

Performing Arts in Procession as a Contact Zone for Muslim and Hindu Balinese

MASHINO Ako*

Abstract

Performing arts in processions can create unique contact zones where the Muslim Balinese (the religious minority on the island) and Hindu Balinese (the majority) encounter one another in terms of sound and body movements. Describing and examining three examples of different contexts and backgrounds (a procession primarily for Muslims, a Hindu cremation to which Muslim performers were invited, and an anniversary parade for a city in which both Hindus and Muslims equivalently participated), I highlight several factors of the processions that enabled the Muslim and Hindu participants to experience each other's cultural forms and try to collaborate: an open and public performance space, an occasional occupation of the space by sonic and visible excess, a linear structure which facilitates the integration of diverse participants, the similarities between Muslim and Hindu processional music, the holism of procession, and the fact that all participants only partially control the whole event. Although the minority-majority relationship, echoing the historical subject-ruler connections, still affected the asymmetrical distribution of power and agency in framing these encounters, musicking together in processions efficiently could provide theatrical spaces, where they were intuitively pushed forward to surpass the ordinary border to establish contact with each other, shared the temporal coalescence in multi-sensory ways, and cooperatively worked out the ideal portrait of the inclusive community.

1. Purpose of the Study

Procession offers a multi-sensory experience of collectivity through the intermingling of diverse sounds and body movements created by many people walking together, in which musicking [Small 2011(1998)]—playing instruments, singing, dancing, walking, bringing materials, and any other actions within and to the music—often has a primary role. It also often becomes a venue where people meet and actively collaborate in a way distinctive from other social activities.¹ Here I discuss three examples of processions in Bali, Indonesia, in

* Lecturer, Tokyo University of the Arts, JAPAN.

¹ This paper is based upon research conducted intermittently from 2014 to 2021, supported by JSPS KAKENHI 15K02098, JSPS KAKENHI 19K00151, and Toyota Foundation Research Grant 2014. The original version was my paper presented at the International Workshop on Musical Encounters with Religious Others in the Islamic World (held online, on July the 2nd 2022, organized by Kenan Rifai Center for Sufi

which Muslim and Hindu Balinese encounter and interact through performing arts, beyond the differences in religion, culture, and custom.

Indonesia is the country which has the world's largest Muslim population, while Muslims in Bali are a religious minority constituting around only 10 percent of the population of the island, whereas Hindus make up more than 80 percent of it [Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali 2018]. The oldest Muslim community in Bali is thought to be Kampung Gelgel, Klungkung, East Bali, which can be traced back to the 15th century [Vickers 1987: 38; Mulyono et al. 1979/1980: 14–15]. Since then, Muslim immigrants continuously came from Java, Lombok, Sulawesi, and other neighbouring islands of the archipelago and set down roots around the island. The descendants, who were born and brought up in Bali often speak Balinese fluently and have a strong sense of belonging to Bali, so they identify themselves as Balinese, locally called *Bali slam*, Muslim Balinese, or *nyama slam*, Muslim brothers [Pedersen 2014: 167; Mashad 2014: 8; Mashino 2021a: 81–84]. While some of them have lived in Hindu-Muslim mixed villages, others have established primarily Muslim communities, *kampung*, which I mostly discuss here. These *kampungs* have developed and maintained their customs reflecting their diverse historical and ethnic backgrounds [See Tim Penelitian Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali 1979/1980; Barth 1993; Budiwanti 1995; Mashad 2014].

Muslim Balinese communities also have developed unique performing arts, which are distinct from those of Hindu Balinese. Frame drum called *rebana*, *kedencong*, or *kendang*, is the most developed popular musical instrument and is commonly identified as a Muslim instrument because it is seldom used in Hindu Balinese music.² While *gamelan*, a musical ensemble of multiple instruments, is widely performed by Hindu Balinese and Muslims in Java, Lombok, and the other islands of Indonesia, it is not found in Muslim Balinese communities. The most frequently found are vocal genres accompanied by frame drum ensemble, such as recitation of *Burdah* (Arabic poetry) with large frame drums, *hadrah* (male chorus of Arabic texts with small frame drums), and *qasidah* (female chorus of mostly Indonesian texts with small frame drums), which are ubiquitous among Muslims around the archipelago. Some *kampung* also has a tradition of *rudat* (a male group dancing), which I will discuss in detail later. These art forms are performed at their communal events, such as the *Maulid* (*Maulud*, *Mawlid*), the anniversary of the Prophet, weddings, a celebration for the newly built mosque, and so on, although Hindu Balinese generally have less exposure to these art forms.

Studies, Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University), and the prototypical idea for examining Balinese processions have already emerged in my other papers [Mashino 2021a; 2021b], which partially overlap with this chapter, but I further elaborated them here.

2 Hindu Balinese used to play a large frame drum in some musical forms, which was later replaced by a metal *gong* or *gong pulu*. Some Hindu Balinese contemporary musicians and choreographers have applied frame drums to their creations to add Islamic or exotic flavour.

