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JARANAN OF EAST JAVA: AN ANCIENT TRADITION
IN MODERN TIMES

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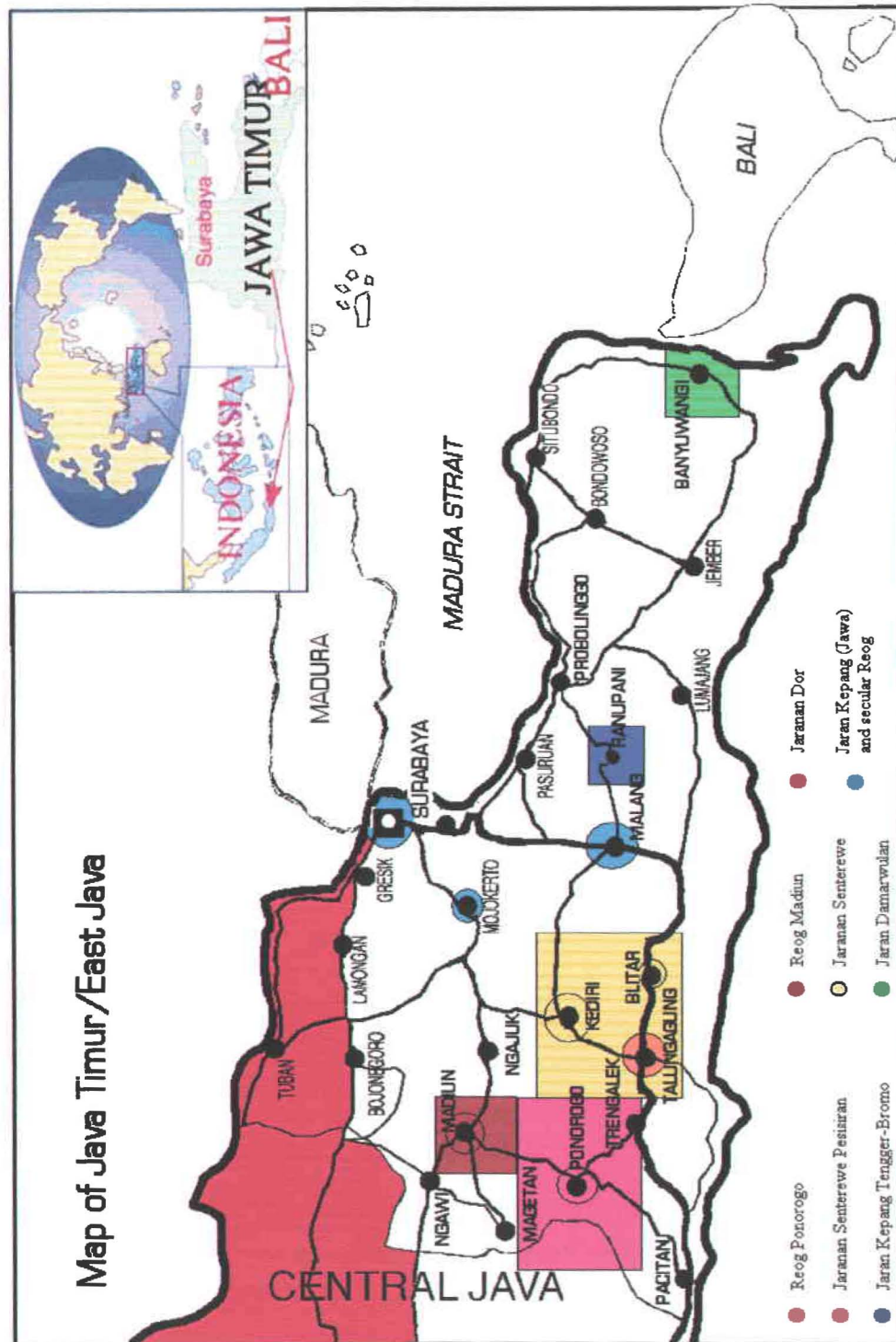


Figure 1. Map of East Java showing areas associated with each of the Jaranan forms of this study and, with the exception of Jaranan Dor, where they can be found today. The eight types listed are not necessarily confined to the areas marked. Jaran Kepang (Jawa) can be found throughout the island of Java as can Reog Ponorogo. Of the eight, only Jaranan Dor is nearly nonexistent today.

Lineage of Jaranan in East Java

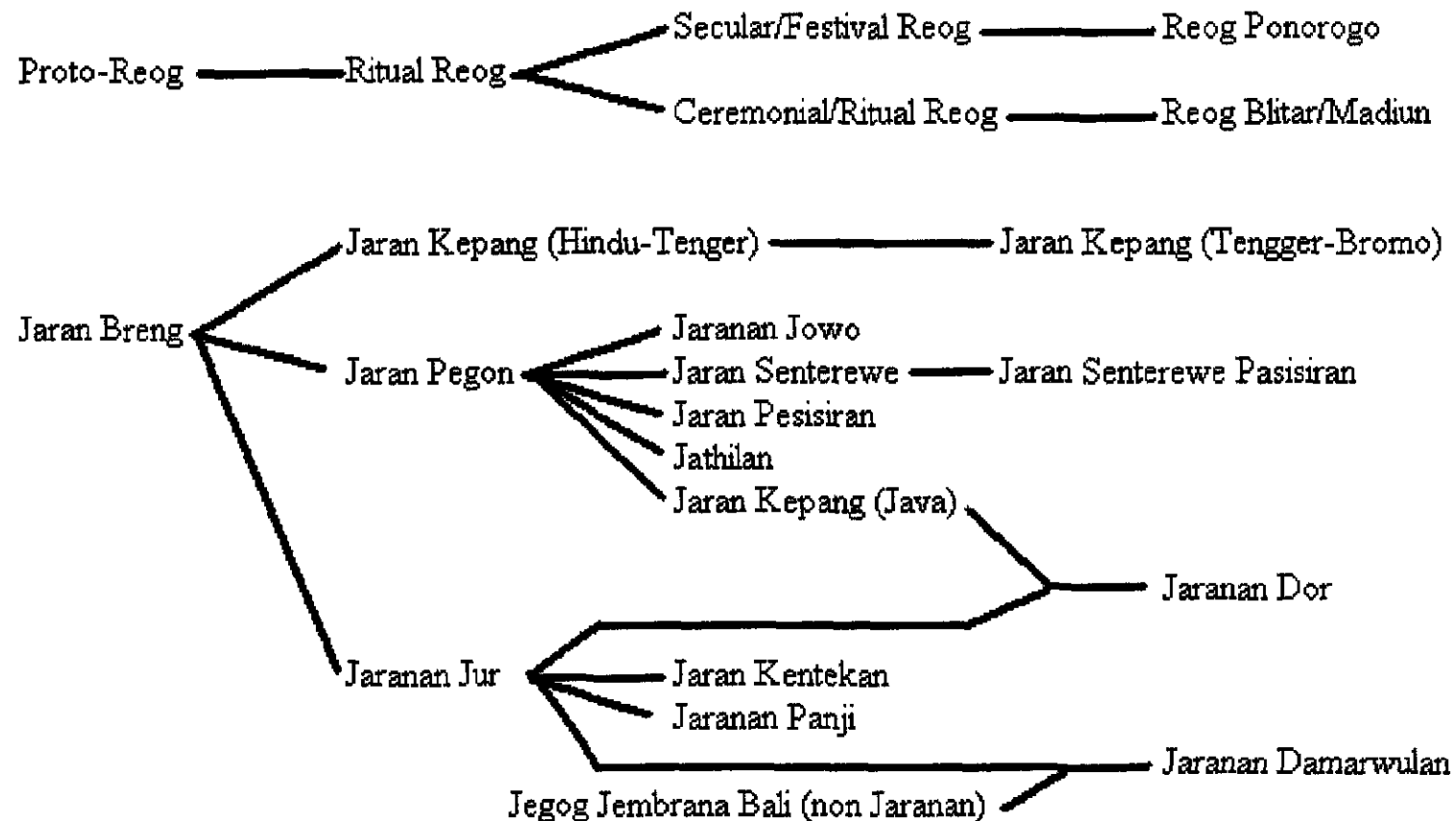


Figure 2. Chart showing the lineage of six modern forms of Jaranan: Jaran Kepang of the Tengger massif, Reog Ponorogo, Reog Madiun/Blitar, Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran (JSP), Jaranan Dor, and Jaranan Damarwulan.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 The Greater Jaranan Tradition

The ancient tradition of horse trance dancing in the area of Central and East Java is a part of a much larger tradition that can be referred to as Jaranan.¹ The performance genre is a part of a larger tradition directly related to other animistic dance practices, which reach back in time to the Stone Age and the era of hunter-gatherers. Historically and culturally, the tradition of Jaranan spans much of the Indo-Malay Archipelago, and can currently be found in both rural and city environments, in addition to developed and undeveloped regions throughout modern Indonesia. Jaranan includes wide range of practices from those of the so-called horse worshiping people of the Riau region of Sumatra to the shamanistic rituals of southern Bali known as Sanghyang Jaran. However, this paper will deal primarily with representative Jaranan performances found in the area roughly defined as East Java and extending into Central Java.

When this study began, it was originally limited to a Jaranan known as *Jaran Kepang* in the village of Ranupani. This village of 2,000, located in a remote area of East Java referred to as either the Bromo or the Tengger massif, seemed ideal for a brief examination of a rarely performed artform. This preconceived notion of a rarely

¹ The Javanese use of the word jaranan can be confusing. While it is used as a word for the performance form, it is also often used to describe the horse trance dancers themselves in place of other words such as jathilan. In some areas it is used as the name for their specific type of Jaran Kepang. In this paper it will be used only as the name of the generalized horse trancing performance, except where specifically noted.

performed artform resulted from impressions of Jaran Kepang given by scholars and instructors, both Indonesian and foreign sources, of an animistic ritual that was probably only practiced by a few backward societies. The exceptions presented were those performance organizations that wanted to preserve what seemed to be a disappearing performance form. These sources explained the current state of this art form as being practiced at some cultural arts centers within the areas of larger cities, where Jaran Kepang was performed for official ceremonial and celebratory purposes and for tourists. Thus, with a few exceptions in rural and remote Java, the ritual traditions of the various Jaranan were nearly extinct. Additionally, papers on Jaran Kepang were few and far between and limited to references in passing on other topics dealing with ethnomusicology or cultural anthropology of Java and Sumatra. There were a few excellent and definitive papers by Margaret Kartomi, K.O.L Burridge and Kathy Foley. However, Foley's paper was based on research before 1986, and Kartomi's papers were all based on research prior to 1976. The Burridge paper was written in 1961, and then it dealt with a Jaran Kepang that had been transplanted from Java to Johore, Malaysia.

Impressions of the near extinction of religious ceremonial Jaranan was not diminished by the Javanese who (it was later learned) were reluctant to talk about a part of their culture that they feel the world views as being primitive, backward, and no longer relevant to the era of computers, high-tech rock music and television. After observing two performances in a small village at the top of the Mount Bromo rim, and returning to the large city of Malang in East Java, discussions of Jaran Kepang suddenly became lively

as those that were engaged in conversation were surprised and delighted that a Westerner² would show such strong interest in something so primary, and yet so vital to their sense of being Javanese. For me, it was as though a wall had crashed down that separated Jaran Kepang from members of the Western world.

Two years later, and after hundreds of conversations, the available performances of horse trance dancing and the varieties of existing Jaranan seem near infinite. The city and rural area of Ponorogo alone has more than 470 practicing troupes for *Reog*, a major type of Jaranan. *Reog* is one of the performance genres that has been reported in many tourist and scholarly sources as having been fully secularized, and according to those sources is today performed only for celebrations, holidays and festivals. Of these 470 groups, seven have been identified by this study as regularly practicing the trancing portion of the *Reog* tradition, in addition to at least most of the remaining groups functioning to perform the monthly *bersih kampung*, a village cleaning ritual for chasing away negative spirits. Moreover, in the East Java region, which includes Ponorogo and the much larger cities of Malang and Surabaya, there are groups practicing traditional ritual Jaranan including *Jaran Kepang*, *Ebeg*, *Jaran Ketekan*, *Jathilan*, *Jaranan Senterewe*, *Jaran Damarwulan*, and many, many more interpretations of sacred and secular Jaranan than it seems appropriate to list here. It is safe to say that every major town or rural area in Central and East Java has at least one group that practices a type of Jaranan.

² The word that was most often used was actually *Belanda*, which means a Dutch person. However, anyone who is fair skinned is often referred to as a *Belanda*, no matter where they are from.

In accordance with these findings, this paper will describe and define the different types of Jaranan that are known to the author. It will also present a generalized description of Jaranan performances as practiced in East Java and much of Central Java. It will also elaborate on descriptions of five representative performance types from the major categories of Jaranan found in East Java. The discussion will begin with Jaran Kepang of Central and East Java. It will then move-on to the Islamic Jaranan Dor of the north coast of Java, which will be followed by presenting the elements of Reog performances of Ponorogo. The next section will be on Jaran Kepang as it is performed in the remote village of Ranupani of the Tengger highlands. The final performance type this paper will discuss is what the author feels is the most modern genesis of Jaranan, Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran of Tulungagung.

There are a number of reasons for choosing these five types of Jaranan to expand on. The primary reason is not that these five were the forms that became immediately available to the study, although availability was a factor. The generalized Jaran Kepang of Central and East Java was chosen because it is the most performed form in the region. It is also the most secularized in that the performances are rarely for ceremonial purposes, and yet it still contains trance-possession/possession-protection elements. On the other hand, Jaran Kepang of Ranupani is still a vital part of Tengger culture and tradition. The performances always include ritual elements that are critical to the purpose of the dance and critical to the locally perceived well-being of the community. It is also a Jaran Kepang form that has elements which are at variance with those of other Jaranan, including a lack

of a *barong*, the protector animal spirit usually found in all other forms of horse trance dancing.

Reog was chosen for two reasons, the first being that it too is performed throughout Central and East Java. However, unlike Jaran Kepang, it is most commonly performed for celebrations and festivals. Reog is also a form of Jaranan that has extensive historical and scholarly documentation. The traditional oral history not only is supported by textual references from the ancient courts of Central and East Java, but there are also observations dating back to the writings of Staugaard in 1919.

Likewise, Jaran Senterewe Pesisiran has an oral history that is in part supported by historical text. However, it is also a modern genesis of Jaranan that has blended modern performance elements, such as rock music, with the traditional Javanese gamelan. In spite of the blending, JSP in performance maintains clear delineation between the modern innovations and the sacral-ceremonial traditions of the older Jaran Senterewe from which it is derived.

Finally, Jaranan Dor was chosen for several reasons. The first is that it is quickly disappearing and it was felt that it should be documented before performances cease altogether. Second, while it can be easily concluded that all Jaranan of East Java have been Islamized to some extent, Jaranan Dor is the most Islamically influenced of the types. A third reason is the political and religious dynamic that surround both the creation and demise of this particular Jaranan. These last two reasons have implications for the interpretation of the historical development of Jaranan in general as well as implications for the survival of Jaranan in the future.

In the context of the discussion of these five types of Jaranan, this paper will present the oral traditional history as it is understood by the Javanese and their cultural leaders, as well as the historical perspective presented by scholarly works. Here will be pointed out some conflicts and agreements between regional oral tradition and current academic understanding. Further, it will demonstrate a theory of the development of Jaranan in Java and present the conclusion that the Tengger Jaran Kepang of Ranupani is the oldest modern representative of a folk tradition dating back to before the 14th Century. It will also present the possible conclusion that the folk tradition of Jaranan reaches back to before the 8th Century. Finally, the paper will discuss the future of Jaranan in East Java.

1.2 Methodology

This paper is based on a three year study utilizing personal observation, interviews, and the expertise of knowledgeable people in the field of Jaranan performances. Where appropriate, scholarly works will be cited, and conflicts between sources will be pointed out. The study is intended to be as emic as possible, and throughout the paper every effort is made to present the performances as they are intended to be viewed by audiences. That is to say that the author has strived to eliminate personal biases throughout the paper, and the descriptions are presented with as little filtering by Western skepticism as possible. The descriptive observations will be as free as possible from personal interpretation, but will include the interpretations of those interviewed before and after the performances. Therefore, the intention is also to present the local belief construct where it is appropriate to do so. There is no intent to determine whether or not a trance is real, or actually

experienced, from the viewpoint of Western science, nor is there any intention to present any belief of the leaders and performers other than their own. However, where the intention of the performance and the performers is to fake or simulate a trance, or create other illusory effects, in those cases it will be pointed out when those trances and performances are intended to be real or deceptive.

1.3 Limitations of the Study

Although most people will discuss Jaranan with someone showing more than a tourist's interest, few will acknowledge those elements that they feel are viewed as elements of an ignorant and non-technical society. Many of the various group leaders interviewed were reluctant to admit training in mystical arts, or knowledge of ancient healing practices and rituals. Likewise, many of the educated Javanese are reluctant to admit the use of traditional native medicine³ or traditional native methods of acquiring power. Continued use of these traditions is currently widely practiced, and these traditions are a part of the same belief construct in which many Jaranan continue to exist.⁴

³ This denial is aside from the use of traditional herbals and treatment of illness with native remedies. While most will deny that they use a spiritual healer, they are quite proud to admit the use of daily herbal tonics called jamu. Many Javanese mix a variety of medicinal herbs into a salsa-like red pepper sauce that is made daily and used to season all meals. To many Javanese, medicinal herbs are nothing more than a regular part of a complete meal.

⁴ During the period of this study, current president as of this writing, Megawati Sukarnoputri, rose to power. During this same period of great political and economic turmoil for the people of Indonesia, her ascent was marked by behavior, which foreign commentaries referred to as demonstrating weakness and a nature too soft and quiet for the demands of a country exiting a military dictatorship. I had a number of political conversations with well-educated academic and

An added barrier to open discussion is the continuing pressure exerted by religious leaders to stifle animistic performance forms since they continue to be viewed as anti-Islamic, or unchristian and paganistic. Historically, and currently, these leaders have viewed animistic practices as being in conflict with monotheism and therefore heretic. This viewpoint is in part responsible for the near disappearance of Jaranan during the Dutch colonial period, and currently in the era of an Indonesian Islamic majority. Because of these issues, many Jaranan leaders and performers who were more than willing to discuss their role in Jaranan did not do so with complete candor. Many of the interviewees discussed their roles in Jaranan, but denied any currently existing mystical elements, or denied personal knowledge and training in ancient, traditional healing practices. Most of these interviewees were in positions which this author thought would require knowledge of sacred and ancient power, but the prevailing discussion denied any but secular connections, and insisted that the performances were strictly for entertainment and therefore required no such practices or knowledge. As a result it was found that the line between secular and sacred is blurred considerably, and contains forced redefinitions of the sacred in order to be accepted as secular. This understandably less than open position taken with outsiders presents problems for a study when one of the goals is to determine to what extent sacred Jaranan are still practiced today in East Java.

business leaders who commented that her quiet use of power indicated that she had acquired and continued to acquire power through the Javanese traditions. More than one even suggested that she had visited both *balian*s in Bali as well as *dukun*s as a part of her learning in the ways of receiving power. Whether or not this is actually the case is less important than the demonstration of how deeply rooted the belief system is within Indonesia.

Blurring the definition of sacred is especially the case since animistic Jaranan are fully detached from the predominant religions. Between eighty-five and ninety percent of the Javanese population is Muslim, while the majority of the balance is Catholic and Protestant. Since those who practice, participate in, or regularly attend Jaranan performances reflect the religious profile of the population, and furthermore, these religions for the most part condemn such “primitive religious” practices, in most circumstances the continuation of Jaranan appears to require that it not be religious, but rather “medicinal” and “spiritual.” This latter “spiritualism” is similar to the way many Western Christians participate in Buddhist/Hindu meditation and yoga without interference in their core belief. Therefore, the questions that these observations pose are:

Which performances today are considered sacred, and which are considered secular? Precisely, how does a sacred performance differ from a secular one? To what extent do Javanese believe they are participating in ancient religious ritual, and to what extent is it an extension of modern notions of “spirituality”. These questions are currently very difficult to assess and therefore beyond the scope of the study. This paper will, for simplicity’s sake, define sacred or ritual performances as those that intentionally include trancing for the purposes of spirit possession and communicating with the spirit world, and secular as those that do not.

CHAPTER 2

Trance, Possession and Shamanism: Word Usage, Meanings, and Definitions.

Before beginning a discussion of Jaranan and its many forms, it is important to briefly examine the current understanding of trancing and possession phenomena. It would also be beneficial to define the role of key figures and some important terms in this genre of performance. These definitions will be the basis of all discussion of Jaranan performances. In addition, the past and present views of the scientific community toward trance, possession and shamanism are reflected in key word use. By selectively using those definitions which are least judgmental, and by trying to construct a combination English and native language paradigm which best reflects the viewpoint of the native understanding of the subject, it is in keeping with the goal of this paper to present as emic a view as possible. The terminological construction presented in this chapter will also be valuable in later discussions of Western, religious and academic thoughts and attitudes in dealing with the specific case of Jaranan in East Java.

2.1 Altered States of Consciousness and Trance

Since the early 1970's, a great deal of research has been done in the field of dissociative states and altered states of consciousness. Our understanding of trance and possession has become quite extensive, although as of yet incomplete. Today most psychologists and anthropologists recognize trance and possession as forms of these

altered states of consciousness (ASC), and as such have been defined and quantified by authorities such as Halperin, Ludwig, Goodman and Leavitt. Within the context of ASCs the words trance and possession have often been used synonymously (Halperin: 1996, 34). However, there are those who separate these two terms by differentiating the two states. Daniel Halperin cites the *Penguin Dictionary of Psychology* to define trance as “a condition of dissociation, characterized by the lack of voluntary movement, and frequently by automatisms in act and thought, illustrated by hypnotic and mediumistic conditions (Halperin: 1996, 34).” He then defines possession as “[involving] cultural-religious conceptions defined via shared ritual practices and belief systems.” He continues with Bourguignon’s definition of possession as referring to “states in which alterations of behavior and self presentation are interpreted by the subject *and others* as due to the presence of another entity, or personality, in the subject (Halperin: 1996, 34, original italics).”

He then explains:

...trance induction occurs apart from any notions of spirit possession, such as clinical hypnosis... and various types of non-religious or (at least) non-states. ...Conversely, beliefs concerning possession --and even accepted states of possession-- may take place without accompanying (psychologically constituted) trance state. (Halperin: 1996, 35, original parenthesis)

For the purposes of this paper I will follow Halperin’ lead and define trance using the *Penguin Dictionary of Psychology*’ definition. Possession I will define as the perceived presence of another entity or personality in a subject with or without the

presence of a state of trance. This perceived presence of another entity in a subject will be without regard to my personal perceptions of the event, except where noted. Instead these perceptions shall be of those who are involved and of those for whom it is performed. Thus, the term trance-possession will be used only when it is perceived that both states exist simultaneously. A fourth condition to be discussed will be termed a state of trance-protection. This I define as the perceived presence of any protective force that can occur during a trance state, with or without possession, and is said to protect the person in such a state from coming to any harm or injury. An offshoot of trance protection is protective possession. In this state of trance a person is considered to be in a state possession wherein the possessing entity is also believed to prevent injury while the possessed person performs dangerous or otherwise normally harmful activity. These activities may include eating sharp or harmful substances, dancing over or bathing in fire, piercing of the flesh, and (in some more extreme forms of trance performance) surgical opening of the abdomen or amputations.⁵ The term ASC will be used as a more general term that includes either trance or possession, or both. In particular it will be employed

⁵ Kathy Foley describes a West Java performance form that she witnessed in 1978 known as *Dabus* (Foley 31-32). Dancers perform to the battle scene music from Wayang Golek. Foley explains that the head of the dance troop calls upon Allah, the prophets of Allah and the “friends of the prophets” to aid the performers. The dancers then drive awls into their stomachs, slash their legs with knives, cut open the stomach of one of the dancers, cut out the tongue of another and “cook eggs on a fire they have built atop one man’s head.” The performers all agreed that they are protected from permanent harm by the power of Allah, while some went so far as to say that they are entered by the “friends of the prophets.” Of the Jaranan performance types, only Jaranan Dor has been recorded as employing piercings with skewers and swords and other acts of extreme self-mortification.

when it is unclear neither to the participants nor to the observer whether the intended or existing dissociative state can be concluded or perceived as trance or possession.

