult to walk away from the awakening of this protective spirit. Our collaborative investigation gives credit to this protective spirit and our spiritual awakening. This not only acknowledged but, experienced and lived and recorded in our written accounts.

Rituals respond to various moments in the life cycle. The Barong ritual was a rite of passage for our research team: lived then and still living. Although, our team did not participate as musicians or trancers, but participated as students of master musician Suadin and as audience members nevertheless, we received “a rite of passage.” The team was touched and united by a the spiritual “aboutness”. Our team, witnessed and experienced the awesome and holy. This is recorded in each member’s fieldnotes.

Our research team shared their knowledge and meaning by revealing their affect experiences. We are bonded together in our collective experience. The rite of passage for us was our mutual witnessing and participating in the battle of Barong and Rangda, plus our subsequent living in Banjar Tista in our fieldnotes, village contacts and personal interests. This rite of passage was an ongoing event still occurring within each team member. Thus, collaborative researcher can collectively experience a ritual. Researchers travel together to a unique location where one exists in a never-ending state of being in two worlds: the conscious and unconscious world, the spirit and human world, the real and academic world.

Again, it is the Balinese *bataro gade*, the protective spirit that serves as a resolution of this lived dialectic. As each fieldworker had her own individual affective experience, yet her experience impacted the other three. This can be seen in Moore’s reaction after the dance drama:

Tafoya: Stunned?!

Moore: Stunned. I stopped crying at the end of the dance. The music was winding down. And the spirit performance was coming to the end. After the ceremony I was cold and was shivering. And then when I saw your reaction, I was really freaked. I told myself that this was real.

Tafoya: What do you remember about my reaction?

Moore: You were really white. Your reaction was ghost white. Your lips were white. I remember so much after rather than during. And I remember when we were walking, you had to crouch down for a moment. I thought that you were going to puke. And then I said to myself, ok this is a big deal....

This dialogue shows how affective experiences fit into one another. Moore was unsure of what she was seeing, even though she felt quite strongly about the ritual and remembers more after the music as stopped but the ritual was still taking place. But, seeing my reaction to the Barong and Rangda dance drama, her movement from understanding the event as unreal to real occurred. Here, collaborative fieldwork functioned as a resolution of real and unreal. Seeing my reaction for Moore provided a mode to understand the ritual after the music had stopped. In addition, I myself, needed the help of both Muehrer and Moore to recount my actions because I had did not remember my reactions, rather only that I had numbness from the waist down.

We both entered a space in which we were “betwixt and between”⁵⁹ spaces, and we shared a communal experience in feeling the protective spirit that is strong and dominate in everything Balinese. Because this confrontation of spiritual beliefs is difficult to express within this ethnography, I choose to use vignettes and interviews to more clearly share this experience with the reader. The protective spirit always visual, sensorial, yet spiritual, was active that night in Banjar Tista. Moore’s and my own belief

⁵⁹ Victor Turner, ed. *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*, (Washington, D.C.:

Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982: 160.

system were confronted in different ways. Moore's liminal space occurred as a confrontation of her own belief system. I, on the other hand, had a physical reaction after observing the trance. As the all the village members walked back to their village compound:

Before we walked home, I noticed everyone getting up and walking back to his or her homes. I talked to Rachel and realized that I could not move and had to stand leaning against the wall prior to walking. I remember telling her that I felt extremely nauseous and felt sick. It took me around 20 minutes to stand putting all of my weight of my body on the stonewall of the temple before I could walk, Rachel stood there patiently and watched. I was numb and lost feeling in my legs. After what seemed to be around 20 minutes, I followed Rachel back to meet everyone in front of the bar.⁶⁰

The *bataro gade* we experienced then and still experience is unlimited. It is continuous among our group and is sustained by our continuous relationship as a team. Because our shared and collective memories of the ritual intersected and overlapped, and because we continued to relate to each other, the ritual perdures and engenders the sentiments we felt since the beginning. This enchantment continues.

In this context, I agree with Siegal that "the idea of blurred boundaries is intrinsic to liminality, a state where you temporarily lose the distinction between two entities, two individuals, and *two time frames* [emphasis mine]."⁶¹ In other words, liminality occurred during and after the dance drama and also all distinctions and boundaries between Moore, Muehrer, Davis and me became blurred and a more fruitful relationship was established before, during and after the fieldwork.

My physical reaction occasioned by the dance drama, gave me a first hand understanding of time in a trance situation. While writing my field notes, I felt numb for a

⁶⁰ Personal Field notes on Barong/Rangda ritual

⁶¹ Siegal, 87.

significant length of time, like twenty minutes. In discussing this with Muehrer, I soon realized that I had lost track of only five minutes.