Throughout its history, the Muslim Balinese *kampung* has never been a closed enclave. Hindus and Muslims frequently have had contact and interactions in their daily lives, in their neighbourhood, at school, markets, and offices, because they have lived as neighbours for centuries.³ In some areas, they have maintained a custom to invite each other to rituals or celebrations to, *saling hormati*, mutually pay respect, based upon the concept of *nyama braya*, which literally means close and far relatives but often refers to brotherhood beyond the difference in faiths. Origin stories of Muslim Balinese *kampung* often describe how their ancestor acquired permission from Hindu rulers to establish the community, often by their extraordinary prowess, loyalty, or contributions as ambassadors, attendants, soldiers, and guards [Vickers 1987; Mulyono et al.1979/1980; Mashad 2014].⁴ Hindu Balinese rulers and their descendants often have sponsored to build of *kampung* mosques, and some *kampung*s are proud of having beautiful wood curving or *mimbar*, pulpit, made by Hindu craftsmen [see also Fadillah 1992]. Hindus and Muslims share some traditional customs, such as the birth-order naming system, though they might vary in their detail [Budiwanti 1995: 56–59]. Some others, such as *mekibung*, traditional gathering and sharing food from one dish, and *ngejot*, distributing special meals for ceremonies to neighbours, are assumed to have been adopted from Hindus to Muslims [Ramdhani, Busro, and Wasik 2020: 211–213], while Islamic influences can be also found in the Hindu magical-religious practices and incantations [Vickers 1987]. These things have been often referred to by the Muslim Balinese, as well as by scholars, as evidence of cultural interactions and the relatively peaceful relationship between Hindus and Muslims, which have been maintained for centuries [See also Mashad 2014: 7–8; Pedersen 2014: 168].

However, the opportunities to collaborate or interact with each other to create performing arts have been generally limited, besides some exceptions.⁵ The opportunities to be exposed to the other traditions and performing arts are not frequent, and are unevenly

3 Frederik Barth described the Muslim Balinese village of Pegatepan (also called Pegayaman), Buleleng, North Bali, as isolationistic [Barth 1993: 45]. Though the social circumstances should be widely diverse among *kampung*, the social atmosphere might have largely changed since his research.

4 The origin of Kecicang and Sindu, for example, is attributed to Sasak men from Lombok. Sasak Muslims were generally assigned to protect the *puri*, the rulers' house, or the border of the kingdom of Karangasem by their physical or spiritual competence [Mashad 2014: 175–176]. The Muslims of Pegayaman, Buleleng, North Bali, who are the descendants of the immigrants of Java and Bugis, were also assigned to protect the border during the feudal era [Barth 1993: 45; Budiwanti 1995: 26; Mashad 2014: 147–149]. In Kapaon, Denpasar, South Bali, and Sarenjawa, Karangasem, East Bali, their ancestors acquired permission to establish the *kampung* from *puri* by their prowess [Mashad 2014: 140–142, 177].

5 It seems that there used to be more active interactions between Muslim and Hindu performers in the past, particularly in East Bali. Muslim Balinese *rebana* ensembles in Nyuling and Danginsema, Karangasem, East Bali, have many similarities with *gamelan angklung*, which are thought to have been adopted from Hindu Balinese music culture [see Mashino 2014; 2021a]. Besides, *cakepung*, a vocal art for socialization, which was once popular among Hindu Balinese men in East Bali, is said to have been largely influenced by the Sasak Muslim culture of Lombok and the immigrants from Lombok. I also have heard that there used to be a Muslim *wayang kulit* (shadow puppetry) puppeteer who learned the art from a Hindu puppeteer in Karangasem.

distributed between Hindus and Muslims: While the Hindu Balinese traditional dance and *gamelan* are frequently covered by the media and featured in official events as cultural representations of Balinese society at large, Muslim art forms have fewer chances to appear in public and are lesser known to the Hindu majority, except those living in the immediate vicinity of the *kampung*.

I had a few chances to see Muslims and Hindus interactively musicking during my research, all of which were during processions. I assume that it was not a coincidence and that processions could offer a lively contact zone for people who otherwise only scarcely interact or collaborate. The contact zone is originally Mary Pratt's term referring to the "colonial frontier," which was elaborated by Japanese anthropologist Tanaka Masakazu [Tanaka 2007; 2018: 147–161] to consider any encounter where people with asymmetrical power relations "meet, clash and grapple with each other" [Pratt 1992: 4]. Applying the term to Muslims and Hindus, the religious minority and majority in Bali, I will discuss how musicking in processions serves as a site of encounter and promotes them to interact with one another. Although the discussion of Pratt and Tanaka mostly focused on conflicts, struggles, and the hegemonies and power politics affecting them, I apply the term to more cooperative cases, in which the bodily and sensual effects of musicking promoted interactions and collaborations for celebration. To examine procession as a venue of encounter, I describe below three examples that I met during my fieldwork: (a) a Muslim Balinese procession for the Mawlid celebration, which is primarily a communal event for Muslims; (b) a procession for Hindu cremation, in which Muslims were invited to get involved; and (c) a parade for the anniversary of the city of Negara, organized by the regional government, in which, at least conceptually, all citizens were flatly involved.