2.2 The Shaman, the Dukun and the Pawang

In a usage confusion that is similar to that of trance and possession, shamanic individuals tend to be lumped together into a single subheading of shaman. This general term is used as a descriptive label for individuals whether their shamanistic expertise functions as a spiritualistic healer, medicinal healer, expert in mystical arts, or traditional midwife. Ruth-Inge Heinze defines a shaman⁶ as one who responds to the specific needs of a community that otherwise are not met; mediates between different states of consciousness for those who seek immediate, personal experience of spiritual powers; and provides access to those higher powers and translates ineffable messages into a common language (Heinze: 1997, 7). As with other trancing performances in Southeast Asia, Jaranan requires the presence of a shamanic individual to invoke trance and possession

⁶ Here I will reluctantly begin the use of the word shaman since it is the common English equivalent used by scholars. However, I feel the word shaman does not accurately translate what the words “dukun” and “pawang” connote. There is a connotation of primitive belief associated with shaman, as well as tribal superstition which are both objectionable in the context of this discussion. Further, both the pawang and the dukun incorporate an herbalistic approach to healing, which is much closer to the Western herbal doctor of the 19th and 20th century, as well as the “mainstream” religious doctrines of Hinduism and Sufi Islam. A more important difference between the shaman of other cultures and the dukun or pawang of Java is that the Javanese healer does not necessarily go into trance themselves, nor do they necessarily perform spirit journeys to consult with spirits and gods. Most definitely, the dukun and pawang of Jaranan never embark on spirit journeys as a part of a Jaranan ceremony or ritual, rather they invite spirits to enter the dancers of their troupes.

states in the performers. However, within each of these Jaranan performance types, the shamanic individuals utilize their spiritual powers based either upon the religious belief system that they operate within, or based upon the root belief system from which the performance type is derived. One type of shaman in Java is referred to as a *dukun*⁷ (See Appendix C), a position having roots in pre-Hindu Java. This position is passed from father to son, mother to daughter, or mentor to pupil. In the 1940's, Raden Supatmo described the dukun as "a sort of native healer, or even a midwife, who has received no doctor's training in the Western sense and is usually a woman (Supatmo: 1945, The Dukun, 1)." Although dukuns as midwives, medicinalists, and other spiritual experts are still prevalent in rural Java, many scholars have reported that they are being pushed aside

⁷ Other research papers on jaran kepang, such as those of Kartomi, Ewing, Foley and Burridge, make only passing mention of a dukun as the leader of trance groups, and instead they alternately use the words *dalang* and *pawang*. The two words used during my visits to East Java were *pawang* and *dukun*. The discrepancy could be for several reasons. The first reason could easily be the association of a dukun with traditional healing practices. On several occasions when asked if he were a dukun, a leader would answer no because he didn't have the power to heal. He was merely knowledgeable in how to deal with unexpected trances. A second reason may be the association of the word dukun with primitive, ignorant, and backward religious and medical practices. The Javanese are very sensitive about the Western view of their culture and are reluctant to express a reliance on traditional cultural practices. A third reason that *dalang* would be a more desirable word choice than *dukun* could be its longstanding association with the performing arts in general, and the secularization of the duties of the *dalang* in Java since the arrival of Islam and Dutch colonial occupation. In Java, a *dalang* who manipulates *wayang kulit* puppets or leads a *Wayang Wong* troupe is considered a performance leader and entertainer, and far less associated with spiritual healing or as a medium. A fourth reason could be the propensity of many people in Java to only use words with which a foreigner is already familiar. From several miscues, I learned that if a guide used any word or expression, I also needed to inquire if it was also the locally used name or expression.

by modernization and replaced by Western style medicine. However, it is more likely that Western medicine is being used to supplement the use of a dukun, since the services of a traditional healer is much cheaper than a Western trained doctor.

The use of the dukun in spiritual healing performances is still prevalent throughout East Java and traditionally it is a position exclusively held by males. This particular type of dukun, one which functions as the leader or one of the leaders of a Jaranan performance group, is much more than a healer. He is viewed as a receiver and giver of power. The nature of the power is more complex than simply a spiritual one, and is a belief construction that is based in ancient Hindu-Javanese cosmology. In this construction, the universe has a finite amount of power, and therefore acquiring of power by one entity implies a *diminishing of power elsewhere*. When the soul of an individual enters a fetus, it arrives from the center of the universe with a predetermined capacity for power. This capacity is referred to as the *wadah*. The *wadah* of an individual is determined by time and place of birth, family lineage, and a number of other cosmological factors. A persons success or failure in matters dealing with power is a product of his or her *wadah*, and whether or not the acquired powers complement or exceed that individual's *wadah*. The acquisition of power to maximize the utilization of a person's *wadah* can include the calling of spiritual entities. The entities that are called on, as with the acquisition of power in general, must compliment (*cocok*) the *wadah* of that individual. Should someone try to acquire power beyond his or her capacity, illness or even death can result. Suffice it to say, the dukun is considered to be trained and highly skilled in the use of power, and accordingly, knowledgeable in determining the *wadah* of individuals. Anyone who wishes

to better his life will consult a dukun in order to gain the power to do so. This is not witchcraft, or magic, but rather the giving of lessons in the harnessing and focusing of both inner and spiritual strength, as well as the determination of an individual's wadiah. This ancient Javanese belief is so prevalent that many of Indonesia's top leaders are believed to have sought out the lessons of a dukun prior to their rise in academics, the arts, politics, the military, or business.

While most dukuns of this region today are Muslim, there is still a direct line of inheritance from ancestral Hindu and pre-Hindu sources. The dukun can also be Hindu, Buddhist or Christian, and often presides over both secular and religious performances that can be deeply rooted in animism. Many claim ancient spiritual knowledge that allows contact with possessing spirits whose origins can be prehistoric and are associated with the mythic-historical founding of their community.

The dukun is not the only type of shaman used in Jaranan. Within the performance type known as Jaranan Dor, the dukun is replaced by a village specialist who is knowledgeable in, Islam, Islamic mysticism, and traditional Javanese mystical arts. This man is referred to as a *pawang*,⁸ a man of high standing in his community who can be a government official or spiritual leader, or even, occasionally, an Imam. Most often, while

⁸ In addition to having the meaning of someone with specialized training in shamanic practices, the word *pawang* is used to describe any person with special skills, not simply someone with spiritual training. Within the Javanese belief construct, to become highly skilled at anything requires spiritual lessons in power acquirement. This requirement is regardless of whether a "pawang" is a village's most successful fisherman, best farmer, a city's business leader, or a political office holder. However, for this paper the meaning will be a trained spiritualist who also has high community standing.

the Muslim pawang denies any spiritual contact with animistic entities, he does humbly attribute his powers, as well as the state of trance and its protective nature, to the presence of Allah (Susanto). This is in sharp contrast to the dukun who, equally humble, attributes his powers to specialized knowledge and the will of the spirits. If the dukun should be Muslim he may then follow this explanation with the statement that it is all Allah, anyway (Trisno, Satuwar). Another major difference between the role of the pawang and the role of the dukun is that the dukun is able to spiritually heal and consults the spirit world for cures and remedies. A pawang, on the other hand, makes no such claims, even if he has *learning in the area of spiritual healing and power acquirement*. However, a Jaranan Dor pawang does offer to the trance dancers spiritual protection from injury, and instant healing through the power of Allah.

Whether a dukun or pawang, the performance shaman within the Javanese community is considered one of the village leaders who is well practiced in the shamanic arts. In fact, the performance dukun functions much like a traditional dalang. The difference being that the traditional dalang is capable of cleaning negative spirits from a house or village or bringing luck and fortune to a wedding, however he is unable to communicate directly with spirits. He doesn't have the power to induce and control trance and he doesn't directly heal. In the traditional Javanese community, the dalang and the dukun have similar purposes with separate functions that compliment each other through different ritual knowledge and abilities.

Like the Wayang Kulit dalang and his inherited chest of puppets, the dukun is usually from the founding family of the performance troupe that he heads. He may be an

adopted member of the family if no sons have a calling as a spiritual healer, or are available to learn the craft. It was stated by a number of performers and dukuns that one chooses to be a dukun after being called by the spirit world. I assume that in a like manner the career choice of a pawang is an answer to a calling by Allah. One dukun explained that he began to study Jaran Keping with his father-in-law who was a dukun. The decision to study was after he had a dream in which he was leading a group of performers. He then went on a pilgrimage into the jungle, followed by a trip to the top of Mount Semeru, Java's highest mountain peak. Both trips were to meditate and search within himself (nyepi). He said that he found from the deepest part of himself the need to be a dukun, and that he must become a dukun. He then went to the Office of Culture and received a permit to form a club-organization that allowed the formation of the performance group. After this he bought costumes, hobbyhorses and a gamelan orchestra for Jaran Keping. This short biography explains some of the ordeal needed to become a "man of power." It also demonstrates how the traditional dukun or pawang acts as the producer of the troupe, the owner of all the props and instruments, the troupe manager, and the booking agent of a group.

2.3 Spirits, Arwah and Roh Halus

Another general term that is often used in the study of religions and religious possession is spirit or spirits. Since it has a great number of meanings, this term is at best general and at worst ambiguous. *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* lists 31 meanings for the word, of which 13 have religious applications.

Within the context of this paper I will use the following meanings for spirit from the above dictionary:

3. the soul regarded as separating from the body at death. 4. conscious incorporeal being, as opposed to matter. 5. a supernatural, incorporeal being, esp. one inhabiting a place, object, etc., or having a particular character. 7. an angel or demon. 9. the divine influence as an agency working in the heart of man.

Regarding these definitions of spirit, the Javanese performance leader uses two fitting words for the purposes of this discussion. One is the word *arwah* which is the spirit of an ancestor⁹ that can be called upon for possession. An *arwah* is nearly always considered to be a human spirit, or a spirit having human qualities. Similarly, there are those spirits of a highly refined nature but are regarded as *neither human nor animal*. The standing of these spirits rises to the level of deities and they are also often referred to as *arwah*.

The other word is *roh halus*¹⁰ which combines two words whose literal meaning is “spirit of infinite smallness” but the applied meaning in context of possession is any

⁹ Probably more correctly, *arwah* means “ancestral spirit.” An ancestral spirit need not be a village ancestor. An example would be the jungle protector *barong*; the jungle spirit that protects all that is in the forest. In the East Javanese mythology, the *barong* is the protector that allows man to coexist with the animals of the jungle through an agreement made at the time of the founding of any particular village. Because of this benevolent nature, and the belief that the *barong* is capable of human reason, he is considered an ancestral spirit (*Susanto*).

¹⁰ In the Javanese Islamic belief construction, there are three spirits of the corporeal self. These three spirits are the *roh*, the *sukma* and the *nyawa*. The *roh* is essentially the soul that is given by Allah and placed by Him into the body of a fetus or any other living thing. The *roh* is considered to be pure and spiritually clean, untouched by the impurities of the human world. The *sukma* is the

perceived, incorporeal being. Spirit and roh halus I will use almost interchangeably, while arwah will pertain only to ancestral spirits. The word roh halus should not be confused with the word *roh alus*, which is a refined spirit. A roh alus can be either an ancestral spirit or a high standing animal spirit, such as a jungle protector. Nonetheless, a roh alus can still be considered to have some animal characteristics. Because of this possible confusion, roh alus will be avoided in this paper.

soul of humans and is what the roh becomes after growing up in the human world. The sukma is impure and unclean. Upon death, the sukma is purified and becomes roh once again. That is: the sukma rejoins the spirit world, rejoins God. The nyawa is the life force or life spirit and can be either roh or sukma.

CHAPTER 3

Jaranan: a brief overview

3.1 General Description of Jaranan

The word Jaranan is derived from the Javanese word for horse, *Jaran*, and is a genre of folk performance utilizing any number of dancers, usually in even numbers, and a gamelan orchestra. Traditionally, the name is descriptive of those dancers within the performance who ride hobbyhorses in an attempt to attain a state of trance, trance-possession, or trance-protection. However, in the modern context it also refers to the broader group performers simply dance using the hobbyhorse as a prop.

Jaranan also describes the method through which *spirits enter those dancers who will trance*. The Javanese believe that in order to be entered by a spirit, a person must have a vehicle on which to ride as a symbol of his submission to the invited spirits. The hobbyhorses symbolize such a vehicle, because the Javanese reason that horses are ridden by men after the horse yields its will to the rider, and in this same way, the dancers (*penari*) yield their will so that their bodies can be ridden by spirits. The Jaranan dancing is merely one of many methods used by the Javanese in order to sufficiently remove (or more accurately translated as emptying)¹¹ the self from the body so that a spirit may enter and use that body for its own needs or purposes (Trisno, Susanto).

¹¹ In the Javanese belief system for trance-possession, the dancer's sense of self creates an empty area into which a spirit will enter. The dancer in trance most often is not considered to have left his body, therefore there is no literal emptying of the dancer's spirit. This empty area is in part the *wadah* of the trancer, and if the *wadah* is not large enough to hand the spirit, then the trancer may not trance. In fact, a trancer may actually become sick or may even die as a result.

There are at least three basic methods through which the dancers achieve trance. The first method is through repeating simple patterns of movement. In this method the body position of the dancers is slightly dipped and bent at the waist with the head tilted downward. In this position, the dancers then perform a choreographed circular pattern. With increasing speed and intensity, the continuous circle is danced. As the dancers continue to increase speed and intensity, the circle becomes smaller and smaller until their shoulders nearly touch. The moment of trance and spirit possession takes place at the peak of musical and dance activity when one or more of the dancers collapse, rolling to the ground.

The second method requires the hobbyhorse dancers to represent horse-mounted soldiers or hunters. At some point in the performance the dancers enter a mock battle with an enemy who is also represented by dancers. This enemy can be forest animals or their spirits, demon spirits, or soldiers from a rival kingdom. During the battle, the dancers strike at each other, and the accompanying music increases in intensity. The blows of the dancers result in a percussive sound made by the clashing of whips, swords, spears, sheets of stiff cowhide, wooden masks or any number of other items used in the battle. Again, at the peak of activity is when the dancers literally fall into trance. In this case the moment of spirit possession is marked by the dancer's body suddenly stiffening, and he falls backward to the ground.

The third method is to induce a trance by a loud percussive sound as the gamelan plays trancing music. The percussive instrument is usually a whip held by the dukun or one of his assistants. The dancer either squats or assumes a position low to the ground

supported by both legs and one arm. As the dukun stands over the trancer, he cracks the whip one or more times, and the dancer collapses forward to the ground. The dancer may lay prostrate on the ground for several minutes before returning to a standing position. He may also roll forward in a somersault movement, and directly into a standing position. In either case, the dancer now stands with his legs widely spread and his body low to the ground. Once the dancer is upright he is considered to be in a state of trance-possession.

Because of the physical abuse of trancing, it is essential that only the strongest, purest and most devout practice this part of the performance. This statement was repeated in several interviews dealing with other types of Jaranan such as Jaran Kepang, and Jaran Senterewe Pesisiran (JSP), as well as in interviews dealing with several trance genres of Bali. This requisite need for physical and spiritual purity is an attitude held generally for Javanese as well as Balinese trance performers. What this means is that those who trance must not drink, smoke or eat the forbidden foods of their belief system. They must fast, and prepare by meditation and prayer up to a day in advance of a performance. Likewise they must be daily practitioners and faithful devotees of their creed. Trancers of this type must be mentally, physically and spiritually strong for the trancing experience.

In Ranupani there is a trance performer who is said to be more than sixty years of age. He appears quite fit and usually hosts as vehicle to Mbah Dempok, the powerful ancestral spirit of the community. His fitness, and the willingness of Mbah Dempok to utilize such an old body, was explained as a result of his devotion to his Protestant church (!) as well as his years of maintaining his physical purity. For all others who do not

maintain this purity, it is considered extremely dangerous to enter trance. This holds true even for the dukun. While a dukun serves as a medium for the contact and invitation of spirits, he often smokes and commits other violations of his physical purity and strength. Although many dukuns and pawangs at one time were trance performers, generally they do not themselves attempt trance-possession. This is not to say that the dukun and pawang are not ritually pure when they act as intermediaries to the spirit world. For the purposes and requirements of their role, they are ritually pure until the performance is complete. Then they might enjoy that first smoke after a long period of abstinence and fasting.

The hobbyhorses that the dancers (*penari*) ride are usually two-dimensional boards (Figure 3), although in some areas three-dimensional carvings are utilized. These elaborately painted and decorated hobbyhorses are traditionally woven from bamboo. These bamboo boards are referred to as *kebang* from which Jaran Kebang gets its name. Therefore, Jaran Kebang literally means “bamboo horse.” However, they can be made from other materials such as water buffalo hide or plywood. Usually, the dancer wears the hobbyhorse by standing astride it, while a strap attached to it hangs from the shoulder. Other times bamboo horse is woven into a larger costume and is directly attached to the dancer’s costume. In most areas, such as Madiun, Malang and Ponorogo, the hobbyhorse is worn with a strap rather than as fixed part of the costume. The reason is for ease of removal should there be a need during the performance. Many performance groups consider the removal of the horse requisite for ending a trance. In other areas, such as

Ranupani, the horse is handheld by the dancer for even easier removal once he enters an ASC.

3.2 Jaranan Categories in Central and East Java

While Jaranan are performed today throughout Java, it is primarily regarded by the East Javanese as a performance form of the East and Central regions. These performances are commonly referred to by the Indonesian name *kuda lumping*, or the Javanese name *jaran kepang*. *Kuda lumping* translates to mean jumping horse(s). This seems to be from occasions when the performers, after they enter trance, jump repeatedly into the air with all their strength while cracking whips. A very old name for *kuda lumping* or *jaran kepang* that is still in use, but much less common, is the word *breng*. *Breng* not only refers to any of the *jaran kepang* performance types, but also is an ancient tributary of Kediri, and the place where the music of many *kuda lumping* performance types, and the place one version of the oral tradition tells us horse trance dancing originated. However, in Jaranan there are great variations from region to region and province to province no matter what they are called, and each region can have two, or more variations. Further, the regional names are often based on both the origin of the form and some specific attribute of the performance that separates it from all others. For instance, the name *Jaranan Senterewe* is derived from two Javanese words: *senthe*, which is the name of a type of taro plant grown in Java, and *rewe*, which refers to the itchy feeling that is caused when the plant is eaten before it is cooked. This itchy feeling is described as extremely powerful and quite



Figure 3 This jaran kepeng trance dancer is one of six *jathilan* in a Jaran Senterewe Pesisiran ritual performance.

immediate. During a Senterewe performance and after a person enters trance, he will be offered raw senthe root. If the dancer is in trance, he will eat it without hesitation. Eating the uncooked root is said to be something that can only be done if one is in protective possession. Therefore, the name refers to the local form of proof that the dancer must endure to demonstrate that he is indeed under the control of powerful spirits.¹²

Jaranan of East Java can be divided into four main categories, three of which include trance, trance-possession or trance protection in performance. These are:

1. *Jaranan Dor* of the North Coast of Java: The word *dor*¹³ refers to the sound made by the large ritual drum (*jedor*), that is found outside of most large mosques in Java. *Jaranan Dor* is horse trance dancing that uses drums as its primary instruments. There are no metalaphones in this performance, however the wind instruments *sronen* and *selompret* are optional. Although Jaranan Dor is closely associated with Mosques and Islam, it is usually performed away from the general area of a Mosque. It is a performance form that has been greatly influenced by Islam and was used as a media for Islamic proselytizing (Susanto, Juwono).

¹² Eating senthe is a very common form of proof throughout East Java. One reason may be that, when possession has to be simulated by a performer, it is very easy to substitute a local variety of yam. The yam is very similar in appearance and is much more pleasant to eat than senthe. If someone from the audience questions the proof, slight of hand will substitute real senthe for the yam, and this will be offered to the audience member. The use of yam in place of senthe is something that is particularly prevalent in secular entertainment performances that take place weekly in the parks, art centers and night markets of Malang and Surabaya.

¹³ Kartomi in her paper Performance, Music and Meaning in Reyog Ponorogo uses the word *dor* to mean the rhythmic chorus-like chants that accompany and punctuate the music of a performance.

2. *Jaranan Jur* of East Java: Associated primarily with the towns of Madiun and Blitar, this type of Jaranan uses a traditional gamelan orchestra with a minimum of three bamboo idiophones called *angklung* plus a *saron* (metalaphone), gong set, and *gendang* drums. These performances usually include a simple historical or mythical story line of conflict that is reenacted in skit form. There are at least three types of Jaranan Jur: *Jaranan Kentekan*, which is based on the Hanoman stories from the Ramayana; *Jaranan Panji*, which is based on stories from the Panji Cycles; and *Jaranan Damarwulan* (or *Damar Wulan*), which is based on the folk hero of a Majapahit legend. In Banyuwangi Jaranan Damarwulan is performed at an annual Hindu festival known as *Seblang* (Susanto). Although Jaranan Jur are based on ancient Hindu myths and legends, today they are primarily celebratory performances. As such, it is common for Muslims to participate in them. In an exception to the other forms of Jaranan Jur, Damarwulan doesn't use the traditional metalaphone gamelan. Instead it uses a bamboo gamelan known as a *jegog* much like those found in Jembrana Regency of West Bali.¹⁴ As Jaranan Jur are regional performance forms that are traditionally associated with the old empires,

¹⁴ The *jegog gamelans* of Banyuwangi on the farthest eastern tip of Java and the Jembrana regency of western Bali use ten to fifteen bamboo idiophones of various sizes. The measurements of these huge instruments range from a foot high by two feet wide, up to six feet high and six or seven feet wide. The keys are made from very large and very old bamboo stock that often have a diameter measuring as much as ten to fifteen inches, and are up to eight or nine feet long. The largest instrument in the orchestra, which is referred to as the *jegog*, has eight keys and is played by two musicians who sit on top of the massive instrument. Using large mallets, the players bang the musical notes with all of their strength. The force of the music coming from the *jegog* orchestra and reaching the audience actually has the effect of vibrating ones entire body during the liveliest musical passages.

they are mostly associated with the areas of the old regencies. For example, Damarwulan is the ancestral protector of a legendary king of Majapahit, and tradition tells us he came from the Banyuwangi area. Therefore, it is exclusively performed there as a celebration of a local hero from ancient times.

3. *Jaranan Pegon* (or *Jathilan*) performed throughout Central and East Java: Because Jaranan Pegon is performed primarily by traveling troupes, the gamelans are designed for portability and most often consist of three to five small gongs, one or two gendang drums, and one or two saron or other xylophone-like instruments made from wood. Generally, there are less than seven musicians in a Jaranan Pegon gamelan, although several of the largest troupes have more than 15. On occasion there are also wind instruments such as the *selompret* or the *sronen*. There are at least ten types of Jaranan Pegon performed regularly today. The traditional purpose of Jaranan Pegon is to divine the nature of village or individual problems through direct contact with the spirit world. However, more recently troupes most often perform strictly for entertainment (Susanto, Juwono, Sedyawati 76).

4. *Reog* of Ponorogo: This performance spectacle is traditionally associated with the provincial area of Ponorogo, but today it is performed throughout Java. Traditional Reog is a processional ceremonial performance that has evolved into three forms all of which are simply known as *Reog* or *Reyog*. These three forms include the ceremonial-ritual form with trance-possession, the ceremonial form without trance-possession, and the festival-secular form. The ceremonial Reog is performed in all villages of the Ponorogo area for full moon ceremonies and village cleansings. The ceremonial-ritual form is

performed in the nearby cities of Madiun to the north of Ponorogo and Blitar to the southeast. The ceremonial form without trance is the most common Reog with over 460 practicing groups in Ponorogo alone, more than one for every village. The festival form is a modified Reog performed by many of these same village groups. However, the performance time and structure is altered for the demands of art festivals and national tours.

3.3 Other Generalities of Jaranan Performances

Aside from the use of hobbyhorses, there are other generalities that define the traditional performance form. All traditional Jaranan use trancing as a part of the performance whereby the dancers (*penari*) are believed to be entered (*dimasuki* or *kalap*)¹⁵ by spirits and attain a state of trance-possession or possession protection. All Jaranan traditionally serve a dual purpose of entertaining the audience and healing or correcting problems in the village where the performance takes place. The performances are also for the purpose of village cleansing, particularly on the full moon and during annual cleansing festivals. The cleansings (*bersih kampung* or *bersih desa*) are intended to ask for spiritual protection and to chase out any and all accumulated negative spirits from the village area. During periods of plague, crop failures, insect infestations, or other communal difficulties, a performance can take place for the health of a village in general (Darsono, Juwono, Susanto). All Jaranan have a spiritual leader who is considered to have shamanic powers,

¹⁵ In the eastern area of East Java, particularly around the town of Banyuwangi, the preferred word for being entered by a spirit is *ndadi*. This word not only directly replaces *kalap*, but also describes those people or things that are weird or crazy.

a dukun or pawang. All Jaranan use a *barongan*-like character. For some performance types this is the spirit through which all other spirits are invited, and represents the spirit of the village where the troupe resides. In these cases the barongan is considered a founding spirit of the community and is considered an ancestral spirit. For others, the barongan is an animal or jungle spirit that can be called on for protection, and again is the spirit through whom all others are summoned. In this case the barongan may or may not be considered an arwah.

All Jaranan follow a specific ritual pattern that will include five performance sections known as *lakon*.¹⁶ All trancing Jaranan will also include: an invitation extended to the local arwah or Barongan spirit by the shamanic leader; the summoning of that spirit and, in most cases, the summoning of the guest spirits of the local arwah. All Jaranan should have at least one lakon that will include dances known as *kitir*, performed by dancers equipped with hobbyhorses. In addition to the above, all trancing Jaranan include the use of holy water which is collected and ritually blessed by the dukun or other

¹⁶ The word lakon in Indonesian means story, part of a story or an act in a play or performance story. The East Javanese use lakon to also define a part of a performance in which there is a clear change in music and/or intent. In Reog, the movement from one lakon to the next is marked by a change in the music and characters as well as a change in the story line. In Jaran Kepang the lakon is marked by both a change in music and the intent of the succeeding section. For example, the first lakon formally addresses the five directions and is a part of the invitation to the spirits. The second lakon is indicated by both a change in the music to a trancing rhythm and tune as well as a change in dancers. This change can be from more skilled and graceful dancers to those who are actually going to trance. According to my most trusted source, who is also schooled in linguistics, the word lakon is a Javanese word that was adopted into the Indonesian language. Another word that is used in place of lakon in all Javanese Jaranan is *gagarak*. This word, however, is less commonly used (Susanto).

shamanic leader. The holy water is used to make 'flower water,' water with aromatic flowers and fragrant oils or herbs mixed into it. Flower water is often requested by the performers while they are in trance. Both the pungent mixture and the mantras are vestiges of Hindu influence including those that are heavily altered by Islamic elements.

3.4 The Music of Trance

Each lakon of a performance has its own distinct music, sound and rhythm, and each performance group has its own unique quality and selection. Most of the various types of Jaranan will have mandatory instruments for a performance, plus a selection of optional instruments and instruments that can vary in number, depending on the availability of musicians who can play them (See Appendix II for a listing of instruments for representative Jaranan types). However, the music for the trancing lakon (*kitir kalap*) in Jaranan performances of East Java has its own mandatory score and rhythm that has been handed down from ancient times. This score and rhythm is necessary even for those performances in which it is only wished to simulate trance. The trancing portion of a performance has two musical phases. The first is the initiating phase in which the performers attempt to trance. The second is the sustaining phase during which the trance sustaining score and rhythm is played until the end of the performance when all remaining performers who are still in trance are revived.