And then I remember that when we were going to leave, you had your head against the temple. And I asked you if you were ok. And you told me that you felt nausea and we stayed there for a couple of minutes. - Rachel Muehrer⁶²

This temporal lapse illustrates the effects trance has in augmenting time. Trancers sometimes do not remember what they did during the ritual. And from my personal experience, those who watch trance, can also lose track of time. In my case, time was extended and felt more stretched out but in fact was only a couple of minutes when I felt total numbness in my body.

Time becomes an interesting problem. Fieldwork is said to be an individual experience, at a particular time. Noll stated that, “Fieldwork is an individual experience that takes place in time (at or through a specific time), and fieldwork often results in an ethnographic record outside of time.”⁶³ This, I believe has been the result of understanding fieldwork only as an individual endeavor. Let us remember that fieldwork is a tool to collect stories, to make connections and comparisons among music cultures. It is not in fact a solitary activity. It is clear, that in this very case study, our fieldwork produced not a solitary memory, solitary sentiment nor solitary enactment but rather communal ones. Our team fieldwork solved of problem of time. Not small benefit from collaborative teamwork.

Our collaborative fieldwork challenges the accepted understanding of fieldwork as taking place once at one particular past time. Yet, our team interviews are ever present

⁶² Personal Contact, R. Muehrer

⁶³ William Noll, 163.

through memory and recall, similar to the effects of the ritual itself. Even while conducting follow-up field interviews, the validity of facts is confirmed, greater details were recalled and this team recall occurs constantly.

Regarding memory and ritual, Suzel Reily notes that "...although this vision [embodied in ritual] can be sustained only temporarily, its re-enchantment at regular intervals keeps it alive, providing devotees with a means of affirming their moral integrity."⁶⁴ The moral integrity of all four participants, including I. Nyoman Suadin has been reaffirmed in various ways. Moore explored various belief systems, not only for purposes of ethnomusicology, but also for her personal growth. Davis came to a greater understanding of what it means to be human, and wonders if structures or rituals analogous to those of Banjar Wani and Banjar Tista could be constructed in the U.S. context.

I personally experienced various levels of music and healing. The power and music of the trance bridged the spirit world and human world. This healing process happened in our stay in the village of Banjar Tista. But not only in written fieldnotes, but also among ourselves during the actual writing. And this healing writing process, for all members of the research team is, continuous. The drive itself to study and to understand rituals, is a healing motion as the reader flips through these very pages. Points of clarity are not limited to the moment and place of Barong and Rangda ritual as it happened back there and then, but is extended to the after times and places with our team.

The Barong and Rangda dance drama is a direct communication in symbols. It is in terms of this symbolic communication that the "aboutness" becomes apparent.

⁶⁴ Reily, 222

Thus the excellence of a ritual performance derives in part from actual performance credibility. Our village Banjar Tista has high performance credibility throughout Bali, as has been recorded by Siegal (1991). The relationship between the performer and audience requires an intense level of trust on the parts of both audience and performers. This trust establishes credibility, and provides a measure of effectiveness to the ritual in action.

The sad story of the Banjar Wani presentation of the Barong and Rangda dance in 2001, reveals the degree of trust must plays in a dramatic presentation. False intentions devastated everything and everyone in one ritual in Banjar Wani.

Tafoya: I was talking to Pasek and he told me he went into trance.

Suadin: He did. (Laughter.) This happened in 2001 when a wealthy man named, Mahendra wanted to promote Br. Wani and bring tourists into our village. He asked the village and village gamelan to perform the Calonarang. So, they did and both tourists and money came into the village. We then made a so they make 2-hour program Barong and at the end, everyone went into trance! There were a lot of people in trance.

Muehrer: Was this tourist's performance?

Suadin: Yeah, just a performance trance.

Suadin: It was not real but became real.

Tafoya: The intention was to be fake but it became real.

Suadin: Many people fell into trance. This is why there are no more Barong ritual in Br. Wani. Everyone went into trance there. The gamelan, the costumes and everything, were then thrown out. Nothing was kept! The rich guy threw everything away. The rich guy had a good idea but it backfired.

My master teacher, I. Noman Suadin compared the differences between the Banjar Wani and Banjar Tista performances. It was the corrective reaction of the protective spirit, *bataro gade*. He said, firstly, it is clear that the *bataro gade*, was

indeed proactive and backfired upon the village. Having the whole village go into trance was a sign to this village that they cannot perform trance for economic growth. Secondly, the intention of the village to create a tourist ritual could not hold back nor silence the effect of *bataro gade*.