2. Procession for Mawlid: As a Communal Event in Kecicang

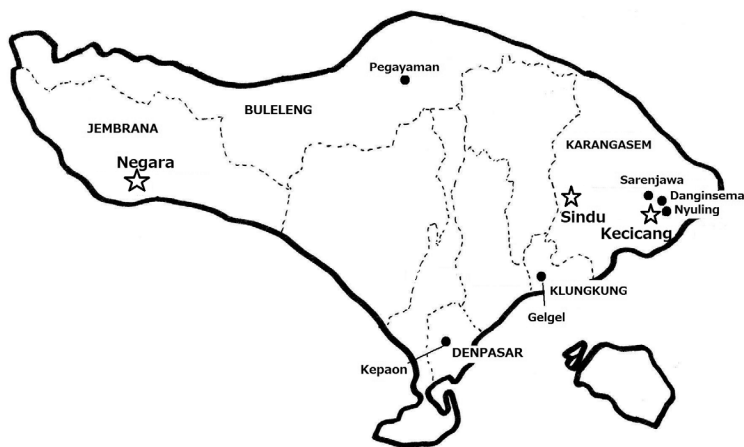
Several Muslim Balinese *kampung* celebrate Maulid with a procession called *pawai ta'aruf*. While the customs differ from *kampung* to *kampung*, the most festive one is those accompanied by *rudat* (*rodad*) dancers and musicians. *Rudat* is a form of performing arts commonly found in several *kampungs* in Bali, as well as in Lombok and West Java, in which performers in military costumes sing songs while dancing and walking in formations, accompanied by a frame drum ensemble. Besides *rudat* dancers, in some *kampung*, people bring colourful floats shaped like a mountain or ships, which are decorated with wrapped eggs, snacks, sweets, leaves, and paper flowers, as well, to parade along the street.⁶

Rudat is often compared to soldiers, as the dancers move in legion and its choreography is based upon the traditional fighting art of *pencak silat*. In some *kampung*, their ancestors

⁶ The floats for Maulid are widely diverse in shape and customs. It is called *sokok* in Pegayaman, Buleleng, North Bali, *balesuji* in Kapaon, Denpasar, South Bali.

are thought to have been the soldiers or guards who served local rulers in the past, therefore *rudat* is largely associated with their collective identity and history [Mashino 2016]. Although a procession with *rudat* and huge decorative floats attracts many people, usually very few Hindus are in attendance there.⁷

Here I describe the example of *pawai ta'aruf* in Kampung Kecicang, Bengaya Kangin village, Karangasem regency, East Bali, which I observed in 2015.⁸ Kecicang is one of the many *kampungs* scattered around Amlapura city of Karangasem. The origin can be traced back to the Sasak immigrants from the neighbouring island, Lombok when the Karangasem kingdom had political power there (see Map 1).



Map 1. The Muslim Balinese communities referred to in this chapter (Map by author)

The procession for Maulid in Kecicang is usually held in the afternoon. While there used to exist three *rudat* teams representing each quarter of *kampung*, I could observe only two of them in the procession of 2015: *rudat baru* (“new *rudat*,” as it was established later than other teams) of the northern quarter of *kampung* and *rudat melayu* (literally meaning “Malay *rudat*,” while it does not mean Malay origin) from the south.⁹ There was another group that used to be complete with dancers but solely consisted of several musicians at that time. The *rudat baru*

7 In some *kampung*, the representative of the local *puri* (the former ruler’s family), or, the chief of the regional government is sometimes invited to attend the Maulid event, to pay and show respect. I also described these customs in [Mashino 2016] and [Mashino 2019].

8 The video excerpts and some pictures of Maulid performances in Kecicang can be found on my website [<https://senimuslimbali-eng.weebly.com/kecicang-karangasem.html>], or YouTube [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3t62j--cbE>].

9 The word Melayu means Malay, while it often refers to Muslims around the archipelago in general. *Rudat* is not directly associated with Malay origin in Kecicang.

and *rudat melayu* shared basic choreography, costumes, and musical styles, but they were also easily distinguished from each other by the differences in details: the *rudat baru* dancers wore police-like caps, while *rudat melayu* wore “Turkish” caps. The musical ensembles consisted of a few flat frame drums with jingles called *tar* or *kendang*, which play different rhythm patterns that interlock with each other, a *trenteng*, a small drum played with a two-split stick, and a *jidur*, a large frame drum that keeps the beat using a mallet. While the *trenteng* used by *rudat baru* was barrel-shaped and the membrane of *jidur* was fixed to the wooden body by studs, the *rudat melayu* replaced *trenteng* with *jembe*—though it was presumably made in Bali, played by the similar stick, and still called as *trenteng*—, and their *jidur* uses rattan to lace the membrane to its body. The *rudat* dancers usually sing songs in Arabic or Melayu (Indonesian) while dancing, while *rudat melayu* added another vocalist with a portable microphone in his hands.

Rudat performers vigorously paraded from their quarters to gather at the open space in front of the mosque, where they showed short demonstrations in turn. There was also a child marching band, wearing a shiny blue and yellow costume, and playing keyboard harmonicas, metallophones, drums, and cymbals. After the short performances, all paraded together playing their music respectively, followed by many other villagers. As it started drizzling, people opened the umbrellas they brought, which made the scene even more colourful. Although the Kecicang procession did not include any floats, they appeared spectacular and eye-grabbing. They proceeded outside of the *kampung* premise, crossing the main road to the tentatively blocked space on another public road, where two *rudat* groups again had short performances, after which all of them turned back to *kampung* (see Picture 1).