There is a strong bond, or connection, between the trance dancers and the gamelan orchestra. This connection exists because the musicians must intently follow the dancers to anticipate changes in rhythm and speed of the dance. The bond also involves the

driving of the dancers through the music, pushing them closer and closer to the state of trance. In many areas the musicians are also considered to be in a form of trance-possession. The orchestra is said to give up its will to the spirit world and unite with the dancers' movements in order to facilitate the transition of the spirits from the ethereal plane to corporeal possession. Because of this closeness to the state of the dancers and the attendant giving up of the self, it is not considered unusual for one or more of the musicians to become possessed by a spirit during the trancing phase of an East Java performance. This is particularly true for the kendang drummer. He acts as a conductor for the orchestra, and helps determine when to increase and decrease the tempo of the music. If there are whips present, he will make very rapid adjustments to both stress the cracking sound as well as to echo it. *This very intense concentration on the activities can result in the drummer (or saron player, or any other musician) falling into a trance at the moment of a stressed percussive.* Therefore, an occasional occurrence is for the drumming to suddenly halt, and the player to fall backward and tense his body into a rigid posture. This sudden cessation of the drum is never a problem as someone else who can play quickly takes over, sometimes coming out of the audience.¹⁷ The dukun or one of his assistants will approach the musician with a greeting mantra, and treat the person as he would any trancer in the performance. Therefore, it's not uncommon for a musician in trance to be handed a hobbyhorse, or to be allowed to begin behaving as any possessed

¹⁷ On one occasion, while in Ubud, Bali attending a temple ceremony, I witnessed this very same phenomena at a Calonarang performance during the keris trance. The drummer suddenly fell backward in a similar manner. While I was alarmed, everyone else seemed nonplused. In fact, some audience members around me began chuckling and muttering words to the effect of "There goes Made, again."

dancer. The musician simply becomes a part of the ritual as a dancer. On rare occasions, the musician is the only performer to enter trance. However, most commonly if musicians begin trancing it is an indication of many spirits accepting the invitation, and it is assured that at least some of the dancers will also trance.

The initiating music has a tempo quality that includes increasing and decreasing speed. The increases and decreases are somewhat like a sine wave with increasing amplitude. The overall effect is increasing tempo combined with increasing intensity and strength exerted by the orchestra members. It is at the peak of intensity and tempo that the moment of trance possession takes place. Should the dancers fail to trance, the music slows and the process begins again. The determination of when to repeat the kitir kalap can be made by any one of a number of the players including the dukun, the lead musician (usually the drummer) or even the dancers themselves. This process of restarting the kitir kalap cycle can be repeated as many as four or five times, and can span more than an hour. If there is still difficulty after several attempts, the dukun will consult with the orchestra and the dancers to determine if there are problems with the music, or to determine if more attempts would be fruitful.

CHAPTER 4

The Nature, History, and Development of Jaran Kepang Performances

4.1 The Nature

In a Jaran Kepang performance, the male members of the village community perform the trances and possessions under the instruction and guidance of the spiritual leader. These performers are, for the most part, men of the peasant and working class who, when they are not acting as vehicles for the spirit world, can be found working the fields of onions and cabbage around the area of Mount Bromo, working as laborers in factories around the area of Malang, or tending to the rice fields surrounding Blitar, Tulungagung and Madiun. For a few hours during their trance dances, these farmers and laborers offer their bodies for the use of demigods and spirits to communicate with other villagers, and for the spirits to be at play in the realm of the earthly plane.

As is implied by the use of male references for the dancers, women are specifically prohibited from participation in the trance portion of a performance. However, they are often a vital part of the overall ritual as well as a vital part of the entertainment. For instance, the wife of the dukun aids in the preparation of a performance and prepares the offerings to the spirits. Women also may participate in preliminary dances, such as performing elaborate dance routines while costumed as courtly warriors (*Jathilan* or *Jathil*). The dance routines are performed while astride the same type of bamboo hobbyhorses as their male counterparts. Nonetheless, due to the Javanese belief that there

is a perceived danger to unborn and newborn children, women are not allowed to purposely enter any Jaranan trance.

Just as it is considered dangerous for a woman of childbearing age to trance, similarly, a married man whose wife becomes pregnant is discouraged from continuing until sometime after the baby is born. Again he may inadvertently invite a destructive entity to inhabit the body of his unborn child. In some areas of Java, the fear of fetal possession is so strong that a wife will sometimes forbid her husband from ever performing again after the first signs of pregnancy.

Jaranan, like other performance forms in East Java, are both for the purpose of performing trance and for entertaining a community. The stories and legends that are *attached* are merely skeletal, only forming the framework of characters around which a performance is constructed. The characters of myths and legends simply make appearances to establish a conflict, which is already known by everyone involved, performers and audience. These conflicts are the basis for mock battles and escalating violent action, which eventually evolves into the dancers playing the various characters falling into trance. There is no purposeful attempt to actually tell an entire story, or to teach the lessons of a mythical legend. The lessons of those legends are taught when the stories are told by wayang wong and wayang kulit performances, to students in classrooms, or by a spiritual leader giving lessons in power to someone who seeks it. Generally, Jaranan performances involve only the battle and conflict scenes from local myths and the Hindu epics. If there is a theme or some thread common to all Jaranan,

trancing and non-trancing, then it is the conflict between man and nature, or man against man, and the spirits that can be called upon to intervene.

While the different Jaranan of Java are known by a variety of local names, they are most commonly referred to as Jaran Kepang throughout East Java. It is likely that in any community if one were to ask to see a Jaran Kepang performance, one would be taken to see the local version of the genre without regard to whether the performance was in actuality Jaran Kepang, Jaranan Dor, Jaran Pegon, Ebeg or some other form of Jaranan. A Jaranan performance will always have one or more dancers who represent men mounted on horseback in the form of hunters, warriors, or simply generic riders. Even though there is a great deal of variation between Jaranan forms, a performance will always include the hobbyhorse riding dancers who are most often called *Jathil* or *jathilan*.¹⁸ In most Jaranan, the hobbyhorse dancers are the performers who go into trance.

Traditionally, the hobbyhorses are constructed of bamboo (Figure 4). The word *kebang* literally means “woven” or “braided” and refers both to the method of constructing a horse as well as the bamboo strips that are used. Most often, the bamboo strips are woven into a two-dimensional bent bamboo frame depicting the shape of a horse which is then painted. Of course, just as there are many variations in Jaranan performance structure, there are also many variations in the construction and materials of the horses. They may be constructed entirely from materials other than bamboo, including sheets of

¹⁸ These words will later be used to refer to specific character types during some Jaranan forms, or even a performance form itself. *Jathilan* has already been mentioned as a type of Jaranan performance as well as character types in a performance. The variety of meanings for any one of the many emic Javanese words relating to Jaranan can be quite confusing.



Figure 4. Shown above are two different styles of kepeng horse both of which are made in the traditional method of weaving bamboo strips inside a bamboo frame. The one on the left from Tulungagung was designed by a professional artist who also designed both the costumes and set seen in the background. The one on the right was in Ranupani and is a typical kepeng horse of the Tengger massif.

plywood, stiffened cowhide, cardboard, or even chicken wire and papier-mâché. Performances using horses constructed from other materials would no longer be emically referred to as Jaran Kepang, although they would remain considered of that performance type.

4.2 Variations in Indonesian Jaranan

The many types of Jaranan that are practiced throughout the Indo-Malay Archipelago greatly vary in music, performance structure, religious meaning and number of participants. Variations can range from the trance-possession of a single holy man

accompanied by gamelan music and *kecak* chorus (or *cak*) as exemplified by the very sacred Sanghyang Jaran of Southern Bali, to multiple trances by six or more dancers that can be witnessed in the Tengger highlands, or even the elaborate and complex circus-like *Reog* spectacle that is performed regularly in Ponorogo. This latter genre can include elements of traditional masked performance (*topeng* or *wayang topeng*), amazing displays of fire breathing, elaborate ensemble dance routines, and highly skilled acrobatics, in addition to displays of power and magic by performers in trance. The variations can also include: those more sacred performances where trances are key to the performance; those performances where entertainment is key and trancing is often simulated; and, those performances that are strictly for entertainment where there is no trance whatsoever. Further, as has already been mentioned, each area and each region of Central and East Java performs a Jaranan type that is unique to that area's history and cultural heritage. For example, in Ponorogo the *Reog* performance and structure is centered on a local mythical tale from an ancient kingdom of the Majapahit era known as Wengker. Other extant historical forms found in East Java can include performances of battle scenes from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. These are found in areas that were once small Hindu kingdoms northeast of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Likewise, in the area where the Majapahit legend Damarwulan is said to have been born, there is a Jaranan based on his story.

4.3 Oral Traditions Explaining Prehistoric and Historic Origins

The modern forms of Jaranan of Central and East Java evolved out of a larger tradition of horse trance dancing that still spans much of the Malay-Indonesian

Archipelago. The tradition includes all extant sacred, ceremonial and secular performance forms of Jaranan. In an interview with Pak Juwono, an artist living in Malang who is also a recognized local authority on the traditions of Jaran Kepang, the origins were explained as follows:¹⁹

It came from the Purba Era, I think that it is what you call the ‘Stone Age.’²⁰ This was the era when people still made their living by hunting. When the men of that era prepared themselves for a hunt they would perform a number of rituals. These were ceremonies and offerings performed before the hunt began at the beginning of the hunting season. These ancient art forms included the imitation of the behavior and movement of those animals that the hunters hoped to kill and those animals from which they wished protection: the wild pig, the tiger, and other animals. The spiritual man of the community called the spirit of the animals, and those spirits would enter and cause other men to trance. The trancing men would

¹⁹ Pak Juwono, like the vast majority of East Javanese, spoke almost no English and used a combination of Javanese and Indonesian. Therefore, Prof. Pak Gatoet Susanto whose first language is Javanese aided me in the interview. Together we interpreted Juwono’s words as he answered my questions. This answer is his direct response to my question, “What do you understand to be the origins of Jaran Kepang and other Jaranan?”

²⁰ Here ‘Stone Age’ is in quotes because Pak Juwono used those English words at this point. It is also important to point out that Pak Juwono is a highly educated and well read artistic leader in the Malang community. Even though there was a translator present at the interviews, because of this author’s limited knowledge of Indonesian, Juwono chose to speak in simpler terms and use less complicated words and sentence structure. While this passage accurately details the concepts discussed, any perception of simplicity in this translation and subsequent translations of interviews are a result of this author’s language limitations. They should in no way be taken as an accurate reflection of the interviewees in any way other than their thoughts and beliefs.

then perform the dance movements of those animals. The ritual is probably from before the time the horse was ridden, but after that, the hunt was performed on horseback and so horses became part of the trance ritual. Today we see many of these animistic elements in the many types of Jaranan, and that is how we know that the art form comes from before Hinduism arrived in Java. (Interview: Malang, Java, February 4, 2002.)

Pak Lamiran further fills the historical gap between the arrival of Hinduism and the modern era when speaking specifically of the *Jaran Senterewe Pesisiran (JSP)* group that he leads. He explained that his performance group descends from a long lineage spanning hundreds of years and perhaps even more than a thousand. The oldest form in this lineage is *Jaran Breng*, which is a simple jaran kepeng style performance. The horse dancers originally had weapons, but this later changed to whips. In fact, the dancers in most very old Jaranan carry some sort of weapon. It wasn't known precisely what the weapons were in each form, but for each extant Jaranan the weapon takes on a different magical form.²¹ For example, in Reog the weapon evolved into a magical belt worn around the waist. This magical belt was then adopted by other Jaranan groups as a supplement to the whip or other device already employed. In other Jaranan the weapon is a magical scepter-like device.

According to Pak Lamiran and other leaders in his village, Breng is the old name for Tulungagung and preexisted the kingdom of Kediri. Since Kediri is historically

²¹ Even though it was unclear what the original weapon might have been, a spear or sword would be most likely.

confirmed and dated, Breng would then precede the 13th Century. It later became a tributary of Kediri, which in turn became a tributary of Majapahit. Current oral tradition states that the name change took place after the collapse of Majapahit.

Pak Lamiran's account further tells us that Jaran Pegon came from Jaran Breng, along with the trance music. This, he explained, would become the musical base of all later forms of the Jaran Pegon genre including: *Kuda Kepang* of West Java, *Jaran Kepang* of Central and East Java, *Reog* of Ponorogo, *Jaran Kepang* of Bromo and *Ebeg* (*Jathilan*) of Yogyakarta and Central Java. In Pegon, the construction of the bamboo horses also changed to water buffalo skin in place of the woven bamboo matting. Additionally, the costumes were influenced by *Wayang Wong* performances. During this same period, the music and performance structure also incorporated the singing elements of *Wayang Wong*. In some court *Wayang Wong* traditions the story being performed is imparted to the audience through versed narrative that is sung by a woman, and these songs supplement the narrative of the *dalang*. This structure is what was adapted into Pegon.

Pegon, Pak Lamiran further elaborated, means something that exists in a state between man and woman, neither male nor female. No, this isn't something hermaphroditic, but something else entirely, yet difficult to translate from Javanese to Indonesian to English. Since the tradition at this point is believed by Lamiran and others in his community to have included both men and women in the performance, it may in part refer to the involvement of both genders in the performance. However, he couldn't definitively explain how this "pegon" concept related to the performance itself.

Jaran Senterewe emerged from Jaran Pegon after it was firmly established as a ritual performance. At this juncture, the horsemen metamorphosed into soldiers on horseback (*jathilan*), but retained some of the Wayang Wong influence in the costuming. The horses, however, reverted back to the more traditional bamboo construction. The eating of raw *senthe* root, a type of taro that causes severe irritation and itching if eaten uncooked, was added to the trance lakon. The use of *senthe* as proof of a trance may be the result of Dutch and Islamic influence. Under Dutch rule, and with the attendant spread of Islam, challenges were made to the legitimacy of the ritual, and the authenticity of the trances came under question. One response to these challenges was to offer further proof that the possessions were real. The penultimate proof would be to feed raw *senthe* root to the trancers, something no human could do unless spirits protected their bodies. A man could open coconuts with his teeth or endure eating fire, but it was well known to the Javanese that he could not possibly eat raw *senthe*. The use of *senthe* gave the resulting Jaranan form its name, *Jaran Senterewe*.

According to the village history of Pak Lamiran, *Jaran Senterewe* has existed for as long as anyone can remember, and surely before the turn of the 20th Century. His troupe has existed since before Indonesian independence, but he couldn't say how long before that because there was a long period from the 1930's to the 1940's when there were very few or no performances. He does believe that his group existed before the 1930's. In 1978, Lamiran became involved in *Jaran Senterewe*, and soon moved up to the position of producer. In 1990, he was inspired to expand the appeal of the performances by adding modern entertainment such as pop-rock singers and comedy. He also added

modern electronic instruments to the traditional gamelan. However, the traditional Jaran Senterewe is still the basic performance around which a JSP show is constructed. Pak Lamiran said that the Jaranan part of a JSP performance is unchanged from what it was before 1990, and the modern singing simply supplements the traditional songs and enhances the overall performance.

4.4 Oral and Textual History of Jaran Kepang in Ranupani

Until recently the upper most areas of the Bromo massif have been difficult to reach due to the steep slopes of the volcanically active mountain, and the dense jungles surrounding the region. During the past two decades a road leading from the city of Malang into the western Mount Bromo region has opened travel into this area, which had for thousands of years been nearly inaccessible. In addition, there have been improvements to existing roads leading from the northeastern side during that same period. Because of the relative isolation of the Tengger people from the rest of Java up until the 1980's, folk tradition and convention has stated that Tengger Hinduism and the traditions of these people are a look at the belief systems and religious practices of the 14th century. This folk tradition further explains that the Tengger people are culturally blended with, and directly descended from, the people of the last Hindu-Buddhist empire of Java, Majapahit. According to legend and current historical thought, after its collapse, the Majapahit court and its high cast members fled in the direction of Bali, while other members of the empire who were primarily Hindu sought refuge from advancing Islam in the area of the Bromo massif. The refugees from the advancing Islamic societies of West Java and Sumatra were

made up of members of the royal court, Brahman priests, scholars and artisans. Those who were able to escape to Bali became the ruling classes who continued to spread the already established Majapahit culture further into Balinese beliefs and traditions (Belo 3, Hefner 6). Those who were forced to flee to the Bromo massif settled into an area high above the nearly impassable, dense jungles lining the slopes (Belo 3; Hefner, Political 6). These Hindu refugees were able to adapt to the demands of the cooler and wetter conditions of higher altitude life. In addition to explaining the origin of the Tengger people and their culture, it also tells us that today these descendants of Hindu Java have the oldest Javanese non-Islamic priestly tradition, being both Hindu and animistic (Hefner, Political, 7). However, when one examines traditional ritual performances of the village Ranupani, one sees other interpretations that can be theorized from the examination of these folk arts.

One interpretation is that the Tengger Jaran Keping performance, as practiced in Ranupani, is not a look at the folk tradition of Majapahit but is instead an animistic tradition that predates the arrival of Hinduism in Java before the 8th century. The simplicity of the performance structure and the animistic, non-Hindu nature of the possessing spirit lexicon lends to the impression of pre-Hindu origin. Working against this, however, is the trance music itself which is the same as that which is descended from Jaran Breng. The structure and performance of the Ranupani Jaran Keping easily fits the oral traditions related by Pak Juwono and Pak Lamiran. Further examination of Ranupani also allows the comparison of Tengger Jaranan performance with those of other regions of Java and suggests that the arrival of Hinduism to Central and East Java resulted in a

modification of this ancient folk tradition by subsequently incorporating the stories of the Ramayana into the performances. While the ritual performances of Ranupani have some Hinduistic elements, the incorporation of Hindu mythology is something that is currently lacking in this area's performances. All trancing Jaranan of East Java include Hindu mantras that have been locally and regionally modified into agreement with religions such as Islam and Protestantism (See Appendix A). In the case of Ranupani, while the mantras and offerings in the Tengger Jaran Keping have been Hindu since before anyone remembers, the addition of the praises to God are very recent, taking place after the Islamization of the area during the 1980's and early 1990's.

4.5 Oral and Textual History of Reog

According to the folk traditions of Ponorogo quoted in a news article, somewhere in the area where the tributary Wengker kingdom existed within the Majapahit Empire, the *Reog* form of Jaranan originated in the 12th century (Ariebelle). A different account that is repeated by two sources suggests that Reog was a commemoration procession in celebration of Raden Wijaya's defeating and expelling an invading Mongol party from that same kingdom in the 14th Century (Sedyawati 22, Miksic 112). The origins of Reog are from rituals that invoked protective spirits and powers. Raden Wijaya (or King Wijayarasa) was inspired by a statue of Vishnu sitting atop the Garuda who has his tail feathers in full spread like a peacock's plumage. The statue dates from the reign of the 11th Century Airlangga of Kahuripan (Sedyawati 22).²² The Hindu effigy thus inspired the

²² Sources interviewed for this study gave similar accounts to those of the Sedyawati explanation. It wasn't clear whether they were speaking from the viewpoint of local legend or if they were

focus of Reog, the Barong, in the form of a massive mask depicting a tiger's head with a peacock sitting high atop. Local animistic tradition and myth describes the tiger as the protector of the jungle who works in concert with the peacock. Therefore, the local historical account suggests that the mixing of mythical and animistic beliefs took place after the historically factual defeat of the Mongols in 1309. At this time, the mythological text of a story of King Klono Sewandono and his battle with the Singabarong already existed. Further, the kingdom of Kediri where the story takes place also existed at that point in time and is a part of historical record. Some oral accounts say the tradition of Jaranan existed at this point since part of the celebratory procession of Raden Wijaya included riders of *kebang* horses who represent the mounted soldiers of Kediri. Others say that the mounted riders were never more than representatives of soldiers who were later adapted by various forms of *jaran kebang*. What is even more unclear in these accounts is whether or not the Reog performance included any form of trance when it was performed in its early form. Nearly all interviewees in the Ponorogo area denied that there is, or ever was, a trance element in Ponorogo Reog. In her paper published in 1976, Margaret Kartomi tells us exactly this same thing. She further states that this is unlike the Reog performed in Madiun and Blitar where trance is an integral part of the *bersih desa* (or *bersih kampung*) ceremony, the annual village cleaning (Kartomi: 1976, 118). The few people of Ponorogo who did say they included trance were in villages on the far north side, not a great distance from the town of Madiun that Kartomi mentions. Nonetheless, of those interviewed for this study, nearly all stated that there was no trancing in Reog. simply quoting the official local history that is taught in schools and approved by government employed historians.

This included those who gave an historical accounting of the origins of the performance. However, these were also leaders who had started their groups after the cultural renaissance of 1976. Those few who did include a trance lakon in the *bersih desa* also were those with a much older tradition of performance. These same sources explained this tradition as preceding 1939 when all performances were halted due to political and economic conditions. What couldn't be pinpointed by the older tradition was how far back before 1939 it reached. One leader simply stated, "It is in my blood."

One more version of the origin of Reog, which was repeated a number of times in interviews, was an Islamic variation. In celebration of the defeat of his enemies with the aid of Islamic leaders, Raden Wijaya became Muslim and created the Reog procession. This particular account probably confuses the origin of Reog with the origin of the pearl that is held in the beak of the peacock sitting on the head of the Barong. Many local and academic sources state that the pearl was placed there in the late 15th Century to commemorate the renaming of the Wengker kingdom to Ponorogo marking its conversion to Islam. The pearl symbolizes Muslim prayer beads. The story of the pearl seems to be the only account that isn't in dispute.

After interviews and consulting a number of historical sources and references, the following history of Reog is what I understand to be the most probable of the origin stories for Reog. This accounting is based on admittedly less than complete information which requires further research to fully substantiate.

Prior to conversion to Islam, the Wengker Kingdom was a dependency of Majapahit. Local tradition explains that an animistic performance form had already

evolved in the area to call upon a protective power that eventually became known as the *Singabarong*, another name for the Barongan. The Singabarong is a creature of a complex nature, and has different qualities throughout East Java depending upon regional variations in the mythology. In Ponorogo it is the mythical jungle king who is a tiger (*singa*) and animal spirit (*barong*). Here, it is also known as *Singaraja* (tiger king) when Singabarong appears as a tiger encountered in the jungle. In the early 14th Century, King Wijayarasa created Reog to dramatize a mythical story about Singabarong to commemorate his historic 1309 AD victory over invading Mongols. The preexisting performance form was probably a village processional version of Jaran Keping similar to the one described by Kartomi as existing in Banyumas in the early 1870's (Kartomi: 1973, 20-21). To this preexisting performance form, King Wijayarasa added the local legend. Modern legend further explains that he wanted the villagers of his kingdom to share in the victory since they had been so much a part of it. Exactly what role they played isn't expressed in any account. He therefore sought to create a performance form that was outside the high caste, courtly Hindu tradition. He wanted a performance that would include and relate to all the people of his kingdom. As a result, he combined a local court legend with the processional trance performance of the village masses.

The mythical and mystical story from the Wengker era tells of Klono Sewandono, King of Bantarangin. The magically gifted king sent an envoy to request the hand of Princess Dewi Sanggalangit of Daha. While making their way to Daha, the envoy was attacked repeatedly by the forces of Singaraja, the ruler of the jungle. These forces were

made up entirely of tigers (*singa*). In preparation for the final battle, Singaraja²³ approached *Merakraja*²⁴ (Peacock King) and requested his help in defending the jungle against the intrusions of man. Together, they formed the Singabarong by combining their power and magic to battle against the equally magical forces of Klono Sewandono and his powerful army of 144 mounted soldiers.

East Javanese mythology views the Singabarong as the king of the jungle and defender of its domain. Even though Merakraja is considered to work in concert with the Singabarong, in this account the combining of the two forces actually creates the Singabarong as a new entity. Here exists a definitive origin story for the singabarong characters of Java, and the barong in general. This particular Reog story also lends insight into the historical origins and nature of Javanese barongan, as well as extending to further insights into the nature of the Balinese Barong.

In the Reog story, the King and his forces approach the area where the peacock and tiger kings, in the form of the Singabarong, are hiding. As Klono Sewandono and his army approached the hiding place the “tiger suddenly appeared from the jungle with King Merak perched atop his head with tail feathers spread” (Sedyawati 22). The Barongan

²³ Kartomi points out that there have been a number of names for this character, depending upon the source. Stauggard in 1919 refers to it as Rodjowono, while Pigeaud refers to the creature encountered in the story as the Barong called Gembongwijaya from the Panji Epic.

²⁴ The Kartomi version of the Reog story, as well as those of Pigeaud and Stauggard, makes no mention of the character Merakraja. This factor is one of several that indicates a disconnection between the performance and the myth. It would naturally lead her to conclude that the Reog text has little or no bearing on the Reog performance. Further, the perception that the story, a courtly tradition, is separate from the performance, a village tradition, would be a logical conclusion.

mask of Reog literally portrays this scene: a massive tiger's head surrounded by peacock tail feathers (Figure 5). This part of the story gives an additional reason for the traditional construction of the mask other than the usual answer that it makes the mask easier to transport if the peacock can be separated from the tiger's head. This reason is in addition to. Some older versions of Reog have the Singabarong character first appear as a tiger, then later come out as the Singabarong for the battle with *Waro* (or *Warok*), a high ranking officer of the Klono Sewandono court. However, the Reog text explains that in this final battle scene, Waro is the first to challenge the Singabarong. After only being able to match the skills of the beast, Waro is joined by the remaining forces of the King and his soldiers. However, it is only after the refined young gentlemen of the court join the fray that the Singabarong is defeated by their seductive and youthful trickery. Thus, after the victory Klono Sewandono continued on to Daha and married Princess Sanggalangit. The two married resulting in the union of the two kingdoms. The location of the married couple's new home established Kediri, which later grew to become a minor historical empire.

The processional Reog based upon the Klono Sewandono text became a regular part of the performance repertoire of Ponorogo, and was performed annually in the Kingdom for cleansing ceremonies until some indeterminable length of time after the renaming of Wengker to Ponorogo. The Reog elements were also added to the village ceremonies throughout the area of Wengker/Ponorogo, as well as in the areas of Blitar and Madiun. However, it is most likely that the court processional stopped after the arrival of the Dutch colonial government, while the village ceremonies continued to be

performed monthly and annually with very few modifications up until 1939 when they were halted. After Indonesia established its independence in 1949, Reog continued once again in the villages. Although it has since been modified and influenced by politics, sponsorships, and festival performances, it still has maintained the core story as well as performance structure.