Moreover, the Barong and Rangda ritual as performed in Banjar Tista had physical effects on two team members. Firstly, Moore experiences nightly dreams about Rangda. Yet the dreams ceased after the local temple priestess prepared a special tea for her. Moore offered tea and flowers within the temple and the dreams ceased. Secondly, I lost feeling from the waist down and experience's a collapse of temporality. Although, much of past scholarship on ritual ends inquiry when the actual performance and music stops, nevertheless, this thesis argues that the ritual still continues in the members and interactions among the research group. We influenced each other. We were a key part of each other's surroundings, particularly in the context of the fieldwork experience. We amplified this experience. This amplification is important to take into account especially in future ethnographic fieldwork.

Our enriched experience suggests that group study of rituals is a promising strategy because the reaction of the group uncovered unexpected depth of the ritual. At three levels: a) through the intentions of the performers; b) those entranced; c) the research team and other village members. These three levels of intentions and actual performance of the ritual, plus the music, produce a deeper meaningful and humanistic communication. Communication occurs through understood signals, just as a gamelan signals that the trance is beginning by its ostinato patterns, and also a dancer's hand gestures generates space for the spirits and the human world. The liminal meeting ground

of the ritual is alive in the local community that witnessed the ritual. In my opinion, there are the echoes of the Barong and Rangda ritual on our very collaborative fieldwork, experiences and reports. It still echoes in our refreshed humanity born in the fields of Bali.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

As a team, we were focused and supported each other on expanding our experience of the ritual. As a team, we were constantly discussing the actual performances, and especially the sad situation in Banjar Wani. As a team, there was a continuous thread of caring for and sharing with each other. As a team, our discussions of Balinese music deepened and these discussions enriched our experiences of the sacred and profane in the villages of Banjar Tista. As a team, we processed and participated in various secular experiences. We actively and constantly were in each others' company. As a team, we became a "we" of co-laborers.

Lassier claims that the goal of collaborative fieldwork is to have a dialogue. Our fieldwork was dialogic. Collaborative dialogue uncovers levels of meaning. Our team dialogue did just that. This thesis shows that we attained "true collaboration entailing a sharing of authority and a sharing of visions."⁶⁵

In fact, the gamelan ensemble itself was an object of our communal labor. The structure of the gamelan itself is a form of "we". A "we" making music. Gamelan is a community event involving musicians (15-30 members) and performed for a "we," the greater community that paid and cares for all the instruments. A group is always needed to listen to this music and each instrumentalist is as important as the listener. There is never a one-man gamelan. The individual is not existent in Bali. This basic aspect of Balinese culture is embodied in the gamelan. The music is heard throughout the village in

⁶⁵ Lassier, 606.

Bali and becomes a constant background that frames daily village experiences and life. The instruments, musicians and the performance all work together as a unit in shared responsibility. The whole village participates in the performance by preparing coffee and sweets before and during the gamelan performance in the village center and by constantly greeting members of the gamelan on the streets.

The photo in Figure 6 is an example of the village and gamelan together as a communal unit. Here, the Gamelan Banjar Wani is performing in front of I. Nyoman Suadin's birth house and family temple. They are celebrating the announcement of a newborn and the detachment of the child's umbilical chord. One can see that the gamelan physically takes up the entire main street, Mitra Kusuma, and is interacting with the village by talking loudly with them. Village children are playing while the gamelan is celebrating the newborn child. Children are even watching their fathers perform. Other community members are watching and listening to the music. Inside the home the celebration is acknowledged and respected.



Figure 6: Gamelan Ensemble of Banjar Wani performing in front of I. Nyoman Suadin's birth house.

The structure of our particular collaborative team allowed each to be individuals and at the same time, a “we” unit. Each of us (Moore, Muehrer and Tafoya) created different personal relationships throughout Banjar Wani. Firstly, Moore befriended children and had more friendships with Balinese women than Muehrer, Davis and myself. Moore's reasons for positioning herself this way are directly related to her affective experience with the Barong and Rangda ritual.⁶⁶

Secondly, Muehrer created a strong relationship with I. Nyoman Suadin's younger brother, I. Made Pasek, who is the lead singer to the rock group called “Amnesty.” He was a record shop owner during the day but he was a trancer on that sad

⁶⁶ Moore's interaction is related to her experience to the ritual which was awakening for us all. Please refer to Fieldnote: July 1, 2006.

night in Banjar Wani. Of that night he only recalls that he went to Barong ritual and woke up the following morning in the temple. He cannot recall any details. Muehrer also befriended many of I. Made Pasek's friends and band mates, labeled by us as "The Lost Boys."⁶⁷

Thirdly, I was more interested in personal contact and individual (rather than group) relationships. Although, I socialized with the "Lost Boys," the children, and I. Nyoman Suadin's friends and family, I also created individual relationships with village members. I did this by having daily language lessons: I taught English and they taught me two languages, Bahasa Bali and Bahasa Indonesian. Beyond our three sets of daily relationships, we also functioned as a unit and together experienced and participated in several performances of major rituals.