Picture 1. *Rudat Melayu* performers in a procession for Maulid in Kecicang, Karangasem. December the 25th, 2015. Photo by author

The percussion ensembles radiated powerful sounds in all directions, which became the motor drive of the crowds to lively proceed. The procession made the place *rame* (*ramai*), filled with sounds and people, busy, noisy, and boisterous, which is usually positively evaluated in Indonesia [Geertz 1960: 49; Sutton 1996: 258–261]. Any successful event in Bali should be *rame*. *Rame* in the procession could not simply be reduced to the drum sound, as it was intermingling with other sounds, such as babbles of voices, whistles for traffic control, and noises of vehicles on the street. It was neither exclusively an aural phenomenon, as the multi-coloured costumes of performers, the clothes, scarves, and umbrellas of the attendants also visually contributed to the feeling of *rame*. Walking in a crowd, physically feeling the close and massive presence of others' bodies while getting wet by the drizzle is also a tactile *rame* experience. Procession spread around multi-sensory *rame* which was contagious among the participants and spread into the surrounding environment. The traffic was stopped for a while when the procession went out to the public roads, which made the passengers unexpectedly get involved in the event as a part of the audience. It was exposed to Hindu neighbours, unlike the other Muslim Balinese performing arts, which are most often performed within the *kampung*. Even the neighbours staying at their homes could perceive the sound. The procession powerfully occupied the public space for a while, attracting social attention by asserting their presence.

3. Procession for Hindu Cremation: A Communal Event of the Local Community in Sindu

In 2016, the *rudat* group from Kampung Sindu, Sinduwati village, Karangasem regency, participated in a procession for a *pelebon*, cremation, held by the Puri Sidemen, the former royal family of the region.¹⁰ The cremation was a large-scale event, as the rituals held at *puri* (residence of a *puri* family) usually are, where not only the relatives of the deceased but also the local community at large were involved in the preparation and execution, and many relatives and guests from other areas also attended. Almost all participants except Sindu people there were Hindus.

Sindu *rudat* performers had a short demonstration on the road and then walked to the cremation site, with the beats of drums, together with other attendants. The alignments of soldier-like *rudat* dancers in black-and-white military costumes were quite noticeable among the Hindu participants who composed the other part of the procession, such as several groups of *gamelan* musicians, men pulling or shouldering a bull-shaped sarcophagus and a huge cremation tower (*bade*), and women carrying other ritual materials and offerings (see Picture 2).

¹⁰ Video excerpts can be watched on my website (see note 8) and on YouTube [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpcLdwKYt8s>].



Picture 2. *Rudat* of Sindu in pelebbon in Sidemen, Karangasem. August the 20th, 2016. Photo by author

It was the first time that Sindu *rudat* was performed in Puri Sidemen rituals, though Muslim performing arts often have been invited to local *puri* in some other districts.¹¹ While the reasons for the invitation were not officially announced by the *puri*, the involvement of *rudat* in the event had multiple significance for both the Puri Sideman and Sindu.

First, the *rudat* performance, which otherwise scarcely appeals to a Hindu audience, could be spotlighted and the Sindu community gained social recognition.

Second, it also symbolically reproduced the glory of a great kingdom in the past. According to Adrian Vickers, Balinese rulers used to think that “greater power came from harnessing a great range of differences” [Vickers 1987: 52]. Incorporating the Muslim community into their realm, therefore, had contributed to its prosperity. Muslims of Sindu and neighbouring *kampung*s are traced back to attendants to a Sasak noblewoman who married to *griya*, a high-class priests’ family, of Sidemen in the 17th century [Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kabupaten Karangasem 2016: 98–99; Mashad 2014: 176]. Therefore, Sindu people have maintained their special connection mainly to *griya*, the religious leader of the local society, rather than to *puri*, the political leader. They had contributed their labour forces to rituals at *griya*, though they seemed to have never danced *rudat* for them. In Kapaon (Denpasar) and Gelgel (Kungkung), *rudat* dancers are often associated with their ancestors who bravely fought for local *puri* [Mashino 2016]. While *rudat* in Sindu is not directly associated with real

11 For example, Puri Pemecutan (Denpasar, South Bali) invited *rudat* from Kapaon to their coronation ritual, *abhisheka*, in 1989, and for a funeral, *pelebbon*, in 2009 [Lanang Dawan 2011]. Puri Karangasem used to invite the *rebana* ensemble of Nyuling to *puri* rituals and events [see Mashino 2014]. In Kampung Sarenjawa, Karangasem, people have maintained a custom to perform *rebana* and *Burdah* at the cremation of the *brahmana*, high-rank Hindu priests, of neighbouring Budakeling [Mashino 2019: 91–93].

soldiers, the performance would have evoked the audience of the local history and updated the *nyama braya* brotherhood in the local community.

Third, Puri Sideman also could advocate *toleran*, tolerance, which often refers to mutual understanding beyond faiths in the contemporary Indonesian context, by involving Muslims in their event to a larger audience. The concept of *toleran* and *nyama braya* were frequently mentioned as magical words to cover all conflicts to maintain and emphasize a “shared myth” of good connections and peaceful co-existence [Pedersen 2014: 181–183]. People needed the ideal picture of their community against religious extremism and exclusions, which threatened the stability of the society around Bali and beyond, particularly since the terrorist bombing occurred in Bali in 2002. The procession involving *rudat* was interpreted as the cooperative relationship composing the local community. *The Indonesian National Geographic Traveller* magazine reported the event as a “cultural integration of Hindu and Muslim when the ritual purifying the soul arrived,” describing their participation as “a symbol of tolerance and friendship” [Vifick 2016], while a booklet printed by the regional government described the Hindu-Muslim connection as “*silaturahmi antara agama* (friendship between faiths),” showing the picture of the *pelebon* as its evidence [Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kabupaten Karangasem 2016: 99].