4.6 History of Jaranan Dor

A more recently developed form of Jaranan is disappearing from existence on the north coast of Java, an area that has been greatly influenced by Islam over the course of the past 500 years. In this particular trance performance, known as Jaranan Dor, the mythological underpinnings were changed to exploit the performance form as a method of spreading Islam to the Javanese. Although Jaranan Dor is nearly nonexistent today, its influence and the influence of Islamic belief on horse trance dancing is far reaching within the structure of performance. Recently, proactive attempts to completely eliminate Islamic trance performances from Java have focused on Jaranan Dor. The survival of the performance is extremely doubtful.

Sometime prior to the 20th Century but after the collapse of Majapahit, a mystical Islamic story merged with the then existing Jaranan Jur and Jaran Kepang of the North Coastal areas, and became Jaranan Dor. The legend the new form was based on is from the tales of the Islamic conquest of Java leading up to the 15th Century. The story line of Jaranan Dor tells of a Muslim sorcerer who casts a spell on attacking Hindu horsemen

causing them to believe themselves to be horses. They then begin acting as horses and eventually commit self-destructive acts that lead to their defeat (Berlin).

Pak Juwono, the respected local authority on Jaranan, gives an even more enlightening version of the oral tradition of the origin of Jaranan Dor. He explains that sometime after the collapse of Majapahit, and the arrival of the Dutch colonial government in Central and East Java, the leadership of Islam tried to appropriate Jaran Kepang to aid the spread of Islam much as it was successful with the Islamized versions of Wayang Kulit. It was a part of a strategy that included utilizing the Jaran Kepang gamelan and trance music as a method of drawing East Javanese to Islamic services at Mosques. The people of the surrounding area would hear the music and believe that a Jaran Kepang performance was underway. When they arrived they would be directed into an Islamic gathering and prayer. Obviously, the ruse only worked a few times, after which the local population would ignore Jaranan music unless there had been an announcement of a Jaran Kepang performance. The next step, therefore, was to develop an Islamized version of Jaran Kepang. Borrowing from the plot and structure of the locally popular Jaranan Jur, Jaranan Dor was developed to attract crowds to prayer services. It was also developed to demonstrate the power of Allah over and above the powers of the animistic practitioners of other Jaranan. Because Jaranan Dor utilizes a belief in a spiritual world made up of powerful entities, it is at odds with the principle of monotheism and conservative interpretations of Islam. Therefore the performance took place on purified ground away from Mosques. Nonetheless, it was still symbolically tied to Islam by incorporating the sacred *jedor* drum of the Mosque into its music. In addition, the ritual preparations

include the use of the Mosque area for purification rituals such as the pawang's *Mantra Mandi Kramas*, the bathing of the Jaranan spiritual leader in holy water prior to a performance, and the purification bathing of the performers. However, today Jaranan Dor has served its purpose as a recruiter of Javanese to Islam, and this is why only a few scattered groups remain in existence (Juwono, Susanto).

4.7 An Overview of the History of Jaranan in East Java

Jaranan began as an animistic performance form to channel the spirits of animals that were to be hunted. As the Javanese advanced into a more agrarian society, the separation between village and jungle became more pronounced. With this new definition of man as separate from the jungle came a more complex belief construction that included channeling of protective and ancestral spirits (*arwah*). The inclusion of the horse as a trancing spirit could easily be prehistoric since the horse is indigenous to much of Indonesia, and in particular Java and Sumatra. The sharing of those islands between humans and equine dates back to before 10,000 BCE (Hendricks 13) and perhaps even before the last glacial maximum of 18,000 BCE. The entire period is the last Ice Age, and 10,000 BCE was when the great glacial shelf covering most of the far Northern Hemisphere began the last phase of its final retreat. At this time, the string of islands that are now Indonesia were still a single connected land mass extending from the region of modern Malaysia to the Islands of Sumbawa and Timor, and from the Island of Java to the northern reaches of present day Philippines (Goudie 92-93). Sometime during and after this period, some of the ancestors of the present day Javanese arrived in Java, and

displaced or mixed with already established hominids of the region. There can be little doubt that at that time the horse was a food source for the peoples of the Indo-Malay region.

At some point, the horse was domesticated in Java and hunting turned to this new tool. While the date of this event is prehistoric there is certainty that horse riding was known in the Indo-Malay Archipelago by the 5th Century BC as a result of Chinese exploration and trade in the region. This period was some one thousand years before the era of the first arrival of Hinduism. Between this period and the formation of the early Hindu-Buddhist empires and kingdoms of Java, horse riders as a representative and symbolic means of communication with the spirit world was most likely incorporated into existing ritual. Around the same period Hindu elements were also added. Oral tradition, backed by comparative dates in historic texts, establishes that many variations of Jaranan were firmly a part of East Javanese culture by the era of the Wengker Kingdom in the 13th and 14th Centuries and the rise of Majapahit. As had happened with other influences, the arrival of Islam left its mark after the 15th Century. The spreading of Islam was accompanied by the arrival of the Colonial Dutch in Java and the attendant Protestantism. Whether independently or in concert, the leadership of the Muslims, Dutch and Protestants began a systematic repression of what was viewed by each as primitive, superstitious, paganistic, and backward. Over time, Jaranan began to be practiced more and more in secret, or at least out of the view of Islamic and Protestant leaders and government officials. These nearly secret performances lasted until the political and economic turmoil generated by nationalistic movements in 1936 forced many regions of Java to abandon

such performances, altogether.²⁵ This situation continued until the end of World War II and the national independence of Indonesia in 1949. However, from the 1950's until the 1970's pressure to modernize Indonesia caused all traditional performances to be added to the list of things viewed as backward and primitive, and therefore in need of elimination. Even though many communities returned to Jaranan performances for important functions such as circumcision ceremonies and annual village cleanings, few did so with complete openness due to fears of conservative Islamic reactions or fear of being viewed as ignorant pagans. Throughout this period most publicized performances were nothing more than *displays of primitive indigenous arts for visiting dignitaries.*

A rather remarkable thing happened during this same period, something that seemed to run counter to the modernization movement. Seeking new ways to influence the votes of the populace, some of the more secular Jaranan were employed by a number of national political parties. This was particularly true for the various forms of Reog. By incorporating party slogans such as "P-N-I" or "Banteng Wulan" into the chanted text of the Reog performers, the PNI party (*Partai National Indonesia*), which challenged the Sukarno regime, was able to establish its links with both the traditions of Indonesia and Western modernization. Many local party headquarters sponsored what became known as Reog PNI. There also emerged an NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) Reog, and later a Golkar Party troupe. Of course, this also had the effect of greatly influencing and further secularizing the performance form (Kartomi: 1976 116-117).

²⁵ The secret performances were known by everyone within the community. However, certain authorities were often left out of the invitation. Other authorities simply turned a blind eye. As one source put it, "You can be sure that an excuse was made to get rid of the Protestant preacher for the time of the performance, and I'm sure the Imams who practiced magic didn't say anything."



Figure 5. Pictured above is the Singabaron headpiece with the *dadak merak* (peacock board) attached. The peacock is barely visible between the gold wings above the words SENI REOG. This particular mask is designed with a very small, nearly invisible peacock because a second barongan leaps and sits atop the head of the first during the performance.

In 1976, the Suharto regime initiated a renaissance of indigenous arts and performances, which began the revival of most animistic practices, but only those religiously and politically acceptable were encouraged. During this period, large numbers of performance troupes emerged from the shadows, or were started by local leaders and producers through government sponsorship (Hatley: 1999, 8). Again using Reog as an example, in Ponorogo alone the number of groups increased from a few hundred to the 467 total groups, which is roughly the number existing in that area today. The 1990's ushered in a new era of religious tolerance for Indonesia, and with it increasingly open presentations of ancient practices including the Jaranan of East Java. Today, on the surface there appears a great acceptance of indigenous practices; however, underneath there still exists friction between some Islamic leaders, some Christian leaders and those that practice traditional ceremonies, rituals, and ancestral worship.

CHAPTER 5

Jaran Kepang of Central and East Java

5.1 Nature and Purpose of Jaran Kepang²⁶

Jaran Kepang is one of the simplest of all *Jaranan* since there is no story line and little or no mythical theme embedded in the tradition. The primary purpose of Jaran Kepang is to have one or more dancers entered by a spirit so that the *dukun* can communicate directly with the spirit world. It serves a second purpose of allowing the summoned spirits the opportunity of experiencing the physical world and demonstrating their powers of protection and healing (Sutarmo, Hariyanto). As with all *Jaranan*, this type is also intended to entertain, and therefore it is regularly performed at parks and cultural centers in many cities and towns

In Malang, Surabaya, and other larger cities Jaran Kepang is performed weekly in parks, markets, and art centers. For these venues there is no intent of cleansing, purifying or healing, nor are there attempts to communicate with the spirit world. Instead the trancers merely demonstrate feats of power, strength and protection. Somehow, the belief construction for these particular performances has separated ritual and religious connections from the activity of trance, and the purpose of the Jaran Kepang is entirely for entertainment. In fact, for these very public and completely secular performances, the trance possessions are often simulated and during the proof of possession a *ketela* (yam or

²⁶ Because there is great variation in the performances of Jaran Kepang throughout Central and East Java, and also because Margaret Kartomi has already written extensively about a number of variations in ritual Jaran Kepang of Central and West Java, I will limit this discussion to more general elements common to this genre.

sweet potato) is deceptively substituted for the bitter and irritating *senthe tales* or *mbothe* plant.

Another way that park and market performances differ from ritual Jaran Kepang is the incorporation of many of Reog's more spectacular effects such as fire breathing and tumbling acrobatics. However, all other Jaran Kepang performance elements are present including masks, costumes, bamboo horse, essential topeng characters and musical accompaniment by a minimal gamelan orchestra. The orchestra for these particular performances is often nothing more than a kendang drum, saron and a small gong.

5.2 Trancing: Real and Fake

The simulation of trance-possession is actually very common in Jaran Kepang. During a ceremonial performance, it is not unusual for only one or two of four or more performers to achieve trance possession, while the remaining dancers will continue to dance and pretend to fall into possessive-trance. Although the dukuns and most performers insisted that all the trances were real, several informants later explained that it actually requires a dukun with special gifts of power to be able to induce trance-possession in more than two or three dancers. After the ceremonial and more sacred portion of the performance is complete, that is to say that communications with the arwah and roh halus are finished, the performers *simulating* trance-possession begin entertaining the audience members. This is not to say that the dukun does not continue to play a vital role. Those who simulate trance-possession are still considered to receive from the mystical power of the dukun the ability to perform gymnastics and other feats at

a heightened level. In this way, many can still be considered to be in a state of trance in the sense that they are in an intensified state of focus. It is also necessary for the dukun and his assistants to continue to be present should one of the dancers actually accidentally enter trance-possession after the business part of the performance is complete.

The need for the continued presence of the dukun is also due to the belief that there are two processes through which a Jaran Kepang dancer can achieve a possessive-trance state. The first way is through the direct invitation of the spirits by the dukun during the sequence of mantras. *This method is most clearly demonstrated in those Jaran Kepang performances in which some of the dancers appear costumed as jungle creatures. In these performances the trance can take place during a battle between the dancers riding bamboo horses and those playing animals and other creatures. In these cases, any of the dancers, topeng animals or hobbyhorse riders, can enter trance at any time. The second way of achieving trance-possession takes place after a bamboo horse is brought to the dukun. The dukun performs an invitational mantra directed toward the bamboo horse, after which anyone who rides the horse would enter trance-possession. Should the dancer riding such a horse fail to enter trance during the initiating phase of the trancing lakon and stop attempting to do so, there will continue to be the possibility of entering trance for anyone else who rides the horse. This condition will continue to persist until the invitational mantra that was applied to the hobbyhorse is rescinded.*

5.3 Performance Structure

Ritual Jaran Kepang of Central and East Java employs a masked (*topeng*) Barongan, which is worn by a leader of the troupe, a kind of lead dancer. The man performing as Barongan is referred to as *Tukang Mbarong*. Most often he is the strongest and most athletic of the male members of the company. The Barongan mask is a little larger than full face and many scholarly sources say that it resembles a tiger. However, local sources in East Java prefer not to define it as a tiger, but rather as a beast-like demon (Figures 12 and 13).

The mask is carved from the *cangkkring* tree, which is found growing on the sides of rivers and streams around Java. Like the wood used for the better-known *Barong* of Bali, this wood is thought to have special properties that allow it to be easily charged with the spirit of the *Barongan*. However, any other connection to the Balinese Barong is difficult to specify, though both symbolize protective forces and healing spirits. Also, unlike the Barong of Bali who represents a spirit that resides in the forest, in the case of East Java this is the main spirit of the village area where the dukun and performers reside. That is to say the Barongan is usually one of the arwah of the village area and is considered an ancestral spirit (Susanto, Sutarmo).

All Jaranan have a traditional and specific order of performance, and it is no different with Jaran Kepang of Central and East Java. The ceremonial performance for village cleansing, healing and other ritual functions actually starts three nights earlier when the dukun ritually purifies his hair and body by bathing with holy water. As he bathes he performs a mantra (*Mantra Mandi Kramas*, See Appendix A for the complete mantras and

English interpretation.) after which he begins a three day fast. At this point, he and his wife will begin preparing an offering (*sajen*) to invite the Barongan. The composition of the offering is quite specific and consists of:

Uncooked rice (*beras*)

Two bunches of king bananas (*pisang rajamala*)

The leaves from a plant used to wrap chewing tobacco (*suruh kinangan*)

A small clay pot containing holy water (*kendi kecil berisi air*)

A small mirror

Yellow flowers known as kenanga (*kembang kenanga*)

One coconut (*kelapa 1 butir*)

A local variety of rice wine (*badhek*)

Baked coconut (*Kelapa bakar*)

The night before the performance, around the hour of midnight, the invitation mantra (*Mantra Mendatangkan Roh Halus*) is spoken, and the offering is made, which includes the burning of incense. This act of formally offering and inviting the barong or other village arwah is referred to as a *tamping*. The following day there is a repeat of the *tamping* ritual just before the start of the first lakon.

The first lakon begins with a dance (*kitir*) that can be performed by either men or women. During this kitir the dancers execute elaborately choreographed movements that imitate the movements of the trance performers in the kitir kalap, which comes later. These particular dancers are usually well rehearsed and perform with a grace that isn't present in the kitir kalap. The movements of the dancers are intended to formally address

the four cardinal directions, plus a fifth direction which is the inner self. If the same dancers are used for the *kitir kalap* as those that performed the first *lakon*, then there may be no break in the dance, only a change in the music and the dance movement as the *initiating phase begins*. During the first *lakon* the dancers perform in lines and configurations as a practiced ensemble. The purpose of the movements is to address the four cardinal directions, plus the direction symbolized by the inner-self. It is intended to be an invitational to the spirits who reside in those four cardinal directions.²⁷ There is no attempt to trance or simulate trance during the first *lakon* of a *Jaran Kepang* performance.

After the first *lakon* is complete, there is usually a change of dancers. If men performed the first *lakon*, then often others who specialize in trance-possession replace some of the dancers. That is to say that these replacements are considered to have special gifts that allow the spirits to enter. If women performed the *lakon*, then an entirely new set of male dancers enters the performance area. The gamelan then begins a trancing rhythm with a relatively slow tempo and the performers begin the movements of the *kitir kalap*. These movements are performed with increasing speed and intensity until the dancers *kalap*, usually one or two at a time. The *dukun* or those assisting the *dukun* may begin cracking whips to help facilitate trance-possession. One or more of the dancers can also take up this activity, since they also often hold whips. Throughout this *lakon*, the snapping of the whips will increase in intensity and frequency along with a quickening of

²⁷ In Bali-Java Hindu belief, there are nine cardinal directions. These include north, south, east and west, plus the mid-directions of northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest. These cardinal directions are represented by the Hindu *swastika*. The ninth direction, the inner-self, is represented by the center of the swastika. Since the movements of the *Jaran Kepang* dancers include many addresses to directions other than the four cardinal points, I suspect that this part of the performance structure is a hold over from the era of Java-Hindu.

the tempo of the music. Most times a dancer, the dukun, or one of his assistants will crack a whip six or eight times in rapid fire succession. This peaking of the whip cracks is the point at which the kendang drummer will make rapid adjustments of his beat to punctuate and echo the loud popping sounds, all the while maintaining the basic rhythm of the music. The rapid-fire whip cracking and drum echoing is most likely to happen if the dukun thinks the dancers are having difficulty entering trance.

The crack of a whip is a cue for a roh halus to enter a performer. The kalap usually takes place after a snap of a whip, and it is marked by a sudden falling to the ground by a dancer. The fall is followed by a condition of rigid immobility of the dancer's body. After assuming a state of physical rigidity, the he will be attended to by the dukun or his assistants. The appearance of a dancer, with his arms and legs spread and rigidly locked in position, gives the impression of a spirit adjusting to his body. In fact, this is the explanation that is given by anyone in a village who is asked. It is at this point that the formal greeting mantra (*Mantra Untuk Mengusir*) is spoken. After several minutes and some administering from the dukun or an assistant, the dancer will suddenly regain movement. In a sudden burst of activity, the dancer who was a moment ago rigidly prostrate on the ground will begin leaping high into the air while simultaneously striking himself with a whip. After an appropriate number of dancers have entered trance, the music changes to a trance sustaining rhythm and begins the third lakon. The trancer will then approach the dukun, or the dukun will carefully approach the dancer, and begin whispering instructions, requests, or information important to the health and well-being of the community and its members. This is followed by playing (*bermain* or *bermain-main*)

in which the possessed trancers begin demonstrations of acrobatics and magical powers and marks the third lakon.

This third lakon is the period during which the possessing spirits are allowed to enjoy the physical world, and it is this sense of playing in the firmament, experiencing the earthly plane, that is intended by the Indonesian words *bermain* or *bermain-main* when they are used in connection with dancers in a trance or possessive state. At this point in the performance there also can be demonstrations of behavior indicative of the nature of the possessing spirit. This activity can include eating grass, drinking like a horse or other animal, or rooting and eating dirt in similar fashion to a pig. Their behavior can also be in the nature of dominance over the other possessed dancers if it happens to be a particularly powerful or important roh halus. Since roh halus are not necessarily animals, these possessions are not necessarily animalistic in nature, and often have human attributes such as exhibiting upright movements or trying to play with members of the audience in a childlike manner.

In the fourth lakon, if the *Barongan* wasn't a part of the trance lakon, he now enters the performance area. This is the portion in which he demonstrates his superior abilities and strength. The demonstration sometimes becomes an acrobatic battle between the Barongan and the other possessing spirits. More dancers, also known as Jathil, may enter and begin teasing the Barongan. It is usually the Jathil who strike the Barongan to the ground in a movement called an *emprong*, thus after a climactic defeat of the Barongan the performance can be completed. When asked why the Jathil or other dancers must defeat the Barongan, the symbol of the spirit of the village, several dancers and

dukuns answered simply that it was to end the trancing performance. No one was able to give a satisfactory answer, but upon reflection it may be necessary because the spirit represented by the Barongan invites the possessing spirits. It would follow that because he is a powerful spirit, dispossession of the other dancers can only occur after his defeat. As the spirit that invited the others, once he has been defeated and has fled the body of *Tukang Mbarong*, then the other *roh halus* are obligated to also leave. Thus the completion of the defeat allows the fifth *lakon* which is the finishing of the performance (*pungkasan*) and dispossession (*nggambui*) of the remaining dancers.

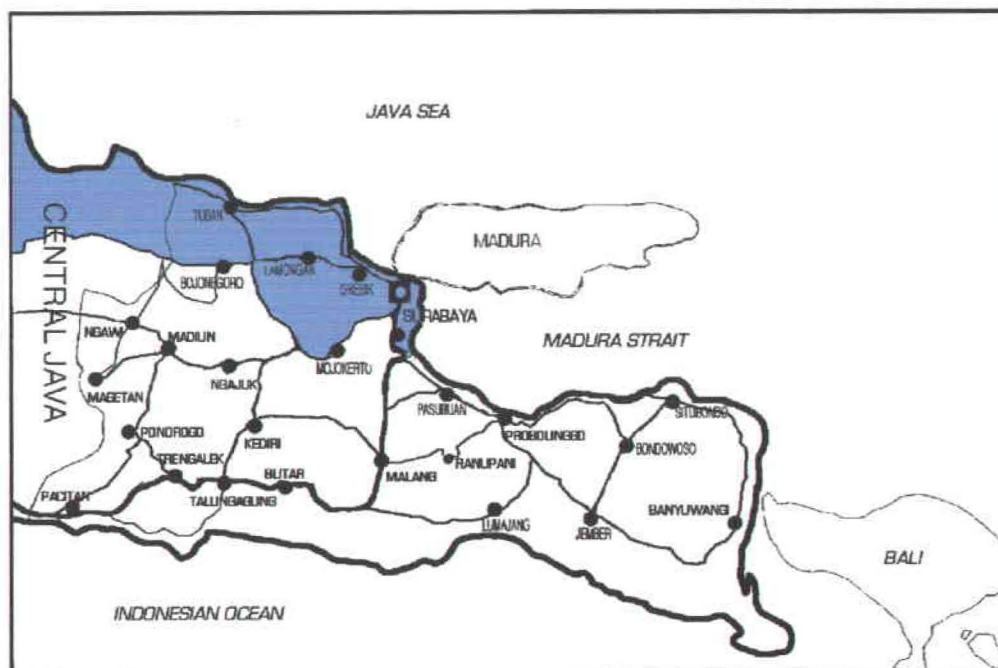


Figure 6. A map of the East Java showing part of the region of coastal Java associated with the Jaranan Dor performance

CHAPTER 6

Jaranan Dor of Java's North Coast

6.1 Myth and Performance²⁸

As already noted, today's East Javanese Jaranan include assimilated Hindu and Buddhist elements from ancient times. This assimilation has been no different for the incorporation of Islamic elements into Jaranan as demonstrated by the inclusion of praises

²⁸There were many attempts to see a Jaranan Dor performance, but all were thwarted by political unrest and religious complications. The following descriptions are based on extensive interviews dealing with the performance form, and Berlin's film *Sacred Trances of Bali and Java*. While the film refers to the Java performance as a Jaran Keping, it was positively identified as a Jaranan Dor due its mythical Islamic story and other ritual elements of the genre.

to Allah in the older Hindu mantras. Other Hindu-Buddhist components have all but been displaced by a Sufi Islam interpretation of spiritual channeling and trance. For instance, the mythological text that usually includes local stories or the Hindu epics has been replaced with an Islamic conquest tale. Likewise, the performance itself includes self-mortification elements that are rarely seen elsewhere in Javanese ritual. While the Hindu-Java Jaranan often employ glass eating, fire eating, and the handling of burning objects, Jaranan Dor includes piercing of the cheeks, lips and arms. There is also the requirement of ritual bathing of all performers who will be trancing just prior to the start of a performance. This act of purification is the same ablution cleansing that is performed in preparation for daily prayers and, furthermore, it is performed on Mosque grounds (Berlin, Susanto). A final element not observed in other Jaranan of East Java is a simulated trance in the first lakon.

Jaranan Dor is the traditional retelling of the legend of conquest over the Hindu-Buddhists of Java through the drama of trancing performance. This mythical story line is established at the outset of a performance. In the tradition of Jaranan Jur, the first lakon is a dance play that reenacts the clash between the Islamic forces and the Java-Hindu opposition as performers on kepong horses engage in mock battle. The opposition army falls under the spell of the sorcerer who is usually played by the pawang or one of his assistants in topeng-style mask. The horsemen then begin to dance as though they think that they themselves are horses, which is followed by a simulated state of trance. This simulation is not an ASC nor even an attempt at one, but rather the dancers perform as though they were Hindu soldiers who have fallen into trance and think they are horses.

The dancers imitate the posture, movements, facial expressions and activities of those trance performers that will later be possessed by a divine protective spirit. This simulated trance ends the first lakon. In the second lakon the dancers, many of whom have been replaced by specialist trance performers, begin *kitir kalap* movements in similar fashion to those of Jaran Kepang. Again, as in some of the other Jaran Kepang, they dance with increasing speed and focus until one or more kalap. Once in trance the dancers begin acting as though they themselves are horses. Their behavior includes drinking flower water or eating rose petals, rice stalks and grass, all activities of horses. They then begin the third lakon which includes demonstrations of power such as dancing on flaming coconut husks or burning coals, opening coconut husks with their teeth, rolling on or eating broken glass, enduring repeated lashes from a whip, and undergoing piercings through the cheeks, ears and tongue, all with no resulting cuts, marks or blood loss. In general, all of these acts are self-inflicted, but some, such as the lashings and piercings, are administered by the pawang or one of his assistants.

The Jaranan requisite for spiritual purity and strict adherence to the belief system of one's own religion is particularly true for the performers of Jaranan Dor trance. While it is maintained in all forms of Jaranan that the protection comes from a spirit or some agent of God, Allah, Buddha or Brahma; that protection can only be assured through strict adherence by the performer to his creed. Since spiritual strength and purity are regarded as being reflected in physical strength and resistance to injury and illness, should one be injured it is considered due, at least in part, to something lacking spiritually or ritualistically. In this way, the discipline of daily prayers and cleansings that is taught by

Islam seems to work well with the demands of trancing performances. Devotees of Islam are quite familiar with the demands of fasting through their annual experience with Ramadan, the month of fasting that marks the beginning of the new year (Idul Fitri) on the Islamic calendar. For twenty-nine days during Ramadan, the period from one new moon to the next (which defines an Islamic month), Muslims must endure daily fasting in which no food or drink passes their lips from sunrise to sunset. Since for many Muslims a day during Ramadan begins with a sunrise prayer at a mosque and ends with a return for the sunset prayer, many eat breakfast before leaving for the Mosque and won't eat again until after returning from evening prayer, well after dark. For Allah's most devoted this practice means they neither eat nor drink for more than fourteen hours each day of Ramadan. These same followers of Mohammed will also stop to pray an additional three times: at midmorning, at noon and at mid-afternoon. Devoted Muslims not only attend services regularly during the holy month of Ramadan, but they are expected to pray those same five times a day, everyday, throughout the year. On top of this there is the Semitic forbidding of certain foods such as alcohol and pork. Such requirements fit with the prerequisites of trance performers, and were exploited in Jaranan Dor as a demonstration of the power available to those who chose to closely follow the path guided by Mohammed (Juwono, Susanto).