⁶⁷ The term 'Lost Boys' was coined by Muehrer to identify many of I. Made Pasek's friends and fellow band mates. Due to the economical system in Bali, it is very difficult for 20-30 year old men to find a job without specialized training in tourist business (ie. tour guide, translator, etc). This is also including I. Made Pasek, who was unemployed until I. Nyoman Suadin purchased a record store in Br. Wani last year to employ his youngest brother. Similar to rock-star aesthetic and lifestyle in the US, the record store called 'Pasek Cassette' rarely had business, but functioned as a hangout for the majority of young men in Br. Wani and other neighborhoods. During their day, they would sing along to music, smoke and drink Arak (Rice Vodka) throughout the day. The "Lost Boys" became the term used by all three of us to refer to the unemployed Bali boys of Banjar Wani.

We were always greeted as a unit when we walked up and down Mitra Kusuma road. As a unit, we were invited to dinner by several friends and the family of I. Nyoman Suadin. As a unit, we played music with the Banjar Wani gamelan.

Thus our “we” was enriched by our different relationships within the village from whom we could each experience and witness the balance, or “aboutness” of the Barong ritual. Our profane social relations always led us back to a recalling and appreciating of the sacred ritual. The sacred intentionality achieved within the temple was continued in the profane daily dramas of the village. No small achievement. Made possible because “we” were present as a unit of three witnesses.

Our trio focused as a single yet three-fold dynamic not only upon the stage characters as an “actor with a mask,” but beyond and even after the drama by critically consorting with trancers as insiders and ourselves as outsiders.

There are four lessons I now gleam from working in such a collaborative structure. Firstly, our musical background deeply enhanced our fieldwork. As each member brought more talent, we all gathered and interpreted more information. Thus more group data was dug out in the field and many more hands to refine it.

Secondly, the group benefited because it was a built-in fact checking system. Facts, details and specific names are verified or confirmed at once in the group setting. The team can benefit from this check and balance system. As a team, we attended many functions, large and small, in both villages. Often, for sake of precision, we could quickly confirm or correct name spellings, geographic locations, as well as musical terminology as well as gamelan instrumentation.

Thirdly, a group structure demands an open honor code: to be true to yourself and to the team. This honor code demands the sharing of your real experience about the music or ritual. Your own self will be honored, supported yet always respected. The honor code also allows for each team member to explore and investigate alone. These personal projects, allows each member to think and make connections. This code allows time and space for each member of the group to deal with their own personal struggles in the field.

Fourthly, the most significant aspect of a team setting is the constant dialogue and discussion of our experiences in the field. This dialogue is an instant process, after each experience, ritual or non-ritual. We recounted, retold, debriefed in the field. This dialogic discourse happens out in the field, under the flag of the honor code.

In summary, I consolidate my analysis of the benefits of collaborative fieldwork in two steps: Firstly, ritual itself is a group production. It does not exist in a solo actor. Nor, does it exist for a solo audience. This is to say that the “we” ritual exists within a “we” context. A “we” within a “we,” which relationship is seriously misinterpreted by a one-to-one relationship or investigator, which is the current accepted methodology of our discipline. My goal is to expand this methodology.

Secondly, Ritual music reaches up to the beyond; it rises from the profane world to the beyond. Rituals mark significant moments in the human cycle with ascending music. The music is presumed to describe the spirit world. Fortunately it did so to our particular team and “we” benefited by our reactions to this ascending music. Since music is not only a cold catalogue of instruments, composers, cross-cultural comparisons, films or recordings, all of which are merely tools to understand music, thus music deeply listened, crosses into the spirit and presents an infleshed intentionality.

Our Bali team was touched profoundly by the music. Our impressions were difficult to discuss and at times too personal to describe, and could be kept at arms distance and replaced by the usual armchair or laboratory silence. Not so this team. We were able to discuss openly our reactions, our physical feelings, and meaningful interpretations in response to the same music during and after the ritual itself. We had an extended triple receptor of the one music. We heard it three levels deep and yet, shared it as one.

I offer this as a model for future fieldwork. Such collaboration can go as high or deep as the team is capable and willing. This would be a giant step forward in the future field of ethnography.

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