During the procession, I also observed a moment of a more personal encounter between participants through musicking. The procession was led by two Hindu men who walked while dancing casually and spontaneously with *gamelan geguntangan* musicians, and the Sindu *rudat* performers followed next. While proceeding, the beats and tempo of *geguntangan* and Sindu *rebana* gradually synchronized. When the procession stopped for a while on the way to wait for followers falling behind, a Hindu dancer at the head of the line spontaneously started to dance to the *rebana* rhythm, and two other Hindu men carrying a ritual bed for the deceased also followed. It was an unexpected, unusual, and a slightly funny performance, which pleased the surrounding people, both Hindu and Muslim. The collaboration only lasted for a short time, but it was a moment of encounter created by musicking when the Hindu dancers were triggered by the *rebana* sound to step outside his musical form to interact with Muslim musicians.

The Hindu dancer, whom I later interviewed, said he had never danced to the *rebana*, nor have a plan to dance to it in advance, though he had been somewhat acquainted with Sindu people, *rudat*, and its music. He decided to dance on the spot, feeling the mood. Bodily reactions to the somehow contingent circumstances, where they happened to have time and space to wait for the followers, and two ensembles had already synchronized and almost intermingled, pushed him to transcend the border, and triggered interactive musicking (see Picture 3)



Picture 3. Hindu men dancing with *rebana* in procession for *pelebon* in Sidemen, Karangasem. August the 20th, 2016. Photo by author

4. Processions in Jembrana Festival

In 2015, Negara, the main city of the Jembrana regency, West Bali, celebrated its anniversary with a parade: The representatives of each district (*kecamatan*) of Jembrana, those from other regencies of Bali and East Java, professional and hobby associations in uniforms, such as doctors, nurses, road cleaners, snake-lovers, and bodybuilders, Chinese lion dance and a modern-style marching band paraded together. The main road of Negara was blocked for a while for the parade, where crowds of people overflowed to observe the amusing amalgam of diverse cultural demonstrations, while most of the audience on the street side could only have a passing view of the procession.

There were a few predominantly Muslim groups and a few other mixed groups of Muslims and Hindus. A few Muslim female musicians' groups, wearing a beautiful *jilbab* and *baju kurung* (Muslim female clothes which loosely cover the whole body) performed *qasidah*, beating the frame drums (*rebana*). In a group representing *kecamatan Negara*, Hindu girls wearing costumes for *Rejang* (a ritual dance for temple festivals) walked in tandem with Muslim girls wearing orange-coloured glossy *baju kurung* and the decorative headgear over the white *jilbab*, accompanied by a mixed ensemble of Hindu *gamelan baleganjur*, music for processions, and Muslim *rebana*. On a banner brought by the female presenter was written "*rwa bhineda* (unity in diversity)," a national slogan of Indonesia. Another group similarly included many female dancers of different costumes, supposedly representing different dance cultures: Hindu Balinese dancers having offering plates in their hands, those wearing shiny and colourful shirts with long sleeves and long pants, supposedly Muslim, or perhaps representing Muslim culture, and those in East Javanese dance costumes. In the demonstration, all of them and Hindu *topeng* (masked dance) dancers performed together, accompanied by a *gamelan baleganjur-rebana* mixed ensemble. The choreography was mostly based upon Hindu Balinese

traditional dance, while it integrated non-Balinese dance idioms which were supposedly inspired by traditional dances of other islands. Similarly, the Hindu Balinese *baleganjur* musicians collaborated with *rebana* musicians, inserting a section featuring *rebana*: while *cengceng* (cymbals) players momentarily ceased playing, *rebana* players got their turn to stand out. *Gong*, *kempur* (gong of middle size), and *tawak* (smaller gong) which are usually assigned to keep the beats and punctuate the musical cycle in *baleganjur* continued playing as usual.¹² (see picture 4)



Picture 4. The participants of the parade in Negara, Jembrana. August the 30th, 2015. Photo by author. Above: Female dancers of different costumes. Below: Hindu gamelan *baleganjur* musicians in black costumes (*kendang* players on the right and the *cengceng* players on the left) and Muslim *rebana* musicians in white costumes (in the middle)

¹² The similar adaptation of the other's instruments regarding *cengceng* as an alternative to small frame drums was observed in a *hadrah* performance by the performers' group of Kampung Sindu. In the video clip found on YouTube [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osdNseWZiHg>], Sindu musicians wearing Balinese traditional costumes play *cengceng* in addition to their ordinary frame drum ensemble instrumentation, invented a new *hadrah* style for the competition, by which they acquired the prize.

Muslim presence was not exceptional nor additional in the whole parade, even though Hindu participants and their cultural elements were overall dominant. It reflected the relatively higher proportion of Muslims in West Bali than in the other districts of Bali: Muslim population is around 26 percent of the total of Jembrana, while it is around 13 percent of the total of the island [Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali 2018]. Jembrana is a gateway to East Java, and “the product of migration [Ida Bagus 2014]” that is composed of people who originally came from other areas of the island and beyond, and their descendants, regardless of their religion. The Muslims of Jembrana are descendants of Javanese, Bugis, and Melayu, who came to Bali for various reasons, at different times in history.