Finally, even though the structure of Jaranan Dor has the traditional five lakons, there is no possessing ancestral spirit and no Barongan, and therefore the purpose of each lakon is altered in some way. This alteration particularly applies to the fourth lakon where there is no Barongan to defeat in order to end the trances. Most assuredly, there can be

no depiction of the defeat of the protecting agents of Allah, or it would be interpreted as anti-Islamic by the opponents of Jaranan. Instead, the pawang and his assistants go through a process of laying the trancer on the ground and then applying many of the traditional methods for reviving a trancer, which can include splashing holy water (flower water) on him, blowing on his ears and up his nose, or waving a perfume soaked cloth close to his face. This process can be quite an ordeal and often requires the strength of a number of men to overpower a dancer whose body turns stone rigid.

6.2 Islam, Animism, and Jaranan Dor

A Jaranan Dor performance is held apart from a mosque, and yet the primary instrument of the gamelan accompaniment is the *jedor* drum that is used to call Javanese Muslim communities to prayer. Further, the performance takes place on ground that has been ritually purified in both the Javanese traditions and the traditions of Sufi Islam. It also incorporates Islamic prayers and values into the Jaran Keping performance. Therefore, there can be no attachment of animism and spirit possession to the trance, and events taking place during the performance cannot be attributed to what the Sanri Muslims view as primitive belief systems. It follows then, the Jaranan Dor construct not only has no Barongan-like figure, but also has no village arwah to call upon. However, Berlin's film, Sacred Trances of Bali and Java, mentions a "Medieval Islamic missionary's grave" which the pawang of the film's account visits as a part of the preparation and spiritual purification process. Here Berlin explains that the Sufi leader practices Hatha Buddhism during an all night vigil of meditation, mantra and prayer as he sits at the grave of ancestral

missionary. The purpose is both spiritual cleansing as well as calling upon the aid of the missionary's spirit. This seems very much in keeping with observations of Jaran Kepang in Ranupani and the calling of the spirit of Mbah Dempok, the ancestral spirit of that village. Clearly, the missionary's spirit serves in place of a founding arwah.

In place of the protective spirit of the Barongan is what Professor Susanto described as the spirit of the trance itself and called by the Javanese name *Thethek Melek*. This spirit of possession and protection is considered one and the same with the power of Islamic belief and faith. However, since the possessing spirit is the spirit of Allah, there is considered to be no actual possession in the sense of a single entity other than the spirit of Allah who already exists in all Muslims (Susanto). For those who practice traditional Jaranan this contradictory duality is difficult to explain, despite the fact that Sunni and Sufi Muslims have always affirmed possession spirits and the ability of various supernatural agents to possess human beings, including those that are historically recognized by Islamic scholars as having possessed Mohammed (Eickelman 189). In Jaranan Dor, as in some other forms of Jaranan, this possessing spirit is the spirit of the horse. However, the protective spirit is *Thethek Melek*. Thus, the actions of the entranced dancers exhibit horse behavior, but the protection from harm is adherence to Islam.

The greatest difference between Jaranan Dor and all other forms of Jaranan is the purpose of the performance. While other genres are for entertainment, healing and cleansing, Jaranan Dor is almost exclusively performed for the demonstration of the power of Allah and Islam. This intention is most clearly evident in its use of ritual self-mortification in the form of piercings. All other Jaranan demonstrate possession-

protection through the ability of the trancers to perform feats of strength and resistance to injury. Only in Jaranan Dor does the protection extend to absence of blood from skin piercings and claims of rapid healing. According to Pak Suwono and Professor Susanto, the purpose is clearly to demonstrate the superior powers of Allah through Islam over those of the animist (Suwono, Susanto). This notion of purpose is echoed by Berlin when he states in his film,

[The dancer] demonstrates the transforming powers of Islam... [he] is not burned because of his faith and the powers of the pawang. [His] actions depict the insanity that befalls those who defy Islam. The protection symbolizes the powers offered to those who embrace Islam. The message to the audience is clear.
(Berlin: 1980)

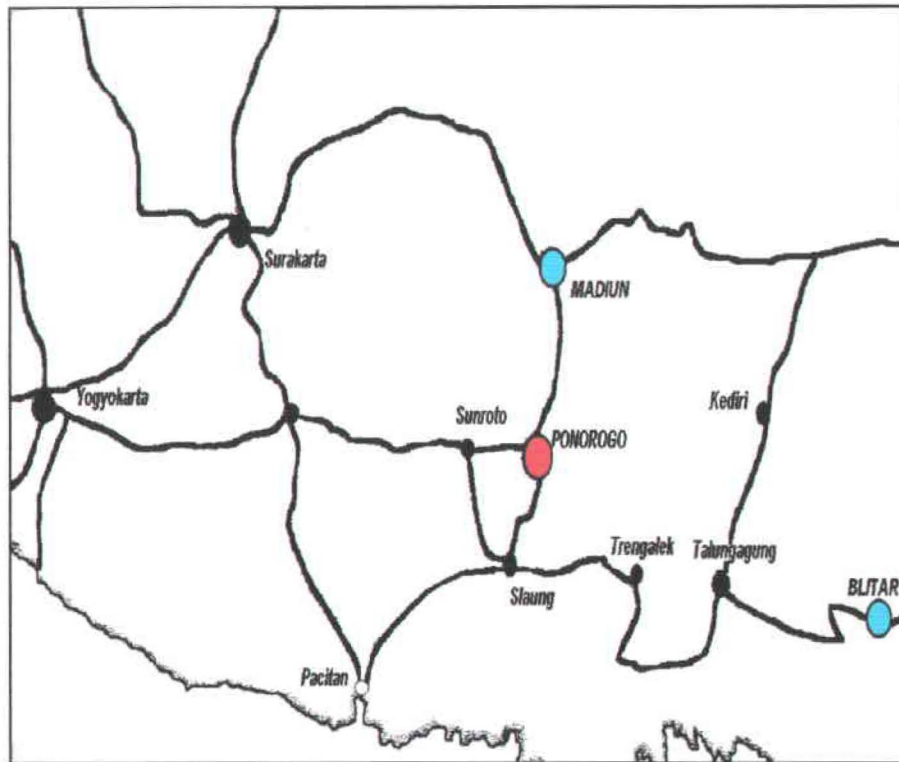


Figure 7. A map showing the locations of Ponorogo, Madiun and Blitar in the western area of East Java.

CHAPTER 7

Reog of Ponorogo and Its Surrounding Area

Ponorogo is a lowland of rich volcanic ash and plentiful water which make the region ideal for agriculture. The entire area is an interlacing of concentrations of population and vast open fields containing rice, corn, yam and myriad other produce for local consumption and export from the region. Since Ponorogo is the modern name given to the sizable ancient kingdom of Wengker, its cultural influence stretches from north of Madiun to south of Blitar. The area was also at one time included in the Kingdom of Kediri as well as contained tributaries of the Empire of Majapahit. Therefore, the entire

region also shares cultural elements with all those kingdoms and empires. As a result, there is a complex of beliefs and practices that has yielded more than one style of Reog performance. These Reog performances range from the completely secular that are for the purposes of festival performances primarily associated with Ponorogo, to sacred ceremonial rituals found in nearby Madiun and Blitar.

7.1 Purpose and Types of Reog

Even though many sources say that Reog descends from animistic healing and cleansing performances, today it is a performance art form which most Indonesian scholars and historians claim is only used for celebratory events such as anniversaries of the founding of a regency, Indonesia's Independence Day, weddings, circumcisions, or other community and village celebrations. However, this does not discount the regular use of Reog as a tool for cleaning and sweeping away *negative spirits*, a fact which is wholly ignored. In the area of Ponorogo, each village will have a Reog performance every full moon for cleansing the area. In addition, every village sponsors an obligatory performance for annual village cleaning which falls on the first day of the Javanese calendrical month, *Suro*.

The use of Reog for ceremonial ritual doesn't preclude the existence of a vast number of completely secular troupes. By Ponorogo regency mandate, every council of every village (*kampung*) is required to sponsor a Reog troupe, of which there are currently known to be a total of 476 groups. This number is in excess of the total number of villages since some villages have two or even three groups. This excess number of

troupes results from the more recent formation of groups whose purpose is specifically to perform in festivals and competitions. These groups are wholly comprised of professionals of Reog performance.

The performance festivals, and in particular the Reog festivals in Ponorogo, have greatly standardized the performance structure for competition. Naturally, these same standards have found their way into nearly all Reog troupes regardless of the troupe's purpose. Nonetheless, standardization makes Reog unlike other forms of Jaranan that use mostly amateur performers and devotees of the community's belief system, since many of the festival Reog groups are made up of professionals whose primary livelihood comes from performing and touring. As might be expected, most of these types of performances today are highly polished, choreographed and spectacular shows. These same performance higher standards also translate into heightened competency and entertainment standards for all Reog groups.

Three different types of Reog currently exist due to sundry influences. These types are defined by three criteria: the purpose of the group's existence, the purpose of the performance, and whether or not the troupe employs a trancing lakon. The existence of three types of Reog is in part due to a proactive, mandated government sponsored renaissance of indigenous arts in Indonesia, which began in 1976. Since then a purely secular form of Reog, whose purpose is strictly for entertainment, has emerged to dominate the genre. The troupes of this type are made up those very professional entertainers who travel to art festivals, anniversary celebrations, and mass circumcision ceremonies for prize money or large fees. For the most part, these Reog troops appear to

have no tradition of trancing incorporated in their performance. In fact, trance is adamantly and definitely denied. During a Reog show of this nature, there is only the spectacle of elaborate costumes, gymnastics and pyrotechnics, which are all woven around the skeletal story of Klono Sewandono. Similarly, there is no processional in the performance, except at the start of a festival when all the Reog troupes parade together. However, many festival oriented troupes do perform the ceremonial Reog for their village's monthly full moon ceremony, and these troupes comprise the second type. These groups do include the ancient processional as well as some of the older traditions, but they claim there is very little ritual involved, and certainly none that could be considered sacred. Those who were interviewed from two such groups mentioned that the purpose is to entertain and sweep away negative spirits. In each case their words seemed to mean lifting the emotional spirit of the village more than sweeping away demons and other bogies.

The third type of Reog, which is the type found mostly in Madiun and Blitar as well as a few very old troupes in Ponorogo, includes a *trance lakon* in the performance. The primary purpose appears to be a more traditional cleansing and purification ritual. When interviewed these performers expressed an emphasis on the spiritual elements as a part of the ceremonies when they perform. While all types may be paid to play at weddings, circumcisions, and other celebrations, those Reog performers who use *trance* associate their performances with a spiritual role and function that is in agreement with that of traditional *Jaranan*. Likewise, for the monthly full moon ceremonies of their home

villages, these performers expressed purpose is in line with the same traditions of healing, spiritual cleaning and purification.²⁹

A clear difference between the first two types and the third type of Reog is that the more secularized types lack a formally declared dukun or pawang. The words “formally declared” are used because it was clear that in some cases of secular Reog the assistants to the producer or organizer of the group were trained in the handling of traditional powers and kept a handkerchief and bottle of perfume tucked in their waistbands. Prof. Susanto, who explained that the perfumed handkerchief is a quick way of treating an accidental trance, pointed this out. He elaborated that only someone with experience in the tradition of ancient power would dare to prepare such a thing with the intention of using it. His implication being that these assistants had training as dukuns, but as there was no intention to trance their role is reduced to offering protective measures.

7.2 Reog in Performance

As with other Jaranan, ceremonial trancing Reog begins the night before the performance when the dukun or pawang invites the spirits to attend. However, in this type of performance there are two ethereal entities for whom he must chant, burn incense, and make offerings. One of the arwah is the spirit of the Barongan or Singabarong who must be invited to the ceremony or ritual. The second is the spirit of the father of the

²⁹A final comment on this topic of ritual, Reog and Ponorogo. Three sources on three separate occasions confirmed the use of secret trance for the purpose of ceremonial cleanings in Ponorogo. When asked if they thought other Ponorogo villages used trance in their Reog for the same purpose, one answered that he could not say, but such cleaning is impossible without it.

Reog troupe who serves the same purpose as the village protective spirit in other Jaranan. The spirit of the original founder must be invited to each performance since he plays an integral part. The offerings that are required are quite specific, as the dukun must prepare banana, coconut, rice stalks, and flower water, while keeping a live chicken under the offering table. All of these things combined with the correct mantras will ensure the success of the following day. A variation of these same offerings and mantras are then repeated on the day of the performance just before it begins.

The preparations for the festival Reog are much simpler, though they are still mandatory. The hour before the performance begins, an offering is made and a prayer is spoken. This prayer is to inform the spirits that a performance is to take place, and an appeal made to them for protection from harm. The prayer further requests that spirits not make mischief and enter the dancers because the performance is only for entertainment, and not for the purpose of seeking advice or assistance from the spirit world (Kadenu, Darsono, Juwono).

The Reog performance itself, whether it is secular or ritual, combines gymnastics, fire breathing and other feats of magic with jaran kepang dance and wayang topeng, into a single day's or night's event. These performances can span a dozen hours, but of course such an event has many breaks in between and includes the time required for the processional to complete its tour of the village during the third lakon. A performance started in the daylight can last until the small hours of the next morning.³⁰

³⁰ The Reog that is performed at festivals is greatly abbreviated. The five lakon are usually completed in one or two hours.

Generally, a Reog performance will begin with a *kitir* performed by men, numbering anywhere from 2 to 12, all of whom represent a single high ranking soldier in Klono Sewandono's army known as Waro (Figure 8). The explanation here is that no single performer can display all the skills of the legendary warrior, therefore his depiction requires the use of many who each displays his own best skills. As they dance, the collective Waros slowly begin to show signs of competition between one another. This will usually end with a series of dance movements that gradually take on a gymnastic nature. Usually competition between the Waros will develop into a group effort that can include elaborate leaps and flips performed from atop human pyramid formations.

The second lakon of the performance will have six, eight, or ten female dancers who perform a *kuda lumping* (jumping horses) dance routine. These women execute precise movements and choreography while each is astride a *kepeng* horse. As opposed to the Waros' display of bravado and macho strength and abilities, the emphasis for the women is grace, flowing movement and beauty. These feminine attributes are in spite of the their symbolically representing Klono Sewandono's army numbering 144 mounted warriors.

When a Reog performance includes trance, the Waro remain in the performance space and the ancestral Barong enters. Entrance of the male *jathilan* soldiers follows the Barong. The music changes to a trancing rhythm and tune, and the *kitir kalap* begins. Because Reog is unrelated to Jaran Breng, the trancing and trance sustaining music is different from that of the Jaranan which evolved from Kediri. Just the same, there is an escalating battle between the Barong and the group of Waro until the men battling the

Barong fall into trance. The Barong is considered to be already in trance once the mask is placed on his head, therefore he remains standing. The Singabarong then enters the performance area and joins the Barong. The dukun and his assistants attend to the soldiers and Waro who are all in trance. Once the men are able to walk, the start of the trance sustaining music is signaled, and the third lakon begins.

This change also signals the beginning of the procession, and the entire Reog group walks the area of the village, allowing the arwah and other visiting spirits to sweep away all accumulated negative spirits. During this phase, the Barong and the Waro usually remain in mask. In some cases, the battle prior to trance includes the male jathilan warriors and these two also walk the village in trance. The group stops periodically to *determine the nature of detected problems and to give advice on how to remedy them.* Particular attention is paid to village entrances and crossroads, which are considered to be collection points for demons and negative spirits. After completing the procession, the group returns to the performance pavilion or other performance site, and continues the third lakon in essentially the same manner as a secular performance.

When a secular Reog is performed for the village cleansing, the processional precedes the performance. The group's traveling the entire area of the village accompanied by music is considered a part of the same lakon since the procession both begins at the performance site and ends there. For a secular performance, the return of the troupe signals the beginning of the second lakon and the entry of the Waro.

After returning to the performance pavilion, a ritual troupe continues the third lakon. The male Jathilan perform another kuda lumping dance. While still in a state of

trance they resume competition dancing and demonstrations of power such as eating glass, eating hot coals, or walking on flaming coconut husks. Additionally, like the other forms of Reog there are also displays of gymnastics. The ancestral Barongan and Singabarong who enter the competition join them. The Barongan, demonstrating superior strength and ability, then begin gymnastic feats that are performed in the full body mask. Together they and their masks can be up to twelve feet high from top to toe. The sight of the two creatures is made even more impressive because the huge masks weigh 25 to 30 kilograms.

After defeating the Jathilan, the Barongs perform feats of effort together such as one sitting atop the head of the other. This most impressive stunt creates a seemingly double-headed creature that can tower fifteen feet above the crowd.



Figure 8. A performer demonstrates the Waro mask. Since these characters are the most energetic of the group performers, it's not unusual for the costume to include a tank top and loose trousers. In this case the tank top sports the colors of political party logo of PDI (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia), and shows the group's support of President Megawati Sukarnoputri.

The next lakon is called a *jathilan*, which is named after the masked Jathil character, making the word confusingly unrelated to the Jathilan of the previous lakon. This Jathil character is usually played by two young and attractively athletic women who together represent a single figure in the same fashion as the six or so Waro.³¹ They represent a young soldier who is also in Klono Sewandono' army. The young women flirt with the ancestral Barongan and this flirtatious behavior is what confuses him and drives him away. They now approach the Singabarong, teasing, flirting and playing with the beast. The collective Jathil then goad the Singabarong into performing further feats, while the two Jathil perform gymnastics. Very often the two women will simultaneously do a *srimpi* dance. This dance is a localized and far more energetic variation on a dance type of the same name performed at the Royal Court of Yogyakarta. They then gang-up on the Barongan and begin a series of playful movements designed to confuse him. This will include a leap by one of them to the top of the Barongan's head, where the Jathil will sit for the duration of a series of power movements performed by the Singabarong who must now support 50 kilograms of Jathil performer in addition to a 30-kilogram mask. At this point it is necessary to point out the construction of the Singabarong mask (Figures 9 and 10). The large tigers' heads are carved from *cangkring* wood and covered by real tiger's skin. The head is surrounded by a large mane. The tail display is usually plywood that is topped with layers of *merak* (peacock) feathers, whence the Javanese name *dadak merak* or "board of feathers" (Art and Culture 6, Hariyanto). In Reog Ponorogo the two barongs, the Barong and the Singabarong, are identical. The mask is constructed around a

³¹ Traditionally, and in a rapidly dwindling number of older groups, young boys rather than women play Jathil.



Figure 9. The Reog Singabarong mask without the peacock board attached.



Figure 10. The back view of the Singabarong mask showing its construction. Note the heavy padding for the top of the head. At the bottom of the padded frame in which the head fits, there is fastened a stick that is gripped by the performer's teeth to hold the mask in place, along with the straps that are tied under the chin.

frame carved to fit a performer's head and is heavily padded at the top, where it rests on top of the head. Traditionally, there is a mouthpiece built into the mask that the performer bites down on to hold the entire 30 kilograms in place plus two straps that are tied under the chin. There is never shoulder or other support built into the headpiece apparatus. This hollowed out chunk of wood that is held in place by teeth is what the Jathil sits on while the Singabarong continuously spins, jumps and performs one-legged squats. What this means is that the entire weight of the mask and Jathil is borne by the head and neck of the *Tukang Mborang*, and all remain in place entirely by the strength of the bite of the dancer and the power of his jaws.

After the Singabarong becomes adequately exhausted and confused, it is time for the movement known as the *emprong* in which the Barongan is knocked to the ground in a gesture that signals his defeat. In the case of a performance with a double cast Jathil, it is these two whose task is to perform the *emprong*.

Another character that often lends added confusion to the jathilan lakon is *Babi Hutan*, or "Jungle Pig." He usually enters immediately after the Jathil and performs as another clown-like character with additional acrobatics. There can be even more characters who join this lakon. One is *Topeng Bujangganong*, a local Ponorogo legendary hero, who is energetic, brave, and comical (Art and Culture 6). The name *Bujangganong* is an emphasizing compound of two old Javanese words, *pujangga* and *anom*. *Pujangga* refers to a person who might have written some ancient, poetic and sacred text: a learned poet; that is: the author of such a text. *Anom* means young or youthful. By combining

the two words together, the name emphasizes both the youth and the scholarship of the character, and whence, great refinement. (Hariyanto, Susanto).

Another character that might make an appearance during the performance is Topeng Bapang, the general from the Panji Cycle who is a negative character. Then there is the powerful Klono Sewandono who is obviously a positive character.³² These topeng characters follow the iconography of Javanese court masks using specific colors, eye shapes and nose shapes to depict personality and character type. Some examples of this iconography might be a red mask indicating a brave, strong and negative character, or a black and white mask indicating a very positive character.

7.3 Reog and Altered States of Consciousness in Performance

The majority of Reog groups use no trancing in their performance. However, the continuous claims of no trance elements in traditional Reog is a product of the redefining of the elements of Reog into a culturally acceptable secular construction. How many have no trance in their repertoire is indeterminable since so many appear to perform the practice in secret. Even though there may be no trancing in the sense that there is no visible transformation, many groups do have performers who are considered to receive powers from their masks, or receive additional strength from elsewhere. For these groups, it is the lead dancer playing the Singabarong, the *Tukang Barong*, who Reog leaders claim will “go to a different place” when he performs (Darsono, Suwono). The purpose of this displacement of self is explained as being necessary to gain energy and power for the

³² While Klono Sewandono is a positive character in Ponorogo, in the Panji cycles that are performed as Wayang Topeng in Malang he is portrayed as the enemy king of the Javanese people.

performance of gymnastics and feats of strength while wearing a very heavy, and nearly full-body mask. Although these performers may or may not be considered to have been entered by a spirit the description nonetheless fits the definition of an ASC. It is also remarkably similar to the experiences described by trance performers while they are considered to be in a state of possession.

In similar fashion, for those troupes that acknowledge possession as a part of the performance, the ASC of the topeng characters, as well as that of the Barongan, again is different from the other trancing performers. This possession is also quite similar to the “going to another place” described for the secular Reog. Although these possession performers are still considered to be entered by an arwah, the spirit of the character is contained within the mask and transfers to the performer upon placing the mask on his face. Or, at the very least, the mask contains the spirit conduit through which an arwah passes from the ethereal to the physical world. The action of placing the mask is often accompanied by a chant or incantation from the dukun or pawang. There is no apparent loss of control by the performer during the entering, but he is believed to be controlled or given energy by the spirit of the mask. Again, in a similar fashion as the secular topeng performer, the dancer’s sense of self is believed to be displaced.

As mentioned, in Reog the defeat of the Barongan is at the hands of the Jathil, and any other topeng characters that may join in. After two or more hours of trancing performance, the dancers who are still in trance-possession are taken out of trance by the dukun and his assistants. This is done by waving a cloth, which has been soaked in perfume and blessed by the dukun or pawang, in front of the face of the dancers, as well as

the dukun blowing his breath into their noses and ears. The dancers usually collapse into a motionless state for a few minutes and finally become aware of their surroundings (*ngamui*). This is not true for the topeng performers who simply remove the masks, often followed by a few words spoken by the topeng dancers themselves or a spiritual leader. The two barong characters in a ceremonial performance always require a mantra when removing the mask, and thus exit their trance states.

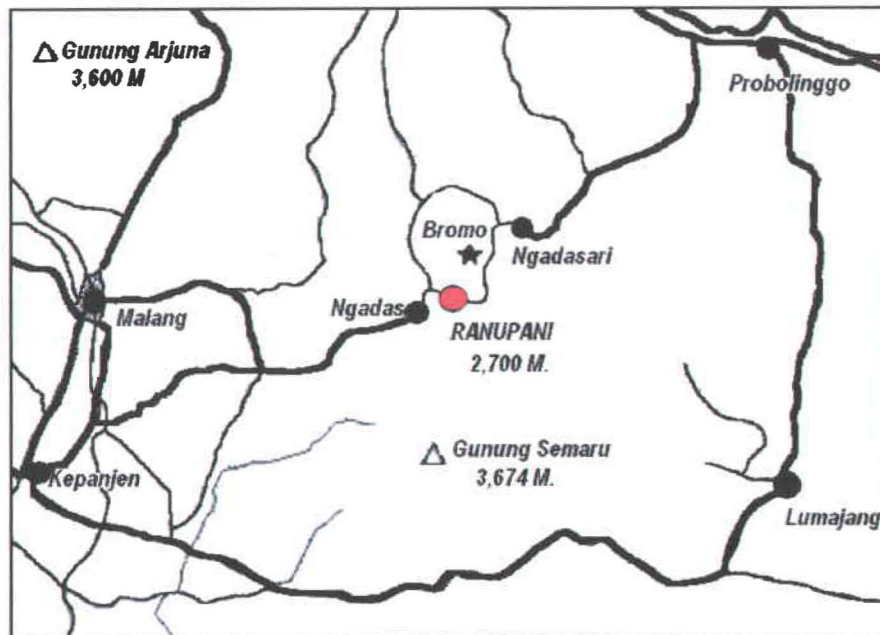


Figure 11. Map showing the location of the Village Ranupani high atop the Bromo Massif.