According to Mary Ida Bagus, the ethnic and religious differences have not only marked the people’s social affiliations and cultural identities but also deeply segmentalized them and ordered them into a hegemonic hierarchy, which has aroused many conflicts in Jembrana [Ida Bagus 2014]. Considering such a background, the cultural diversity that the Negara procession would admire might not easily be accepted at its face value. Rather, the procession might have been purposefully designed to mitigate and avoid potential conflicts, as well as to celebrate cultural diversity by inviting groups around and beyond the district, in which the citizens were expected to take pride.

Encounters in Procession

The musicking in processions provided unique contact zones where Muslim and Hindu Balinese intuitively perceive and interact with others. Though the ways and degrees of their interactions were largely diverse in three cases, I would point out several elements which are assumed to have facilitated the encounters.

a. Openness and public space

A procession is held outdoors, particularly on public roads. It allows masses of people to participate in and observe the performance. It occasionally transforms the place of daily life into a theatrical space, and the passengers into the audience by diffusing *rame*. The performance is naturally open to contingency, as it always affects and is affected by the surrounding environment. It should stop proceeding if the tall floats get stuck with the electric wire, and dancers would transform their formation according to the width of the street, for example. People usually correspond to ever-changing circumstances spontaneously, which makes people more flexible and open-hearted. Muslim performing arts supposedly could have been more easily involved in Hindu dominant events than those on the fixed stage in the hall, which should limit the number of performers and usually is more strictly organized.

b. Linear structure, combining units, and diversity

A procession is composed of small units coalesced into a line. The linear structure allows a

certain level of independence for each performance: If the units are only loosely connected with a certain distance between them, as their sounds do not interfere with each other. On the other hand, if they are physically close, as was the case in Sidemen, the sounds become intermingled. Such mutual interference and consequent messiness in some parts are generally allowed in procession, which, I suppose, even might increase *rame*.

The more participants, the more diverse groups and genres may get involved, the more spectacular the procession would become. Encompassing atmosphere of the event favouring massiveness and diversity also affects the participants to be more inclusive and collaborative.

c. Holism of a procession and partial experience

Moving from place to place with others as a part of a group provides the participants with a sense of belonging to a large whole. It naturally heightens a group identity and collectivity, which could be multi-layered, though, as participants may simultaneously belong to a small and intimate unit (a performance group or a quarter of a *kampung*, for example), a wider local community consisting of such smaller units (*kampung*, village, or a district), and even to a further large community (regency, province, country, or community of larger scale).

The experience of becoming a part of a whole evokes an intense emotional response, which has been discussed as *collective joy* [Ehrenreich 2006] or *collective effervescence* [Durkheim 2014(1912)]. William McNeill wrote that synchronous movements of many people evoke a sense of personal enlargement: people feel “bigger than life” [McNeill 1995: 2]. Most of the ordinary processions seen in Bali, whether those of Muslims or Hindus, scarcely require such rigid and precise synchronicity as in a military drill, which McNeill examined in his book. It is noteworthy that *rudat*, which is deeply intertwined with procession, aesthetically emphasizes cohesion and order in a quasi-army style. In Kecicang and Sindu, though, the *rudat* dancers move synchronously according to the sounds of whistle or *jidur* only during a performance in one place. When the whole procession is going ahead, they just walk as usual without choreographed body movements and not in sync with the beats.¹³ The sense of self-enlargement in Balinese processions is commonly generated by being and walking within *rame*, an amalgam of various sounds created by diverse actions of people, rather than through the strict uniformity accomplished by highly controlled body movements.

Despite the overall holism of Balinese processions, no one can oversee the whole body of procession at once, nor exactly control everything that may happen along its length. A large-scale procession is like a giant dragon strolling down the street, vigorously swaying its body, to which every participant contributes but can experience and control only partially.

13 In the procession for Mawlid in Gelgel, Klungkung, East Bali, around forty *rudat* performers keep walking stylistically according to the regular beat, emphasizing their uniformity and cohesion. It seems rather exceptional as I have never observed such a drill style marching in *rudat* of other *kampungs* in Bali.

d. Occasional occupation

The occupation of public space, showing a massive and extraordinary appearance and diffusing *rame*, empowers the participants. Especially for the people otherwise likely to be marginalized or in minor positions, it should offer a significant opportunity to powerfully assert their presence. A rather forceful occupation of social space by a specific group of people is widely allowed and accepted by its public and communal nature and the supervision of authorities. The road is usually secured by policemen or community members in charge of security, who control the traffic order and overall safety. Further, people know that the occupation would last only for a while. Processions are always transitory and the *rame* is ephemeral, as they move from place to place and never stay in one place for long. In Bali, passengers very often get stuck in traffic congestion caused by processions. While it is naturally stressful, it has never become a serious social issue, because everyone has a chance to switch roles from spectator to participant.

e. Musical similarities

The music for a procession—Muslim *rebana* ensemble and Hindu *baleganjur*—have many structural and aesthetic similarities, which, I suppose, facilitated the performers to understand the other and collaborate with it: Both are predominantly composed of percussion instruments, emphasize the dynamic sound quality, and use interlocking rhythm patterns to optimize *ramai*. Although Hindu *baleganjur* was traditionally not for dance, in the contemporary forms, *kreasi baleganjur*, developed for competitions and stage, musicians also often dance themselves while playing the instruments, indicating that dancing to the music is not unfamiliar to Hindus. *Baleganjur* is also often associated with martial heroism and masculinity [Bakan 1999: 110, 166–169, 242]. These structural similarities and shared aesthetics might be the reason that Muslim *rebana* and Hindu *cengceng* are often treated as an alternative to each other, as both create energetic sounds by interlocking strokes of multiple players. The *baleganjur* musicians could sustain basic musical structure even while involving a *rebana* section with it.

5. Procession as a Contact Zone

Muslim and Hindu Balinese naturally recognize each other and maintain personal relationships and interactions in their daily lives, at markets, schools, and offices. Their contact zone can be found elsewhere. But the performing arts in these processions, especially the Sidemen and Negara cases, served as a venue which allowed for different types of encounter, where Muslim Balinese as a group powerfully represented their collective identity, emphasizing their cultural distinctiveness through performing art.

Hindus and Muslims encountered in different ways in the three examples I examined

here. The Maulid procession in Kecicang was primarily for Muslims, while Hindus only coincidentally and passively became observers. There seldom occurs direct collaboration between them, though, it is significant for Muslims to come out of their *kampung* to present their cultures in public space, and for Hindus to have a chance to recognize Muslim tradition. In Hindu cremation in Sidemen, in contrast, *rudat* was invited by Hindus and was somehow spotlighted. Being integrated into the Hindu dominant procession, Hindu people expressed mutual respect, *saling hormati*, to the *puri*, reinforced their relationships with Hindu neighbours, and cooperatively updated the local history of co-existence. The Negara procession was an official event based upon modern citizenship rather than tradition or custom to embody the regional identity and stability of the society, where Hindus and Muslims were, at least theoretically, recognized as equivalently significant constituting parts of it.

The minority-majority relationship, which was still affected by the hierarchical connections as subjects and the rulers of Hindu kingdoms in the past, echoed in the contact zones, as is shown in the fact that the power and agency in framing the encounters seem more or less asymmetrical: Large-scale events involving a local community at large are almost always organized by Hindu authority and Muslims generally have the fewest opportunities to perform in public art spaces, such as the annual Bali Art Festival unless they are officially invited by Hindu organizers.

An asymmetry in the distribution of agency might have existed in the process of preparation and rehearsals as well. In collaboration, both *rebana* and *baleganjur* musicians presumably did not need to largely modify their musical style, and the Muslim musicians were rather expected to visibly display cultural differences from Hindus, such as instruments, costumes, and dance style, than seamlessly being blended with the Hindu musicians, to appeal the co-existence to the audience. Although the strategy to musically co-exist without losing distinctiveness seemed to benefit Muslim musicians, I imagine that the performers necessarily must have negotiated with each other and perhaps might have had minor conflicts or compromises during the process behind the scenes.

6. Conclusion

The top-down big-picture designed by the authorities nor the slogans to advocate *toleran* might not fully detail how the processions became contact zones, nor explain how people meet and experience the encounters during the event. Not only the purposefully pre-designed performances in Negara but also the spontaneous collaboration which happened in Sidemen were significant moments of encounter through musicking. Since a procession always consists of the multiple experiences of numerous participants affecting each other, the encounters could be a personal experience, as well as a collective one. I would not dismiss that the personal feeling and the bodily response of the Hindu dancer to Muslim music were contagious enough

to trigger further responses from others, and eventually shared by the audience on the spot. I would attribute it to the driving power of performing arts in the procession, rather than to multiculturalism admired as a theory. Sensual and multi-sensory experiences inherent in procession enhanced the “interactive and spontaneous aspects” of the encounters, which Pratt [1992] emphasized in her discussion of the contact zone.

I do not intend to depict the collaborative performances as the perfect picture of mutual understanding beyond faiths nor as precisely mirroring their real relationships. Rather, I argue that the processions provided theatrical spaces, in which Muslims and Hindus cooperatively challenged to imagine and work out the portrait of the inclusive community. I have emphasized the integrative aspects of processions here, which provide a contact zone where festivity, open-mindedness, and inclusive atmosphere prevailed, and invites people to transcend the socio-cultural borders, although the hegemony between majority-minority which framed and affected the encounters is irrefutable. Further research should be done to examine the multiple socio-political layers which shape contact zones and explore the subtle negotiation between the people behind the scenes.

Even if the performances might not drastically change the hegemonic and asymmetrical relationships in real life, processions momentarily provided the people with an intuitive experience of mutual respect and coalescence. Even if the encounters might be ephemeral and patchy, for just that reason procession can create *ramai* experiences, which intuitively invite people to surpass the ordinary border.