CHAPTER 8

Jaran Kepang of Ranupani

8.1 The Tengger Highlands and the Area of Ranupani

Ranupani is a small village nestled in rolling hills at the top of the Tengger highlands, an area also known as Mount Bromo. It is one of more than a dozen villages that lie on the road that encircles the crater rim of a dormant volcano. This area is still difficult to access from the north side, even though a steep, one lane dirt road was cut through the mountain jungle in 1985 (Trisno). From the south, the area has been accessible via a series of marginally maintained gravel, dirt and cement roads since 1978. Ranupani is located at the most remote and least accessible part of the area. Prior to the

completion of the road from Malang, access to the village from Pasuruan on the northeast side via jungle trail could take several days. A round trip could be as long as a week or two during the severe weather of the rainy season (*musim hujan*). Even now, using the 40-kilometer road from Malang to reach Ranupani can be an all day ordeal, something that one doesn't want to have to finish after sunset. However, the area today can be said to be infinitely more accessible than it was only twenty years ago, without fear of exaggeration.

In spite of the tourist information declaring this to be an area of the last Hindu-Javanese people, the village religious demographic has changed radically over the past two decades, since the opening of the road from Malang. While only ten years ago the villages of this region were considered to be primarily Hindu (Hefner 259), today the primary religion of Ranupani, as with most of the rest of the Tengger highlands, is Islam. Although unable to confirm this in scholarly sources, the fact that local leaders of the three religions in the region (Islam, Hindu, Protestant) all agreed with the numbers stated by a one time local teacher, Pak Trisno, makes his figures appear to be at least nearly correct. Pak Trisno today resides near Malang, but still maintains a property and home in Ranupani. He often serves as interpreter and guide to university students doing field research around the area of Mount Bromo. It was he who declared that 85 percent of the Tengger people are now Muslim, with 13 percent being Hindu and the remainder Christian.

In spite of this dramatic increase in the presence of Islam, the animistic practices of the village remain both strong and open. Amazingly, many members of all three religions



Figure 12. Shown here are a few of the Ranupani men who perform possession trance in the village, and some family, friends and neighbors. The 16 year-old young man on the far left was about to attempt to trance for the first time later that night. He was my first encounter with a Muslim who openly and freely spoke about trance-possession both before and after his experience. Note the Mosque in the background with an attached satellite dish.

practice these ancient rituals. This cross-religious approach to sacred ritual and ceremony is most evident in the Jaran Kepang troupe of Bapak Dukun Satuwar.

8.2 Dukun Satuwar, His Troupe and Local Friction

Just as Ranupani's religious demographic has changed, so has the religious profile of the village's Jaran Kepang group. Of fifteen members of Dukun Satuwar's troupe, three trance dancers were Muslim while two members and the Dukun said they were Protestant. The others claimed Hindu as their religion. This fact is mentioned because at the time of this study it was surprising that people of such diverse religious beliefs would

not only have strong social bonds, but would also continue to share common ritual practices. Prior to visits to Ranupani, any discussion of ceremonial-ritual Jaran Kepang inevitably led to a discussion of practicing Hindu-animists in the Mount Bromo area. There was never mention of Muslims and Christians practicing horse trance dancing.

The group of performers seem completely harmonious and at ease with each other, in spite of religious differences. The same can be said of the village of Ranupani, in general. Although there can be felt some underlying tension between these practitioners of animistic ritual possession verses Islamic and Christian leaders in the community, on the surface, the high mountain village appears equally harmonious.

Directly adjacent to the home of Dukun Satuwar is a Mosque whose Imam visits the household of the Dukun almost on a daily basis. The Imam stated that he was quite supportive of preserving traditional regional arts such as Jaran Kepang, although he did shy away from questions dealing with conflicts between spirit possession and modern teachings of Islam. In another example of this undercurrent of tension, during one performance there was an objection from the minister of the local Protestant church when the troupe set up on church grounds. In fact, Bapak Satuwar is a member of this church's congregation. The minister asked them to move off the property and onto the fronting road. Our guide, Teresa Woods-Hunt, explained that the church doesn't approve of Jaran Kepang performances because it goes against monotheism and they associate it with devil worship.³³

³³The performance described here took place in 1999. Anthropologist Teresa Woods-Hunt at that time was director of the Council on Indonesian Studies at the University Negeri Malang.

In practice, however, this objection only appears to deal with the performing of Jaran Kepang on church grounds and not to the performance in general. The reason for this can be easily explained. The Tengger people, like most other Jaranan performers of Java, do not refer to the spirits that are summoned or the spirits of possession as *dewa* or *dewi*, the Hindu-Indonesian words for god and goddess. If a visitor uses those words leaders and dancers are quick to point out that these are not dewa but rather *arwah* or *roh halus* (Satuwar, Trisno, et. al.). That is to say they are ancestral and local spirits who have special powers. This is in contrast to the local Hindus who recognize these same roh halus as lower gods and demigods, as well as the Balinese-Hindu practice of referring to possessing spirits specifically as dewa (de Zoete 70, Jro Dasaran). In a candid moment, a high standing member of the Protestant congregation, who also runs a small home-stay for tourists visiting the village, confessed that he did feel uncomfortable with Jaran Kepang because he considered it to be non Christian. Nonetheless, he often acted as booking agent for guests at the home-stay who were interested in seeing a Jaran Kepang performance.

8.3 The Arwah and Roh Halus of Ranupani

There are a great number of spirits involved in Jaranan trancing, and this holds true especially for Jaran Kepang of Ranupani. When asked how many spirits there are, the first answer was nine. However, when asked to name them, the list expanded to more than sixteen with new spirits being added as the conversation continued. This seemingly endless expansion of the list of spirits leads to the conclusion that, since it is an animistic

performance form, the list of potential spirit visitors is probably near infinite. This assumption was reinforced when Dukun Satuwar explained that visiting spirits could come from all over Java and Bali, and potentially the entire world. However, there are about seventeen spirits who appear at Ranupani on a regular basis and each spirit has a definite personality and behavior. Some of these spirits are:

- *Mbah Dempok* is considered an arwah of Ranupani and is also referred to as Grand Dempok. Mbah Dempok is named after Dempok, which is an older name for the Ranupani area. He is the spirit that must be invited by the Dukun and is the first spirit summoned, which means he serves the same function as the barongan of other areas of Java. A major difference, however, is that there is no mask, there are rarely feats of ability, and the possession takes place while performing the second lakon.
- *Sapu Jagat*, literally meaning “sweeper of the world,” was the only spirit referred to as dewa by Dukun Satuwar, an interesting contradiction of the previous explanation dealing with *roh halus*.
- *Babi Hutan*, the jungle pig so common to trance performances in Java, makes an appearance during nearly every ritual performance. When possessed by this spirit, the trancer behaves much like a wild pig by actually eating dirt, rooting up plants and running around on all fours.
- *Gunung Sari* resides in another village of the Tengger highlands of the same name. He is that village’s ancestral spirit.

- *Joko Lelono*, whose name means “ bachelor traveler” resides in Segoro Kidul, the Javanese name for the south sea off the coast of Java. Joko Lelono is a powerful healing spirit.
- *Pak Gunari*, *Mbah Gunari* and their child, *Mbah Kesok*. These three arwah are the spirits of the water of the Tengger highland and reside at Sumbermani, the spring source of holy water for the Tengger people and one source of holy water for the Hindus of Bali. These three very benevolent spirits are also found in other non-Tengger belief systems throughout East Java.
- *Joko Waris* lives at the top of Mount Bromo. Waris roughly means to fit together perfectly by chance such as a husband and wife or the bones that make up a knee socket. The meaning is nearly identical to the Indonesian word *cocok*. Befitting his name, Joko Waris is amiable and gets along with all other spirits.
- *Mohomeru* is another powerful spirit and lives at the top of Mount Semeru, the highest peak on the island of Java.

Some of these spirits named above, as well as others, regularly appear in other Jaranan Pegon category performances of East Java and share similar characteristics as those of Ranupani. Babi Hutan makes regular appearances in most performances throughout Central and East Java. As a possessing spirit, his behavior and disposition were consistent in all the performances that were viewed. Throughout East Java are also the spirits of water, Pak and Mbak Gunari and their child, but the pronunciation is Bunari

rather than Gunari. These three also display similar personalities in other areas of East Java, as they are protectors of both the purity of water and the health of children.

8.4 Jaran Kepang in Performance

As mentioned earlier, the performance begins the night before with special offerings (*tamping*)³⁴ and the lighting of sandalwood incense. For the three performances observed and recorded, there was no observable *Mantra Mandi Kramas*, the cleansing and purification bath discussed in Chapter 4. This isn't to say it doesn't exist in the Tengger ceremony, it simply was neither observed nor discussed. Bapak Satuwar begins his invitation to Mbah Dempok at midnight the night before by lighting incense chips that are placed in a small cast iron pot known as a *perapan*. After the incense ignites, he then places the pot and several small food offerings on a small shelf above his door, and begins reciting a series of invitational mantras. During the mantras he also requests that Mbak Dempok invite other roh halus that may be present or passing the community. This short ceremony lasts about five minutes.

The performances take place after sunset, usually between the hours of seven and eight. Time of the ritual is irrelevant provided it begins well after sunset. The summoning of the arwah and roh halus takes place just before the gamelan orchestra begins playing

³⁴ The word for offering used by the Tengger differs from the word used in Javanese. It is possible that both use *sajen* and *tamping*. However, *sajen* is considered a refined word for the offering in Balinese and Javanese, while *bantan* is the common name in both languages. A *sajen* refers to the offering of a holy man, and *bantan* is the offering made by members of a household (Satuwar, Deres). The word *Bantan* was not used at all by those Tengger people with whom I spoke.

and continues through to the beginning of the first lakon. Many offerings are prepared and placed on a table, and the perapan is again lit and placed with the offerings. Included in the tamping are cooked rice and small portions of all items that were eaten at the family meal just prior to the summoning ceremony. This particular part of the offering ceremony is a clear departure from the requirements for the *sajen* in the other areas of East Java where there were specifically prescribed items that had to be present. After a series of invitational and summoning mantras, the dukun picks up the perapan with the burning incense and places it again on the shelf above the door. It is now time for him to join the dancers who are now gathered outside where the first lakon is already underway.

The first lakon is similar to the others discussed: an all male team consisting of from two to eight dancers enters the performance area and begins a carefully rehearsed kitir. In Ranupani, the word “kitir” was translated roughly as meaning “to walk around the garden.” Therefore, during the first kitir the dancers perform a routine that addresses all five cardinal directions (north, south, east, and west; plus inward or into the self) by dancing in all four directions (Figure 13) plus a movement that symbolizes the inner direction. About halfway through the first kitir the dukun joins the dancers outside, which is soon followed by the replacement of some of the dancers. When a dancer does kalap in the Ranupani version, the perceived moment of spirit entry can be sudden and violent. This is particularly true for Jaran Keping of Ranupani. Often the dancer, while moving rapidly in circular patterns (Figure 14), will tumble to the ground with great force, and roll several times. He will then do one of three things: 1) leap to his feet and begin jumping into the air while cracking the whip which most of these dancers carry; 2) freeze in place



Figure 13. A dancer addresses the spirits living in the cardinal direction he is facing while performing the first lakon. Behind him, the man holding the child wearing a red jacket is over sixty years old and later in the performance will allow his body to play host to the village founding arwah Mbak Dempok. He was by far the oldest trance performer witnessed by the author in all of East Java.

with his arms and legs outstretched as though the spirit were adjusting to the body that it now possesses; or, 3) immediately assume the character and begin running around, if the possession is an animal spirit. For example, if a dancer is entered by Babi Hutan, after freezing for a second or two, he will then begin running around on all fours, eating dirt, and rooting up plants. Each dancer and each spirit combine in a unique way that gives the dukun clues as to which roh halus may be possessing the a dancer.



Figure 14. These dancers are rapidly running in a very tight circle while the gamelan is playing at peak intensity. Two of the four dancers are about to collapse to the ground.

The process of trance-possession (*kesurupan*) can appear to be random and almost arbitrary. Any dancer can trance at any moment, once the trance movement and music has begun. Since some dancers are trance specialists and considered to be more accessible to spirits, these are usually the first to enter an ASC. Likewise, some spirits enter humans more easily and more often than others. This holds particularly true for Babi Hutan who can be a playful and mischievous possessing spirit. In Ranupani it is not unusual for the first possession to be the jungle pig something that can add a great deal of confusion and merriment as the possessed person runs on all fours, uprooting things and running into a nearby field to return with a mouthful of green onions. This activity usually takes place while the other dancers try to continue the trancing kitir.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, there is also a problem of trance-possession taking place in individuals who are outside the group of dancers. Very often musicians enter a

state of trance-possession and join the other performers in the dance area. This is not surprising to Jaranan performers in Ranupani since these musicians are already considered to be in trance as they play the music for the trancing lakon. Then there is the unexpected entering of a state of trance-possession by a member of the audience (Figure 15). Usually this is a person who has already had some trancing experience or has retired from the practice. On occasions when the person is a young male this can be taken as a choosing by the spirit world and a sign that he should pursue the study of spirituality and power acquisition. After such an event the dukun will approach the paternal head of the boy's family and suggest beginning power acquisition and arrange a series of tests for him. However, ultimately it is the decision of the boy whether or not to pursue such a life course.



Figure 15. The dancer in the orange shirt is in a possession trance and has just at that moment risen from the ground. Of the dancers, he was the only one to successfully trance that night. Those squatting in front of him are the dukun, a man from the crowd who suddenly was entered by Mbak Dempok, and the dukun's assistant whose head is barely visible between them. Through the man, Mbak Dempok is explaining why all the other dancers are being struck to the ground, unable to get up. It seems the man in the orange shirt was the only one of the dancers not to anger the local spirits.

The Tengger performance at this point differs little from other traditional Jaran Kepang. Once the possessed dancer has settled down after the initial burst of energetic activity from the initial possession, either the dukun will approach the trancer or the trancer will approach him. In this village, however, after the greeting mantra they will then enter a dialogue of formalized questions and answers that usually begins with the dukun as interrogator. In a very respectful manner, and using polite high Tengger-Javanese language, the dukun will always ask who the spirit is, from where the spirit comes, and what is the purpose of the spirit's visit. Likewise, in this initial conversation the *roh halus* always asks who has summoned it and why or for what purpose it was summoned. After answering these formal questions, the spirit will make its first requests, which are usually perfume and flower water. Then after the roh halus has been satisfied by the fragrances and tastes of the physical plane, it will begin the task of ascertaining and correcting problems. If the spirits have been summoned for the purpose of discovering the causes of illness in the village, it will then begin the process of divination to determine the cause of the illness. Even if the purpose of the Jaran Kepang performance is ceremonial or celebratory, should the roh halus detect a problem it will then begin the process of determining its nature and source. To determine a problem and seek out its origin, a possessed dancer will begin moving around the property where the ritual is being performed. If need be, the spirit will then leave the immediate area in pursuit of the cause. During the process the trancer scratches and sniffs at the ground in key places such as gates and entries to houses. The roh halus will then inform the dukun

of its findings. This is followed by the spirit affecting a remedy and giving instructions on how to finalize the cure and avoid this problem in the future.

During one performance, Mbah Dempok detected a problem even though he had been invited only for the purpose of playing and entertaining the village. The spirit had sensed a major problem with the dukun and his household and entered the house to determine what it was. After sniffing the air, looking intently at various objects and scratching the ground at several doorways, Mbah Dempok then explained to the dukun that someone in the village was jealous of him and had sent black magic to his home. The roh halus then requested the perapan and placed it in front of the dukun. Mbah Dempok bathed the dukun in holy water from head to toe and finished by blowing his breath on the back and major joints of the dukun. This was followed by feeding the dukun salt and instructing him to bath once more in water containing salt and several types of wood chips. Mbah Dempok then suddenly ran to a neighbor's house to see if there was also a disturbance there. The owner of that house was then instructed by the roh halus to begin construction of a new home the following week. The owner, who was Protestant, later said that up until the arrival of Mbah Dempok at his home, he had no plans for construction, but now he was obligated to build after receiving this advice of from a spirit sent by God.

Once the business of the Jaran Kepang performance is complete, it is then time for the roh halus to play. Much like the other kuda lumping described so far, this part of the possession involves demonstrations of power and magic such as eating fire (*makan api*), when the performer will eat a large pile of large chunks of glowing coals. The performers

will also “feed” the coals to the hobbyhorses by placing the burning embers in the “mouths” of the bamboo horses.

At this point of the performance in Ranupani there is another major departure from all other Jaranan performances, when the dancers, who are still in trance-possession, will begin performing short, improvisational skits. These skits often include cross-dressing and other behavior that would normally embarrass the men. The trancers begin by requesting various items from the audience or from the dukun. These are usually items such as scarves, skirts, and *sarongs* (lengths of batik cloth that are worn around the waist) along with props that may include whips and rope. Costuming themselves in these various garments and utilizing the props, the men then enter an improvisational dialogue that can parody problems of a local couple, relationships of village heads and leaders, or conflicts within the religious community. Since the men are considered to be in possession trance, it is not considered to be them performing the skit, but rather the spirit that is saying and doing these things. It follows then that anything can be said, and anything can be done, without any embarrassment or blame being cast upon the performer.³⁵ However, these things are never of a truly inappropriate nature by the standards of Tengger culture.

Another factor in this lack of embarrassment over these activities is the high standing and considered refinement of the visiting spirits. While a possessing roh halus such the Babi Hutan might have the dancer running on all fours through the mud and rooting up plants, the spirit would never have the dancer do anything truly rude or

³⁵Since this entire part of the performance is spoken in Tengger-Javanese, I was unable to understand any of it, and explanations seemed inadequate for a full understanding. Nonetheless, the villagers watching found it uproariously funny.

disgusting. Likewise, an ancestral arwah such as Mbak Dempok would never say anything genuinely offensive to anyone in the audience, unless that spirit was greatly angered by some activity of a specific individual. In such a case the statements would also be both reprimanding and advising.

8.5 The Angry Arwah

During one performance of Dukun Satuwar's group, the dancers were having a great deal more difficulty falling into trance than usual. After repeating the trance lakon several times, four of the six dancers finally collapsed to the ground in trance and remained there, rigid and paralyzed (Figure 16). The Dukun and his assistants immediately began working to bring the dancers back to a conscious state using copious amounts of holy water and perfume. After all were revived, four dancers agreed to attempt one last kitir kalap, the other two remaining on the sides still too disoriented. This time two of the dancers fell to the ground: one in a repeat of the previous paralysis, the other adjusting normally to a possessive state. Suddenly, and at that same moment, a young man ran out of the crowd of several hundred spectators and entered the roughly circular performing area. As he approached the center, a young woman --later explained as the man's recent bride-- ran into the circle jumping onto her husband's back and yelling in Tengger-Java all the while striking him with her fists. The rough translation of what she said was, "Get out of him. Get out of my husband."



Figure 16. Two dancers attend to a third who has been struck into a state of unconsciousness by a powerful and angry spirit. After what seemed like five or ten minutes, an assistant came over and administered perfume to the man. It wasn't until sometime later when the Dukun was able to free himself from business with Mbak Dempok that he revived the man with his power. All the men who revived from this state of possession complained of severe headaches and sore muscles.

After the young woman was pulled off the young man and led away by several of her friends who were also present, the Dukun approached him to begin the formal greeting to determine which spirit it might be, why the spirit had come, and why it had chosen a man from the crowd rather than one of the dancers. Once a great deal of discussion between the dancer/arwah and the Dukun had been completed, it was explained that the arwah was Mbak Dempok and he was angry over recent events in the village. The first transgression was the village activities around September 9, 1999 (or 9/9/99), which had taken place a month before.

In 1998 and 1999 several of the wealthier families in the village of 2,000 had bought and installed satellite dishes and televisions. A few nights before 9/9/99 a number of Asian broadcasters reported that *some religious cults had determined that the alignment of nines in the date bode badly for Earth and that the end of the world would come on that day*. Word of the coming apocalypse spread through the community, and since it had been reported on television, it was determined that it must be true. So, from before sunset on September 8th until well after midnight on September 10th most of the village had sat on the hilltops surrounding Ranupani. From their vantage points, 2,500 meters above the province of Malang, they hoped to have a great view of the events of the final day. For more than thirty hours most of the village had neglected their work, their livestock, and *their fields*. This neglect of their fields is what had angered Mbak Dempok and the other ancestral spirits. But more than that, the arwah explained to the Dukun and those close enough to hear the patient and even voice of the young man, the village had not trusted the spirits and God to protect them. It was the many arwah and God to whom the Tengger gave offerings and prayers to protect them from even great disaster, and the people of Ranupani had not trusted the power of God and his spirits to protect them from catastrophic events experienced by the rest of the world. This was not just negligence of duty, but an insult to all in the spirit world and the Creator, Himself.

The second transgression was the recent attitude of the village in dealing with everyday matters and ceremonies. Mbak Dempok pointed out that the use of rituals and ceremonies, such as Jaran Kepang, for entertaining themselves and entertaining tourists had brought on inattentiveness toward the real meanings and purposes. Most of all, the

preparations for ceremonies were often incomplete, and the prayers and the chants were perfunctory. As far as the ceremonies for entertainment were concerned, the objection of the spirits wasn't that they were performed purely for tourists; it was that those ceremonies weren't taken seriously, and this attitude had carried into more sacred rituals. The village was instructed to prepare another Jaran Kepang performance the following night as though it were for an important holy day. They were further instructed to spend the day preparing offerings and reflecting on their recent behavior.

The following day was spent as Mbak Dempok had instructed, and the Jaran Kepang performance was completed without event. The village ancestor entered a dancer, and after formalities praised the village saying that the other spirits were pleased with their offerings and work. The visiting arwah and roh halus played on the earthly plain for a short time, and entertained the crowd of over 500. No problems were found within the village that night.

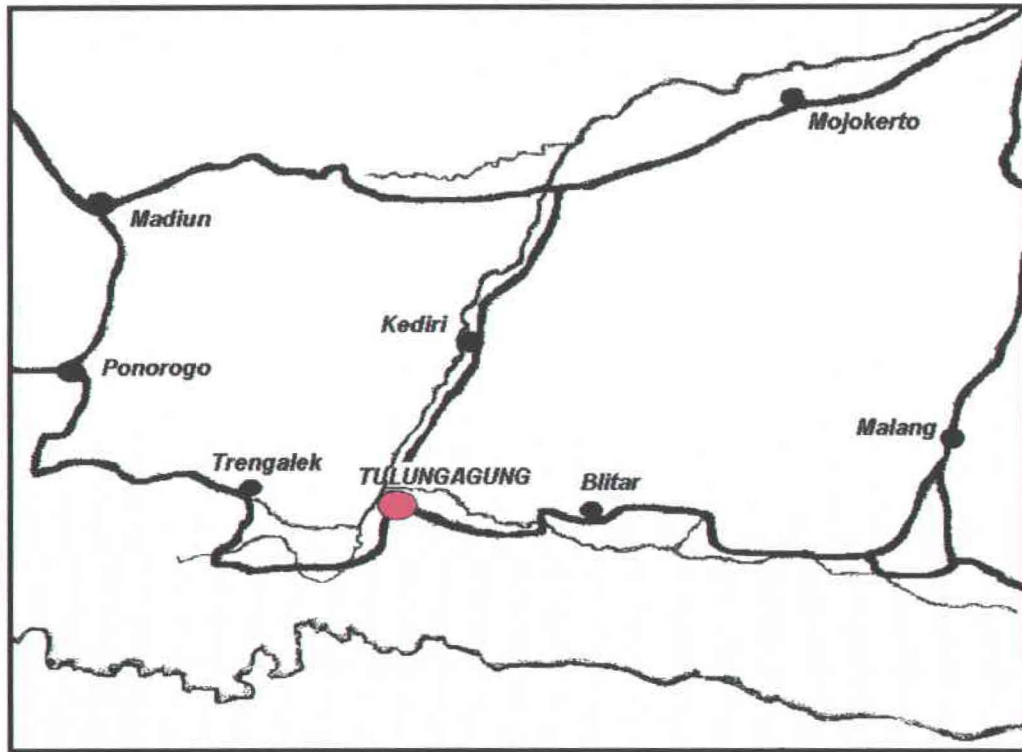


Figure 17. Map showing the location of Tulungagung and Desa Gesikan.

CHAPTER 9

Jaranan Senterewe of Tulungagung

Desa Gesikan is an agricultural village on the northwest side of the province known as Tulungagung. The provincial capitol, also called Tulungagung, is a bustling agriculturally based community of about 100,000, and lies in a fertile valley plain of ancient volcanic ash between two lines of volcanic peaks bordering its east and west sides. The city also enjoys the added economic benefit of being at the apex of major highways that connect the much larger city of Malang with the sultanate of Yogyakarta and the city

of Ponorogo. All of which share the common history of having been tributaries of the Majapahit Empire at its peak.

The populace of Desa Gesikan, like the other villages of the province, is primarily comprised of farm families whose incomes come from a number of cash crops including rice, corn and sugar cane. A large surplus of the agricultural production finds its way to the Tulungagung market where it is exported out of the region to more populated areas of Java. Although in this way the village is much like the other villages of the province, it has one distinct cultural and economic advantage over those others. This village has spawned the regionally popular performance form known as Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran (JSP), a trancing performance that draws several thousand visitors into the farm community every month for its full moon ceremony.

9.1 Jaran Senterewe of Pak Lamiran

Jaran Senterewe is a regional variation of a *Jathilan*³⁶ that still has a very dominant animistic theme in its core story. It is a ritual performance form that has been practiced in some areas of central western East Java since at least colonial times. Most often, this Jaranan is performed for monthly full moon ceremonies and annual *bersih desa* rituals, traditions that reveal both its animistic and Hindu roots. Breaking from the traditional Jaran Senterewe structure, or more correctly, adding to a long heritage of influencing cultures and Jaranan forms, Jaran Senterewe leaders in Desa Gesikan have incorporated

³⁶ Here Jathilan refers to a type of jaran kepeng that dominates the region of Java south of Yogyakarta.

modern popular rock music elements and its electronic technology into the ritual performance.

The primary originator and current producer of this new version Jathilan is Pak Lamiran. He refers to this modern take on the ancient tradition as *Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran*. The word *sentewere*, as noted in Chapter 3, is a composite of two words; one meaning the Javanese taro plant and the other referring to the itchy feeling that one gets after eating it. Pak Lamiran defined *pesisiran* as having the meaning of “changing or transforming.” It refers to the concept he introduced to Jaranan performances in the early 1990’s, which was to incorporate elements of a modern rock show into the traditional ceremonial performance. The trance lakon would then become the climax of the show. A JSP performance is in the traditional five lakon, but incorporated into the first lakon is Javanese pop-music and comedy skits performed by topeng characters, or any other local entertainers that might be available for the evening. The traditional gamelan is therefore supplemented by Western instruments that include lead guitar, bass guitar, keyboard, 7-piece Western drum set, and amplification equipment (Figure 18). Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran is the fusion of Western and Javanese theatre, entertainment and ritual.

Although JSP appears to be more of a variety show than an animistic sacred performance, it is nonetheless ceremonially and ritually functional and therefore requires the dukun to fully prepare. This includes the complete regimen of mantras and fasting

before a ceremony begins.³⁷ Even though the producer insisted that the performance was entirely for entertainment, like other Jaran Senterewe it is used for all full moon ceremonies in Desa Gesikan. Additionally, the show is used for the most important annual cleansing and purification ritual of the village. For all these occasions, he said that JSP lifted the spirits of the community by giving the members a fun evening of entertainment,



Figure 18. A modern keyboard, bass guitar and 7-piece drum set supplements a traditional gamelan orchestra for a JSP performance. Note the casual attire of the musicians for the modern instruments while the gamelan musicians wear the traditional costume.

³⁷The performance I saw had been hastily arranged for my benefit on a weekday afternoon with only three days to prepare. However, a full moon ceremony was already scheduled for the following night, and the dukun had purified himself an appropriate amount of time in advance of this earlier performance.

thrills, and comedy. He further explained that it also promoted a feeling of well-being, and village harmony. However, he insisted, the performances were strictly for enjoyment and had nothing to do with animistic or ancient rituals as a religious practice.

On the other hand, the dukun presented a different view of JSP. He explained that there is communication between him and the visiting arwah, and that in those ceremonies where healing and elimination of demons is necessary, JSP is very effective. He also supported the statement that the trances and possessions were absolutely necessary for sweeping away negative or harmful spirits. Just the same, when I asked him if it was a modern practice of an ancient animistic religion, he insisted that religion had nothing to do with any of it. He elaborated by saying that the ceremony may come from some ancient religion, and that it has Hindu and animistic parts, but the religion he and his community practice today is Islam and the JSP performance is not a part of their religion. Furthermore, the performances were always as far from a Mosque as possible to show respect for Muslim belief by separating the show [physically] from Mosque grounds.

9.2 A Theatrical Setting, Rock Music and Traditional Jaranan

The Desa Gesikan production uses a full set of elaborately painted stage flats that create two distinct performance areas. These areas are clearly intended to be a staging area in a theatrical sense, with a defined area intended to be visible to the audience and a backstage area that is intended to be out of the audience's sight. In practice, however, members of the audience are free to move anywhere around the performance space, so that, if one desires to see the backstage activities that person is encouraged to do so. In

fact, the audience often views the action from all four cardinal directions, surrounding the performance space in a massive semicircle that stretches from backstage left to backstage right. What is more, there are usually masses of children who attempt to view the show through the stage left and stage right entrance/exit portals that are cut into the stage flats. These portals are actually two curtained (most times ineffectively) entrance/exits.

All entrances by performers are stage right, while exits can be either left or right. During the exit of any performer, curiously, the back is never turned toward the audience. It is instead a backing movement until the performer is completely covered by the curtain. A number of sources explained that this convention was a matter of politeness toward the audience that a performer enter and exit properly and respectfully. The orchestra is placed offstage right with the traditional gamelan upstage (next to the stage left wing flat) and the Western band instruments down stage of the gamelan.

During the performance, there is a Master of Ceremonies who also functions as a stage manager and assistant producer. His primary function is to be the lead player in the narrative of the overall performance story. He begins the show by giving the welcoming introductions. That is, his first function is to name and call to the stage any honored guests in attendance. He also formally thanks any and all patrons of the evening's performance. The MC also introduces each act, and so, in this way he directs some of the order of the or evening's entertainment. After the introductions, the MC sits in the gamelan section of the orchestra, along side the narrative singer.

Two assistants to the Dukun remain seated against the center back flat, one next to each curtained exit, from the moment the MC enters until the trancing lakon. These men

are dressed in black and function as stagehands throughout the performance, retrieving dropped props and parts of costumes. Their real function, however, are as men of power who will assist those who perform in the *kitir kalap*. These men are not your typical “roadies.” This arrangement frees the *dukun* to remain backstage, out of sight of the audience. This is particularly important since he needs to perform the Mantra *Mendatangkan Roh Halus*, the invitational mantra spoken to the spirit world during the first *lakon*. More importantly, it allows him to burn incense and perform other offerings that are remnants of Hinduism out of the offended sight of any *santri* Muslims, should there be any in attendance.³⁸ Additionally, his job is to stand ready for any situation that might get out of hand, any situation that is beyond the abilities and control of the assistants. During a JSP performance, a spirit can suddenly enter anyone at anytime. His function, then, is to also be ready should an unexpected *arwah* wish to communicate a message. For this purpose, and for the purpose of giving voiced and tapped cues to the orchestra and performers, the *dukun* sits beside the narrative singer, upstage of her. In this way he performs some of the functions of a *dalang* in a *Wayang Wong* or *Wayang Kulit* production. All these duties would be impossible without his assisting men of power.

JSP incorporates elements from numerous other favorite Javanese performance forms, and has become so popular that a typical performance can draw crowds of up to

³⁸ Niels Mulder defines *santri* Muslims as those Javanese who faithfully practice as Muslims. These Javanese are in contrast to the *priyayi* who practice Sufi mysticism, or the *abangan* who mix the Javanese traditions of Hindu-Buddhism and ancient animism with modern Islamic belief. A *santri* Muslim who witnessed such an openly public offering during a show might consider the ceremony, whether the intention was secular or sacred, to be an anti-Islamic act.

10,000. Since the village numbers about 2,000, the vast majority are visitors from the surrounding region. These crowds have been a tremendous economic boom to the community,³⁹ but have also presented unprecedented problems for the producers. This influx of people numbering in the thousands from outside Desa Gesikan has forced the village to create a new performance venue in a large open field that was converted from a rice paddy into a staging area. However, even with a larger venue the presence of so many people still presents monthly problems of crowd control to the otherwise restful farming village. One can only imagine the problems this presents when performing for weddings and circumcisions.⁴⁰

On occasion that heavy rain has made the open field less than satisfactory for staging a show, the old facility is still used. The overall wealth and prosperity of the village is represented by this well maintained pavilion. It is a very large open structure that is reminiscent of the Sultan's Wayang Wong performance space at the Palace in Yogyakarta. The pavilion is designed as a large roofed structure with walls on two sides,

³⁹ During an open conversation with several community leaders of Desa Gesikan, it was pointed out that the JSP performances have been very successful in bringing outside money into the community. The village head continued by saying that every family household in their village owned one automobile along with at least one of the requisite small motorcycles. This in a country where the family car, although it is becoming more and more common, is still considered a luxury of the well off.

⁴⁰ Although the performance witnessed was midday of a weekday, and had been on short notice --the formal announcement of time and place was given to the village that morning-- an estimated crowd of over 1,000 showed up for it. That is a number of people equal to half the estimated population of Desa Gesikan. This crowd included dozens of venders and hawkers selling everything usually offered at any performance including fried bananas, bakso soup, children's toys and the ever-present cigarettes.

and the home of the village head (Kepala Desa) bordering the third. The open side faces the main road, which passes through the village, and looks out on the river that is used to irrigate the local rice, corn and yam crops. The entire covered area, which included a canvas awning attached to the main structure, looked to be about 1,500 square meters. During a performance, more than a thousand people can enjoy the show without fear of getting wet.

9.3 Jaran Senterewe Pesisiran in Performance

A JSP performance opens with formal welcomes expressed by the MC, and special thanks honoring any visiting dignitaries, the sponsors of the performance, and recognition of any other honored guests. All of these introductions take place as the full orchestra plays “quietly” in the background. This feat is accomplished by the use of microphones and amplification equipment that are controlled by a professional sound engineer who uses a sound mixer to attain balance. After the introductions, the modern instruments drop out of the mix, and only the traditional instruments of the *gamelan* continue playing. This signals the start of the first *lakon*. This *lakon* is by far the longest of the five *lakon*, comprising more than half of the total time of the entire performance. The narrative singer sitting next to the MC (Figure 19) begins singing an introduction to the story that is about to begin. The singing is in the same style as the *pesinden* singers for a Wayang Kulit performance, in particular the soloist *pesinden*⁴¹ singer. The *pesinden*’s song overlays and syncopates the spoken text of the MC. Together they tell a folk legend

⁴¹I will refer to this singing performer as the *pesinden* throughout the remainder of this paper. The pop-rock singers I will refer to by the local name *biduan*.

about the warriors of the ancient kingdom of Kediri. It is a passing resemblance to the story of Reog since the king is Klono Sewandono and the warriors are his Jathil.

Another similarity to Reog is the use of two Singa Barongs in the story. However, one is the protector spirit of the tiger [tiger-protector] and the other is the protector spirit of the jungle [jungle-protector] (Figures 20 and 21). The tiger calls upon the tiger-protector for aid after the warriors chase it off. The jungle-protector is then called upon after the tiger-protector is defeated. The tiger-protector and jungle-protector barongs are not literally tigers, as the translation of the word singa in Singa Barong would imply. Although the tiger is considered the protector of the jungle, these particular Singa Barongs are considered the protector of the tiger and all that the tiger defends, and the protector of the jungle and all that it inhabits, respectively. This explanation lends insight into the nature of the barong as a protector who can also be employed by mankind. In the mythological story that is the basis of the performance, the second Singa Barong enters into an agreement with the human world represented by the kingdom of Kediri. The spirit agrees to become an arwah for mankind and help maintain balance between the jungle world and the world of man. This agreement explains in part why a protective barong is also considered to be dangerous when angered. When calling on such an arwah for protection and to aid in sweeping away negative spirits and demons, the animal nature of the barong makes him sometimes unpredictable and easily offended. In the case of Desa Gesikan, the ancestral barong is the second Singa Barong [jungle-protector] who the residents believe is from the ancient and legendary kingdom of Budaya. They now consider the arwah to live in the area of modern Kediri and believe he controls the river



Figure 19. A pesinden sits between the dukun (extreme right) and the MC in the traditional gamelan section of a JSP orchestra. In the upper left corner can be seen a 7-piece modern drum set.



Figure 20. Hunter-soldiers attack the tiger protector Singa Barong. The men crack their whips at the creature, until the Singa Barong finally flees in defeat. Note the dukun, who at this point is supplementing the narration of the MC with vocal sound effects and voices.



Figure 21. The jungle-protector Singa Barong makes his grand entrance. There is no point in trying to figure out what a Barong is, since this one is depicted as having fur, scales and the head of a beast. Likewise, as an ancestral arwah he has human qualities, and yet is considered a demon.

that flows through the region.

Both barongs are encountered in the performance story and each is costumed uniquely, though in the style of spirit protectors. The jungle-protector is similar to the tiger-protector in that their costumes are constructed from the same materials (Figures 12 and 13). Both masks are made in part with wood from the sacred source of many Javanese spiritual masks, the cangkring tree. The wooden facial parts of both masks are somewhat similar to that of the Balinese Barong. However, the rest of the masks and costumes are very different from their Balinese cousin. These barongs are stylized representations of animal spirits and not depictions of tigers. Attached to the mask of the tiger-protector is a large, cut and painted, piece of cowhide that represents a crown. The

shoulders of the character are draped with a spotted batik that represents the coloring of a spotted tiger. The rest of the costume consists of a red and white striped T-shirt and black and yellow pants. A cut and painted cowhide is also attached to the jungle-protector's mask, but it depicts a much larger crown. This protector is the king of the jungle. In addition he wears a deep red cape of batik scales. The cape fully covers the arms of the dancer and gives the character a serpentine quality. The overall image reinforces his role as protector of the jungle as a whole rather than any particular animal.

As the traditional singer continues her narrative, the first Jathil enter played by four young women. They dance and perform ensemble routines while striking poses representing the martial positions of horse soldiers (Figure 22). As they continue their dance, the narrative stops and the music smoothly segues into a modern musical beat and the modern electric instruments join the music of the gamelan. Costumed in the contemporary clothing style of any popular young rock star (Figure 23), a woman enters and begins a song while dancing and moving her body in a suggestive manner. The song of the rock singer (*biduan*) takes place all the while the Jathil continue to dance. It can be any one of a number of popular Indonesian rock songs, but is usually a love balad.

The singer finishes her song, bows and exits. This is the cue for the music to smoothly transition back to the traditional sound, and the first Jathil exit soon after. A new group of Jathil comprised of young men (Figure 24) now enters and continues the kitir that was started by the earlier female dancers. However, the movements of the men are purposely far less refined than those of the first group. Whereas the women depicted a higher class of horse soldier, refined young men of the inner court, these men are lower-



Figure 22. Female Jathil do a kuda lumping dance as an assistant to the dukun looks on.



Figure 23. A local pop-rock singer, *pisendin*, performs while two Jathil dance.



Figure 24. Four male Jathil warrior-hunters salute each other with their whips. While the appearance of these whips are decorative, they are also fully functional and are used to make the percussive whip cracks that facilitate trance-possession during the *kitir kalap*.

class hunter-soldiers. Their movements are much broader, their kinespheres much larger. The costumes have the same shape and cut, but the color scheme is very different. Where the women's costumes were white, blue, black and only traces of red, the men's costumes are black, yellow, white and red. The black coloring of both groups indicates that these soldiers are filled with negative emotions, however the dominance of black in the male costume implies a stronger bent in that direction. For the courtly horse soldiers, blue shows trueness to self, a lack of self-deception, self-honesty, centeredness. The red indicates that the male soldiers are also quick to anger and have a certain hidden selfishness in their character. The yellow is both negative and positive. While it indicates lust and desire, it also indicates luck. In spite of all this, the white shows clarity of

purpose and purity of heart. If purpose and purity combine with desire, then desire can become a positive attribute (Lamiran, Susanto).

After some time, the music segues once again into a rock motif, and a second rock singer enters the area. She sings a different popular love song from the first. She approaches men of her choice from the audience while she continues singing and dancing, and invites them to dance with her. This part of the performance is in the tradition of the still very popular Javanese *Tayuban* dance during which a professional dancer invites men to dance with her as a part of an evening's festivities. While *Tayuban* is a Javanese tradition, this addition to any *Jaranan* is as recent as the *biduan*. The pop singer then leaves, and there is another musical segue, and the MC and *pesinden* continue their narrative.

The first *lakon* can repeat the process any number of times during a performance. It can also include comic routines by traditional clown characters from the masked dramas, or any entertainers that may be available for an evening's performance. However, at some point the MC signals the end of the first *lakon* and the start of the second. It can't be stressed enough that all of the segues and transitions are smooth, and there is never an intentional interruption in the flow of a show.

The second *lakon* of JSP introduces both the animal characters in the story and the conflict between them and the *Jathil*. The first to enter is not actually an animal, but the spirit of the animal. This spirit is the Javanese universal *Babi Hutan*. Rather than a mask, the actor's face is minimally enhanced by makeup to indicate the qualities of a jungle pig. His eyes are darkened with mascara and white bore's tusks are outlined at the corners of

his mouth. The coloring of his costume is red and white, therefore his attributes are purity of heart and clarity, but he is quick to anger and inwardly quite selfish. He also wears a blue and white cloth that hangs from his neck indicating he is also centered, or maybe better said, balanced as a spirit. Finally, the costume includes a keris, because Babi Hutan is a jungle warrior. He doesn't kill for food, but he will vigorously defend his territory and himself against anything that approaches or attacks him. The keris is a recent addition, and not a traditional part of his costume (Lamiran, Susanto).

Babi Hutan moves about the stage, and for the first time children react to a character in a frightened manner. His intensity, his straight forward look and his large animal-like marshal movements are all unsettling even to adults. The story continues as he exits and the male Jathil enter and exit establishing that they are also in the jungle. The man playing Babi Hutan reenters holding a painted leather cutout depicting a jungle pig. He is now simply a foraging pig that the hunter-solders happen across. A battle ensues and the pig is defeated. The jungle-protector Singa Barong suddenly enters the area while the narration explains that the spirit has become disturbed by the death of the pig.

The barong exits, and a tiger enters moving about the playing area. The costume for this character is of a realistic nature. A shaped cloth mask depicting the head of a tiger covers the dancer's head. He also wears a close-fitting jumpsuit cut from a batik dyed in the design of a spotted tiger. This dyed design is identical to that of the shoulder cape worn by the tiger-protector Singa Barong. The hunter-soldiers enter again and battle with the startled tiger, causing it to flee. The exit of the tiger immediately brings on the tiger-protector whose intention is to chase the soldiers from the jungle with magical

powers, but this spirit is also defeated. The defeat is the result of powerful magic, which Klono Sewandono has conferred upon all members of his army.

The barong's exit is followed by the soldier's, and a monkey character enters. The solid dark brown costume is in the same style as the tiger's using a shaped, cloth mask covering the entire head and a jumpsuit (Figure 25). The monkey performs a number of tumbling movements in its dance, including a series of backflips and roundoffs. The soldiers reenter and clash with the monkey, which leads to its defeat. The monkey exits with the soldiers in hot pursuit. As they exit, the narration explains that now no animal in the jungle is safe from the soldiers, and the jungle-protector Singa Barong decides to take action.

The music now changes to the trancing rhythm and tune as the jungle-protector enters the area. While the character begins moving to the music, the soldiers enter a final time, and the great battle between man and the jungle begins. The clashes between the enemies increase in intensity and frequency, along with the intensity of the music. The battle involves the Singa Barong violently and percussively striking its head at the horsemen, who use the cracks of their whips to fend off each blow. Each blow of the barong's head and the responding whip cracks is punctuated by drumbeats and calls from the Dukun. At the very peak of the battle, the jungle-protector suddenly stiffens and falls to the ground. The man playing the barong has entered trance. This marks the end of the third lakon, and the music smoothly segues into a trance-sustaining mode.

Upon the collapse of the barong, the assistants cautiously approach the rigidly prostrate man. Their caution is warranted, for as they come within a meter or two of him,



Figure 25. A monkey strikes a defensive pose at the challenge of two Jathil. The monkey had been playing, which is depicted by monkey-style displays of acrobatics such as back flips and other tumbling movements. According to the narration, the hunter-warriors then arrive and force it into exile from its rightful place in the jungle.

he suddenly leaps to his feet and begins dancing to the gamelan music. The dukun enters carrying a chair and places it upstage center. The men of power, using only physical and body movements, silently try to coax the visiting arwah, which now inhabits the dancer's body, toward the chair. After some doing, the possessed man goes to the chair, and the dukun speaks the *Mantra Untuk Mengusir* (See Appendix A). Business is conducted between the men and the arwah (Figure 26). The trancing dancer, who at this point no longer has his mask, rises and dances several more times while moving toward some members of the audience. Because the visiting arwah is also considered a demon with an unpredictable nature, these actions unnerve much of the rest of the audience, and they all

recoil at his approach, forcing the entire crowd to move back. He then moves toward the VIP section of the crowd where visiting dignitaries, honored guests, and their wives and husbands are comfortably seated on plush couches and chairs. Their seats have turned into traps that prevent the more privileged members of the audience from fleeing as the man/arwah approaches. The looks on their faces indicate that some wish they could. Under the close watch of the dukun and his assistants, the man/arwah kneels at the feet of a sponsor of the JSP event, reaches out and takes the hand of the dignitary into his own, and presses it first to his forehead and then the right cheek. This gesture is the greeting of a Javanese child to an adult upon first introduction, or when leaving after meeting for the first time. This last action is very unusual behavior for the arwah and is completely unexpected by most who are present including the dukun and his assistants. Later, the dukun and the MC explained that the visiting arwah was the founding ancestor of Desa Gesikan, and he wished to thank the visiting dignitary for favors to the community that would benefit the village in the future.

The dancer then is led back to the chair. Words are exchanged that it is now time for the arwah to return to the spirit world. The dukun takes a whip and cracks it loudly at the air, and the dancer's body instantly turns rigid. This marks the end of the fourth lakon, and the gamelan transitions to a finishing tune and rhythm. The dukun and his assistants lift the stiffened body of the dancer and carry him backstage where he will awaken with the aid of the dukun.



Figure 26. A dancer possessed by the founding ancestral arwah of his village is carefully watched and aided by the dukun and his assistants. The assistant dukun stands ready to crack the whip at the air should the demon/protector decide to misbehave. The loud sound will instantly drive the spirit from the dancer.⁶

CHAPTER 10

Academic, Religious, and Political Views on Jaranan Performance

10.1 Academic Views on Trance Phenomena

There is a growing movement within the fields of anthropology and psychology that is reflected by Goodman's paper on the Cuyamungue Institute's research on Native American ritual trance. Therein she states, "In addition to the ordinary state of consciousness, clinically healthy humans are capable of a number of non ordinary perceptual states (102)." However, this perspective has not always been the case in academia. Views generated in the 1960's and 1970's placed Western Freudian interpretations on ASC's in other cultures, including cases of induced trance and possession as well as acts of religious self-mortification. These ideas are reflected in the writings of Freed and Freed and more recently Obeyesekere where both are correctly quoted in Richard Castillo's opening commentary in a Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry article,

[In] an earlier and highly influential study of spirit possession in north India, Freed and Freed (1964), in their "Daya" case study, concluded that "Almost all who have written on spirit possession regard it as a form of hysteria... The possession of Daya was clearly a case of hysteria." And of course the most influential writer on spirit possession in South Asia has been Gananath Obeyesekere. In his (1981) book on female ecstasies in Sri Lanka, Medusa's Hair,

he writes, “many of these women are, in a purely clinical sense, hysterical.”

(Castillo: 1994, 1)

Later, Castillo goes on to question such viewpoints, and draws the conclusion that such psychoanalytic theory when applied to spirit possession in South Asia is “flawed.” Just the same, the prevalence of such Western theories for some thirty years, or more, have had their mark on how Indonesians view their own cultural.

The most recent views on the subject of trance are reflected in Ariel Glucklich’s book, Sacred Pain. Utilizing evidence from psycho-physiological research, the Glucklich arguments on trance and hallucination are far too complex for the scope of this paper. In brief, Glucklich, a theologian, explains trance phenomena and other forms of ASC as resulting from a neuro-feedback system. The repetition of sensorially intense actions, repeated infliction of pain or other ASC inducing stimuli causes a feedback mechanism to engage which then induces a state of hallucination or separation of self experience (56-57). The ASC experience of an individual, Glucklich tells us, is in part dependent on the expectations of that individual. That is to say a person inducing a state of trance will experience what he expects to experience as a result of religious or cultural teaching. Therefore, a Catholic will have a Catholic experience, a Hindu a Hinduistic experience, and a cultural animist an animistic possession (59-61). Thus, trance experience is rather the quantifiable physiological result of intentional over stimulation of the aural, visual and tactile receptors. Such an ASC is part of a normal somatic experience and a normal psychogenesis.

While these views on trance states have yet to be fully accepted by the science and academic communities, they are in keeping with a growing scholarly body of work whose thoughtful approach to the subject is represented in papers by Glucklich, Goodman and others.

10.2 Religious Views on Ritual Trance

Nonetheless, such past attitudes within the academic communities of anthropology and psychology that trance and possession are not simply primitive but also pathological, reinforced (or perhaps were reinforced by) the modern Christian religious attitude towards possession states. In 1986, some seventeen years before Glucklich's work, D. H. Salmon and Monroe Peaston discussed alternatives to such conventional thought at the R.M. Buck Society conference on trance states. There Salmon considered "three possible modern religious" academic reactions toward "primitive religious" belief which have existed or exist currently. The first is simply a condemnation of all native beliefs and practices as the worship of false gods. This he said presses into action the second reaction and that is to assume devil worship, which explains possession states as the presence of Satan. The third reaction he called a more sophisticated interpretation by a

"...tough minded scientist, be he psychiatrist, or cultural anthropologist, psychologist or comparative sociologist of religion. This third interpretation regards possession as a regressive symptom of a maladjusted personality, the victim of social frustration, at best, of pathological delusion, at worst." (Salmon: 1986, 183-184)

These reactions of Monroe were reiterated by Peaston when he said, "Protestants like others in the Christian tradition, have found it hard to let go of the idea that some forms of physical illness, some altered states of consciousness, and some heretical beliefs are... evidence of demonic possession (Peaston: 1986, 193)." However, some Christian Catholic universities are shifting away from this viewpoint and embracing the thoughts of contemporary scholars such as Glucklich.

In the case of Islamic attitudes, as noted earlier in this paper, both Sufi and Sunni Islam have always affirmed the ability of supernatural forces to possess human beings. In fact, this embracing of mystical belief is a fundamental of Sufi Islam, the dominant Muslim sect in Java. The Sufis make up a large part of the three cultural-religious groups identified by Clifford Geertz in his 1960 work, Religion of Java. The thoughts of Geertz have been expounded and elaborated on by other following scholars such as Kartomi, Mulder and, most recently, Howell. The three groups are the *santri*, *priyayi* and the *abangan*. Of these three groups, the *santri* Muslims are those who most strongly embrace Islamic Law, or as Niels Mulder defines them, "faithfully practicing Muslims" (Mulder: 1978, 4). These are the Muslims who make up the core of those who oppose traditional Java-Hindu practice as being anti-Islamic. The other two groups are composed primarily of Sufi Muslims. Geertz identifies the *priyayi* as members of the aristocracy and high members of the administrative government. This group is largely comprised of descendants of historical courts such as those in Yogyakarta. They are also the local and national officials and administrators who must find a balance between their beliefs, the beliefs of the *santri*, and those of the *abangan*. The last group is associated primarily with

those comprising the working class of the villages and cities. Geertz further defines the *abangan* as those who mix animism, local mythology, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam into a locally practiced religious belief and ritual. Both the *santri* and *priyayi* associate the *abangan* with ignorance, backwardness and primitive beliefs (Geertz, Mulder). This view of the *abangan* is in spite of the fact that much of their belief system is shared by the *priyayi*, and is partly an outcropping of historical and contemporary *priyayi* rule. Mulder points out that while the *priyayi* make up the bulk of the ruling class in Indonesia, the *abangan* are firmly rooted in the military and administration. Further, the *santri* made up only five to ten percent of the population in 1978, and is probably still within that same range given what Howell describes in her 2001 paper as an Islamic revival of Sufi belief.