References

- Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali. 2018. “Population of Bali Province by Religion Based on 2010 Population Census.” <<https://bali.bps.go.id/statictable/2018/02/15/33/penduduk-provinsi-bali-menurut-agama-yang-dianut-hasil-sensus-penduduk-2010.html>>. (Last updated on February 15th, 2018. Accessed on the September 30th, 2022).
- Bakan, Michael. 1999. *Music of Death and New Creation: Experiences in the World of Balinese Gamelan Beleganjur*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1993. *Balinese Worlds*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Budiwanti, Erni, 1995. *The Crescent behind the Thousand Holy Temples: An Ethnographic Study of Minority Muslims of Pegayaman North Bali*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kabupaten Karangasem. 2016. *Dokumentasi Inventarisasi Aset Pusaka di Kecamatan Manggis dan Sidemen Tahun 2016*. [In Indonesian]
- Durkheim, Emile. 2014[1912]. *Shūkyō Seikatsu no Kihonkeitai: Ōsutoraria ni okeru Tōtemu Taikai. Vol.1-2. [Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totémique en Australie.]* [In Japanese] Translated by Ryo Yamazaki. Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko.

- Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2006. *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*. New York: Picador.
- Fadillah, Moh. Ali. 1992. "L'art ancien des *mimbar* dans les mosquées de Bali." *Archipel* 44: 95–114. <<https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1992.2853>>
- Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *The Religion of Java*. New York: The Free Press.
- Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta and David D. Harnish (eds.). 2014. *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ida Bagus, Mary. 2014. "Ethnicity, Religion and the Economic Imperative: Some Case Studies from the Fringes of West Bali." In *Between Harmony and Discrimination*, eds. Hauser-Schäublin and Harnish, 303–330, Leiden: Brill.
- Lanang Dawang. 2011. "Raja Pemecutan XI, Sejarah Puri Pemecutan." [In Indonesian] [blog], <http://sejarah-puri-pemecutan.blogspot.com/2011/02/blog-post_16.html>.
- Mashad, Dhurorudin. 2014. *Muslim Bali: Mencari Kembali Harmoni yang Hilang*. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar. [In Indonesian].
- Mashino, Ako. 2014. "Bari-tō Tōbu Sasakku-kei Musurimu Shūraku ni okeru *Rubana* [*Rebana* in Sasak-Balinese Muslim Communities of East Bali]." *Tōhō Gakuen Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō (Toho Gakuen School of Music Faculty Bulletin)* 40: 39–58. [In Japanese].
- . 2016. "Dancing Soldiers: *Rudat* for *Maulud* Festivals in Muslim Balinese Villages." In *The Fighting Art of Pencak Silat and Its Music: From Southeast Asian Village to Global Movement*, eds. Pätzold Uwe U. and Paul Mason, 290–316. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2019. "Forming Socio-Cultural Networks through Performing Arts: The Case of Muslims in Bali." In *Voicing the Unheard: Music as Windows for Minorities; Proceedings of Rennes' Symposium ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities 4–8 July 2016*, ed. Eves Defrance, 87–99. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- . 2021a. "Being Muslim-Balinese: The Music and Identity of the Sasak Community in Eastern Bali." In *Music and Marginalisation: Beyond the Minority–Majority Paradigm*, eds. Ursula Hemetek et al., (*Senri Ethnological Studies* 105), 81–97. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- . 2021b. "Baritou Gyouretsu Onggaku Kou: Oto, Shintai, Basho no Keiken." In *Ongaku no Mimei kara no Shikō: Myūjickingu wo Koete*, eds. Toyochi Nozawa and Itsushi Kawase, 92–108. Tokyo: Artes Publishing. [In Japanese].
- McNeil, William H. 1995. *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.

- Pedersen, Lene. 2014. "Keeping the Peace: Interdependence and Narratives of Tolerance in Hindu-Muslim Relationships in Eastern Bali." In *Between Harmony and Discrimination*, eds. Hauser-Schäublin and Harnish, 165–196, Leiden: Brill.
- Ramdhani, Fajri Zulia, Busro Busro and Abdul Wasik. 2020. "The Hindu-Muslim Interdependence: A Study of Balinese Local Wisdom." *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 28(2): 195–218
- Rieger, Meike. 2014. "'We are One Unit': Configurations of Citizenship in a Historical Hindu-Muslim Balinese Setting." In *Between Harmony and Discrimination*, eds. Hauser-Schäublin and Harnish, 197–220, Leiden: Brill.
- Small, Christopher. 2011[1998]. *Myūjikkingu: Ongaku wa 'Koui' de aru.* [*Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening.*] translated by Toyochi Nozawa and Chihiro Nishijima. Tokyo: Suisei Sha. [In Japanese].
- Sutton, Anderson. 1996. "Interpreting Electronic Sound Technology in the Contemporary Javanese Soundscape." *Ethnomusicology* 40(2): 249–268.
- Tanaka, Masakazu. 2007. "Kontakuto Zōn no Bunka-jinruigaku e: Teikoku no Manazasi wo Yomu." *Contact Zone* 1: 31–43. [In Japanese].
- . 2018. *Yūwaku suru Bunka-jinruigaku: Kontakuto Zōn no Sekai e.* Kyoto: Sekai Sisō Sha. [In Japanese].
- Tim Peneliti Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali. 1979/1980. *Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali. Denpasar: Proyek Penelitian Pemda Tingkat I Propinsi Bali.* [In Indonesian, research reports].
- Vickers, Adrian. 1987. "Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia: Bali and the Pasisir World." *Indonesia* 44: 30–58.
- Vifick, Syafiudin. 2016. "Pelebon Puri Sidemen: Kelindan Budaya Warga Hindu dan Muslim Ketika Upacara Penyucian Roh Tiba." *National Geographic Traveler* 8–10: 12–21. [In Indonesian].