Nonetheless, a number of Indonesian Islamic sects who can be considered *santri* are extremely vocal and on occasion turn to violence in their insistence on the enforcement of Islamic Law. This insistence is usually vented at political rallies and protests sponsored by conservative Islamic political parties. These eruptions of violence sends a clear message to the leadership that too great an embracing of Sufi interpretations of religious laws will result in the worst of consequences. As a result of this threat of violence, there is a continuous modification of traditional ritual performance to satisfy the demands of this vocal minority.⁴² This modification is particularly the case when dealing with those forms which are to be openly promoted for tourism. One example would be the *Tengger Jaran Kepang*, which had to eliminate Hindu elements in order to receive government funds.

⁴²These last statements I make as a product of personally observing news events and interviews, all of which took place over the course of three years. The fieldwork totaled 16 months while living and studying in Java and Bali. The most recent study was in Java from January to March 2002.

The funds were a part of a larger project that included the international promotion of Tengger ritual, including world broadcasts of the ancient Hindu sacrifice of animals at the volcanically active Tengger Caldera. These sacrificial rituals were recently modified in an effort to reinforce suspected links between the Tengger people and the Balinese. Since the promotion was strictly of Hindu sacrifices, which would be viewed by the world as primitive, it raised few objections in the Santri leadership. However, the rapid shift in the religious demographic of the Tengger people forced a rethinking of the exploitation of ritual Jaran Kepang while leaving the Hindu sacrifice intact. This was because Jaran Kepang would be performed by those converted to Islam, while the sacrifices would remain a practice of the remaining Tengger-Hindus. The contradictory elimination of Hindu elements from ritual Jaran Kepang was a direct result of political pressure from those who opposed Muslims participating in functional Hindu rituals.

In East Java I have witnessed another attitude that is affirmed by Eickelman when he talks about Sunni Muslims, "If pressed, [Sunni Muslims] will usually admit the ability of Allah or lower ranking supernatural agents to possess humans, but will often ridicule specific individuals who claim connections with the supernatural world (Eickelman 189)." However, this attitude also extends to the population of Sufis, including those who are involved in performances that secretly include a trance ritual. It was observed in an interview of a Reog leader who bristled at a question dealing with the need for a trance in a ceremonial cleansing of a village. He adamantly denied the existence of any trance in Ponorogo Reog. It was later revealed to me by a member of his village that they secretly practice trancing for the *bersih desa* ceremonies. The response of the Reog leader is

another indication of reactions to underlying pressure to eliminate what are still viewed as primitive practices. This underlying pressure, combined with other historical attitudes toward trance performances, have caused embarrassment for native officials of the Indonesian Archipelago that has translated into government pressure at the community level to treat trance and possession performances as activities of a secret society.

Adding to the pressure is the recent increased effort from conservative Muslim groups to completely eliminate Jaranan Dor.⁴³ These efforts, no doubt, are partly to counter the Sufi revival that Howell discusses. Therefore, much of the rest of the Jaranan performance community is keeping an eye on incidences involving dukuns and pawangs. One confirmed incident took place in February 2002 and involved a dalang who is also the leader and director of a performing arts center near Malang. The dalang, seeing that Jaranan Dor was disappearing, decided to form a group at his art center in order to preserve the art form. He had just finished organizing the group and begun training when two men dressed in black and carrying swords visited him. They told him that Jaranan Dor and all Jaranan are anti-Islamic and that he would swear to Allah before them to breakup the group immediately, or be killed. The following day the shaken dalang disbanded the entire project. The incident happened during the same week in which I had scheduled an interview with him. Needless to say, the interview did not take place, and negotiations for a performance the following week were canceled.

⁴³The groups responsible for the event I am about to discuss, as well as suspected of past incidences reaching back to the cultural purge of 1965, have never been officially identified. Moreover, fear of these groups and the nature of their acts have left most Javanese reluctant to even speak of them.

10.3 Politics, Campaigns and Indigenous Ritual

The recent incident mentioned in the previous section appears to be an uncommon case, and also confined to objections toward Jaran Dor. The most common forms of applied pressure are not as overt. In fact, the pressure can come from within the community of supporters of indigenous arts themselves, and the political baggage that can attach itself to any successful performance genre. In the 1960's political-cultural groups adapted a number of indigenous performances, such as Reog and Ludruk, to fit their needs and agenda. One such group was the later outlawed PNI, Communist party. The PNI sponsorship was partly for the purpose of demonstrating that PNI was the party of the people through its promotion of indigenous arts. One effect of political mainstreaming was a de-emphasizing of the traditional homosexual relationship between the older, *stronger hunter-warriors of a Reog and the boys of the refined courtly Jathil*. Kartomi refers to this relationship as a warok-gemblak phenomenon. The warok are older hunter-soldiers played by a community's strongest men and the gemblak played by attractive young boys (Kartomi: 1976 106-108). While the objections to such overt homosexual relationships of both the Muslim community as well as those of the Western world at large have caused the warok-gemblak to be dropped entirely from nearly all Reog performances, there are still a few very old troops who include it in their version of Reog (Susanto).

In the early 1970's the other political parties of Indonesia began to seek out their own Reog troupes to sponsor for the purpose of aiding in the promotion of candidates and

their campaigns. For instance Golkar, the party of then President Suharto, sponsored hundreds of groups who would then adapt a party's official colors and slogans to the performances. Again, in the case of Reog, the color choices of costuming and bamboo horses changed to reflect the party colors and no longer symbolized the traditional iconography (Susanto). Even the words on the massive Barong masks were changed to slogans, and in the location where the sponsoring village would have appeared now were the much larger words Reog Golkar, Reog LKN, or Reog Bren (Kartomi: 1976, 117).

What then took place over the next twenty years was a replacement of the older traditions with these newer ones. The politically sponsored groups had a clear economic advantage over those depending on traditional village sponsorship, since the political sponsorship meant more money, and those village troupes with the money easily recruited performers from village groups that were insufficiently funded. Over the course of two decades, the older, talent depleted groups folded one by one. This eventuality is a primary reason that today there are very few groups with roots dating back to before 1972 (Susanto, Lamiran).

One major benefit of the politicizing of traditional performances was an increased awareness of their plight, and a call to promote indigenous arts as a source of cultural pride rather than an international embarrassment. This call began in the early 1960's when the PNI Communist party implored the Javanese and other people of Indonesia to purge themselves of the cultural pollutions of the West by embracing those things that were a part of their own heritage. Although Left-wing political thought and communism were outlawed in 1965, it did plant the seed for a renaissance of cultural traditions. By 1976

this movement had become firmly entrenched in the rivaling political parties. At this point the Suharto administration began experimenting with government sponsorship of the arts. This idea of government sponsorship was not a new one, but it was the first time that it incorporated performances outside of Western theatrical venues, Wayang Kulit performances, and other media for disseminating information dealing with government social programs or propaganda. This earlier experimental sponsorship was followed in the late 1970's and early 1980's by a broad-based program of formal government sponsorship, which became the centerpiece of Suharto's economic revitalization. While the Suharto plan appeared on the surface to be for the benefit of indigenous arts, it was not exactly altruistic. The plan also had the net effect of freeing sponsorships of performance groups from dependence on Golkar's rival political parties. Therefore, government sponsorship of performing arts came under the leadership of a number of agencies under Suharto's administration.

These agencies had offices in every province of Java and Bali, not to mention most other provinces spread across Indonesia. There were a great number of regional performance types that were a part of the cultural renaissance and what later became proactive cultural policies of the Indonesian government. Java experienced this government-sponsored renaissance in the 1980's and early 1990's. It was primarily for the purposes of both rediscovering traditional performances as well as promoting tourism on the island (Hooker).

In spite of government sponsorship of indigenous arts, none but the most secular forms of Jaranan received funding and support throughout this period. Once again, these

were the cumulative effects of the objections of santri Muslims and administrators who objected to an art form practiced by the governmentally unrecognized religion known as animism. It also had to do with the continued embarrassment over the possible world view of Indonesia as a primitive land. So that, other than these officially sanctioned performances, for the most part Jaranan performances at the village level continue to be under-funded, unpromoted and all but invisible to the outsider. Reog of Ponorogo is one of the few Jaranan that were openly sponsored and promoted, and therefore became the best known to the outside world.

The last days of the Suharto era in the late 1990's witnessed attempts at a new openness and tolerance in Indonesian society. These official changes in policy were expanded under both short-lived administrations that followed the fall of Suharto, and have continued today under the current leader, Megawati Sukarnoputri. The official policy continues to be that of increasing tolerance. For the practitioners of traditional Jaranan in East Java, this has meant increasingly public performances of secular and ceremonial performances. However, this increasing openness continues to be affected and modified by the views of religious leaders and attitudes of local enforcement.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusions

11.1 Popularity of an Ancient Tradition in the 21st Century

It is clear that the popularity of Jaranan continues to rebound from past neglect, and the art form is entering a period of flourishing. Reog groups, which were limited to the area of Blitar and Ponorogo in the 1970's are now well established in a number of other cities in East Java. Surabaya currently has an uncountable number of troupes that call themselves Reog, while Malang now boasts 14 registered organizations as of this writing. However, it is difficult at this point to know whether the tremendous increase in popularity of Reog and Jaran Kepang is the result of a new more tolerant attitude from Indonesian officials and religious leaders toward "primitive" beliefs and performance forms, or if the popularity has been continuous since Dutch colonialism in spite of pressures against these animistic practices. If the latter is the case, then the seeming increase in the number of performances may in part be a result of those performances, which were once driven underground, resurfacing. If this is in fact the case, and it seems to be, then the remainder of the increase is merely a reflection of an unfulfilled Javanese cultural need. Whatever the case, the fact remains that Jaranan are very popular in this earliest part of the 21st Century with uncountable numbers of performances taking place throughout East and Central Java during the period of any given month.

I asked Pak Juwono and Prof. Pak Susanto why they thought Jaranan were continuing to gain in popularity in spite of increased education of the population and an

emerging and growing college educated, middle and upper-middle class workforce. I observed that many would think that increasing education would diminish the need for primitive rituals. Quite the opposite, observations indicate it is this educated upper-middle class that seems to have the most interest in starting and preserving these performance forms. To these questions they gave a number of reasons, most of which they both agreed on. First, they felt that the East Javanese indeed wanted to preserve much of their culture. This preservation included the ancient belief system and religious construct that surrounds the supernatural. The belief in the supernatural includes the belief that there are two worlds, the seen and the unseen, and that the unseen world can influence this one. Therefore, if someone goes to a person who has knowledge and power of the spirit world, then things can be done to help matters.

Regarding the desire to maintain old performance forms that are unusual,⁴⁴ they explained that Western pop culture, which now dominates the various media of Indonesia, offers concerts that are polished and full of energy, TV that has interesting stories and events, and cinema that can be entertaining. But nothing is offered that is really unusual. Jaranan is still considered unusual in Java, especially for those who live in cities where entertainment has been westernized for many decades. The perception that traditional Javanese performance is unusual extends to JSP. The idea of combining modern and traditional in a single form is admittedly unique.

⁴⁴ Here I use the very inadequate English word "unusual" to substitute for the Indonesian words "luar biasa", or "outside the usual." The meaning here is anything which is not encountered in everyday life. This outside the usual would include anything truly frightening or wondrous. Jaran Kepang is definitely *luar biasa*, while most Western entertainment deal strictly with the mundane.

A second reason they gave was that everyone still goes to a dukun if they need advice on how to better their lives. For example, if a teacher wants to achieve higher community standing by earning a Ph.D., he will seek advice and help from a dukun. The role of the dukun is to give spiritual power and understanding. Prof. Susanto later told the story of his experience with a dukun when he was 22 years old and wanted to gain the power to go from an S-1 (BA) to an S-2 (MA). The dukun told him to boil and eat forty eggs. The dukun then gave him the eggs he had to eat, and told him to cook them in a large pot, starting from cold water. When it came time to cook the eggs, he put the eggs, pot and water on his stove and lit it. Some time after he started his eggs, some friends dropped by and invited him to go out. They left together and he completely forgot about the eggs. By the time he remembered his eggs and returned home, the pot was dry and the eggs completely burned. Since these were the eggs that the dukun had given him to gain power, he couldn't simply go out and buy forty more eggs. When he saw the dukun again, the sage simply stated, "I you can eat forty eggs that I give you, then you will have the power to earn your S-2. It doesn't matter if it takes you one day, one week or one month. When you can see a project to the end then you will have the power."

Prof. Susanto went on to explain that he couldn't go to an Imam for such advice. An Imam would have told him to be a good Muslim and pray five times a day. He continued, "An Imam has only studied the Quran and only knows how to be a good Muslim. He knows nothing about how to receive power. A dukun has studied a great number of things, and knows how to give and receive power."

A third reason given by Pak Juwono and Prof. Susanto for the popularity of Jaranan is that during the Indonesian Crisis of 1997 and 1998 many ceremonies were performed in cities across the nation. These ceremonies brought people together of all faiths, and gave them a sense of something being done about their national problem, even though it was on the spiritual plane. These ceremonies also gave a sense of identity as Javanese rather than as Muslim, Christian, Protestant, Buddhist or Hindu. It gave a feeling of having common ancient roots that truly transcended the divisions of God's religions, and made a true feeling of "many religions, one God."⁴⁵ This feeling is something that is not imparted by the five religions. As we all know, the feelings generated tend to be quite the opposite.

11.2 Historical Implications and Conclusions

That Jaranan remains a popular form of ritual and entertainment allows easy access to many different types of the performance form within the genre, some of which are known to predate the arrival of Islam in East Java. Since it is also steeped in tradition and ritual, certain historical conclusions can be drawn from interviews with the ritual specialists as well as viewing Jaranan performances of today. The simpler nature of Jaran

⁴⁵ The official logo of the Indonesian government's Department of Religion is a pentagram that reflects the five officially recognized religions of the nation. These five religions, (Islam, Hindu, Buddhist, Catholic and Protestant) all have appointed representatives who sit on the advisory council under the Minister of Religious Affairs. Although the majority of Javanese practice one form of animism or another, the official requirement for representation is the belief in one God as outlined in the Pancasila (the five pillars on which the Indonesian government was founded), therefore animism is not recognized officially as a religious belief.

Kepang performance when compared to Reog of Ponorogo and the other Jaranan of Java implies that it is an older form. In much this same way, the simpler nature of Jaran Kepang in Ranupani when compared to Jaranan of all other areas of this study can lead to the conclusion that the form practiced there is an older form than those viewed or studied elsewhere. While it can be easily argued that the simpler nature reflects the appropriation of a more complex practice, my current understanding negates this argument. The historical isolation of Ranupani combined with an acceptance of the local oral tradition both reinforce this conclusion. The presence of Mbah Dempok as a dancer who trances rather than a Barongan with a spiritually charged *topeng*-like mask is one indication that this simpler nature is a result of the isolation of an older form rather than an assimilation of a more recent one. The lack of specialty performers of magical feats and demonstrations of power on the order of spectacle is another indication that it is less influenced by the practices of old empires. In Ranupani there is the additional lack of an attached story or theme such as a tale from the Ramayana or the Panji Cycles as in other areas of Java. This indicates that the arrival of Jaran Kepang in Ranupani was either before the filtering of Hindu epic influences into village rituals, or was carried there by those Javanese who still lacked court influences at the time of its arrival in the Tengger massif. Further, the few Hindu elements that it did contain are quickly disappearing as the arrival of Islam in the past decade has forced a more secular form to emerge. Those Hindu elements that have been eliminated dealt with the structure of the ceremonies rather than changes in the nature or names of the possessing spirits.

Ranupani was nearly unapproachable from the north side, from Malang, until 1980 when that one-lane dirt road was cut through the steep slopes of the dense jungle on that side of the Bromo massif (Hefner 4). It is even difficult to reach from the east and south sides since the village lies at the farthest point from the east entrance into the Bromo area. Further, it is located at the end of a series of marginally maintained roads encircling the rim of the Bromo crater. However, after the completion of the road from the northwest, nearly instantaneous Islamification of the people of Ranupani and their culture has taken place. The demographic for the Tengger highland in 1985 was 85% Hindu with the remainder divided between Christian and Muslim beliefs. According to Pak Trisno, prior to 1980 Ranupani had almost no Muslims and was close to 98% Hindu. There was a slow, but steady migration of Islamic Javanese into the area from 1980 to 1990. Beginning in 1990, the rate of Islamification of the populace increased as seed money from large Islamic centers poured into the area to build mosques.

A part of permitting the continued practice of modified animism without objection from newly installed Islamic leaders was with the caveat that the new interpretation of spiritual contact involve a "One God, many beliefs" approach that mirrors the official Indonesian government policy toward religion. The Jaranan of Ranupani allows for ancestral spirit worship without attachment of the values of any one religion. The interpretation of the religious context of the ritual is left up to individual performer who is allowed to fit it within his own set of religious beliefs. According to Dukun Satuwar, it was this conditional allowance for individual interpretation that was another factor in the elimination of Hindu elements from the traditional Jaranan performances in the Ranupani

area. He further explained that individual interpretation allowed him, a Protestant, to learn and practice Tengger Jaran Kepang.

This very rapid modification of the local animistic practice is another indication of the change through pressure and influence that we could have expected had Hindu-influenced forms arrived in Ranupani after the collapse of Majapahit, as is currently theorized today. Existing Jaran Kepang, or an even earlier form of the trance ritual, would have adopted the Hindu Jaranan very quickly.

Another explanation might be the late 19th and 20th Century presence of a Dutch Protestant church in the village. The prevailing attitude may have forced a number of Hinduistic elements to be separated from the older animistic ones. However, after comparing Ranupani Hindu-animism to Balinese Hindu-animism, I consider this to be unlikely. Ranupani Hinduism seems to be unrelated to the form practiced in Bali. It is more likely that the two result from independent arrivals and evolutions. The local Hindu priest, in fact, said that it was not at all the same, and he and his father added Balinese elements to their rituals after a visit to some main temples in Karangasam, Bali. The incorporation of Balinese elements was also encouraged by government officials who wanted to culturally tie the two together for the purposes of the national unification project under Suharto in the late 1980's and 1990's. Some of the elements included use of bells in the ceremonies, a different image of Vishnu on the local temples, and the construction of the *Jero Gede* style temples for homes in place of the older stack of spiritually charged stones. The Suharto government even went so far as to design and build a temple complex at the Tengger Caldera based on Balinese architecture rather than

Tengger. These very same recently added elements are currently cited by agencies of tourism as well as Indonesian scholars as demonstrating links between the Tengger and the Balinese.

11.3 Interpreting Differences Between Ranupani Performance and East Java

In spite of the great number of traditional Javanese animistic roh halus and arwah that Ranupani shares with Central and East Java, there are some fundamental differences in the structure of the performances. Although Mbah Dempok can be considered to be a Barongan-like figure, he cannot be considered a Barongan since the Mbah Dempok spirit has only human and no animal qualities. There is also a lack of a topeng masked Barongan seen in all other performances that have such a character. This is a major departure from traditional Jaran Kepang as well as a departure from what is observed in the characterization of protector spirits in Bali. There are, in fact, no topeng characters⁴⁶ in Ranupani whatsoever, a fact that separates this trance form from all other Jaranan performances of Central and East Java, including those of Jaranan Dor. Another difference is the lack of Jathil characters and the need to defeat a Barongan character to end the trance performance. This in itself would certainly indicate that a break from other Jaranan took place prior to the development of a masked or unmasked barongan, though this alone can be explained as the abandonment of a mask for the spirit of the village at some point in the past. However, if the people of Ranupani are descended from those who fled

⁴⁶ There was one topeng seen there recently, but this is a new development and is an import from Malang. I also understand that it wasn't well received.

Majapahit, or fled from the advancement of Islam, then we would expect to see some, or even one, of these other elements in the Ranupani Jaran Kepang.

If one accepts the origin of Reog as being in the early 14th century, and that it contains mythical elements of that era, then one would expect to see similar regional and cultural adaptations elsewhere in Central and East Java. With these adaptations there should also be a cultural time marker that can be applied to approximate the dating of each different type within the Jaranan genre. Indeed, we do see these elements in the other areas as well as their cultural time markers. What is found are performances with the same elements as those associated with the Kingdom of Kediri, which are still in existence in the area that once was controlled by the legendary King Jayabaya. This also applies to the emergence of Jaran Kepang with Hindu elements such as Hanoman. The addition of Hanoman elements takes place in those very areas of the former Majapahit Empire, which began to spread to those areas in the late 14th Century; a time when that empire was encouraging the adaptation of Hindu epics into other local performance forms such as Wayang Kulit. Today, in the areas of Malang, Kediri, Blitar, Mokojokerto and Lumajang, all of which were well inside the area of the ancient Majapahit Empire, we find Jaranan Kentekan with its mock battles involving Hanoman. Finally, on the north coast there is the more modern version, Jaranan Dor, with its elements of Islam incorporated into a dancing performance. This event also appears to coincide with the arrival of Islam. Finally, in Tulungagung there is Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran with its oral genealogy intact, if one chooses to accept that particular oral tradition. So, all this begs the question of what was the Ranupani Jaran Kepang like prior to the recent arrival of Islam. Answering

this question through further research would lend insight into its origin, and perhaps even a glimpse of Jaran Kepang as it was practiced during or before the era of Majapahit. There is no hard archaeological evidence for a date of arrival of Tengger-Javanese people to the Bromo massif. Likewise, folk tradition only accounts for 600 years of Tengger history, only reaching back to the collapse of Majapahit. The nature of the surviving pantheon of local animistic spirits indicates that Tengger Jaran Kepang reaches back to at least to that era, and represents Jaran Kepang as it existed sometime between then and the creation of Jaranan Breng some 200 or more years earlier.

11.4 The Question of Age

As with the arrival of the first people to the Bromo massif, without hard archaeological or historical textual evidence, the question of the age of the Jaranan tradition may never be answered. Javanese tradition and some hard historical supporting evidence informs that Reog emerged in the 14th Century, and if one accepts that, then it means that a Jaranan was practiced in the western region of East Java in 1300 AD. This conclusion can be inferred from the blending of two traditions, a processional ritual and a mythological court tradition. It is also likely that the Jathilan warriors of Reog in the 13th Century were borrowed from an already existing trancing tradition of the hunter and his mount.

The oral tradition of Tulungagung reinforces these conclusions. The old name for the city, Breng, was used during the era of Kediri and Majapahit. It was renamed after the collapse of Majapahit and the arrival of Islam. This places the development of the trance

music for all Jaranan resulting from Breng influence prior to the 15th Century. Since the trancing score of Reog in Blitar is completely different and unrelated to the music of Breng, it is unlikely that the trance possessions of Blitar were borrowed from one of the descendants of Jaran Breng. This can easily be concluded since incorporation of this genre of trance would have meant the adaptation of the Breng music, and this didn't take place. Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that Reog arrived in Blitar with a trance tradition already established.

From the Blitar example, it can also be concluded that Reog Ponorogo had a trance tradition prior to the arrival of Islam. If so, then why did Reog Ponorogo lose its trance tradition (if in fact it did) and the other forms didn't? This can be answered by the way in which Islam arrived in Wengker as opposed to the rest of East Java. Islamic warriors aided the king in his defeat of invading Mongols, and he converted to Islam. The relationship between Islam and the kingdom would have been quite positive. Changes in the rituals to conform with the dictates of Islamic leaders would have been readily accepted. On the other hand, in the other towns and kingdoms where conquests and the relationship between the new leadership and the populace would have been adversarial, any demands of change in tradition would have been met with resistance by the populace.

There is additionally the strong possibility that a Jaranan tradition already existed during the era between the arrival of Hindu-Buddhism from the Malay peninsular region around the 8th century AD and the era of the Wengker kingdom. By this period, Hinduism was firmly established in Central Java as can be witnessed by dozens of temple datings in the areas of Yogyakarta and Solo. There are even temples surrounding Malang

that date as early as the 8th Century, which establishes a date for arrival of Hindus to the central area of East Java. If Jaranan had emerged during the period of the flourishing of Hindu-Buddhism, one would expect to see a great deal more of these elements incorporated into the performance form in areas outside of the Majapahit area. However, in spite of the present day continuing secrecy of so many trance ritual performances, traditional Jaranan was, and still is, a popular performance form of the masses. This implies that Hindu-Buddhism was a religion of the upper classes, and animism with Hindu elements was the religion of the working and peasant classes. Therefore, for the most part, Jaranan remained separate from those religions until leaders incorporated Hindu textual elements into Jaran Kepang to create didactic and celebratory performance forms exemplified by the texts of Jaranan Jur. Another explanation would be a filtering of Hinduism into the population from the upper classes. Either explanation clearly establishes a Jaranan tradition as existing by the 12th Century.

Another bit of useful information is the use of horses to build the temple Borobudur. This information comes directly from official sources at the Borobudur temple site. It places a date for the domestication of the horse in Java as during, or prior to, the late 8th Century. Therefore, horsemanship was already firmly established in Central Java by 800 AD. Even if this date is used as the arrival of the domesticated horse, it still firmly establishes a starting point. Such a massive and labor intensive undertaking as the world's largest Buddhist temple would have spread word of the domestication of the horse very quickly throughout the region and into what is now Malang. This rapid spread of knowledge would have easily been carried through the interconnected complex of

temples that stretch from north of Yogyakarta to the western regions of Malang. This complex of large and small temples was built prior to the era of Borobudur's construction.

A final theory is that Jaran Kepang and the genre Jaranan is descended from indigenous ritual performance. This conclusion is easily drawn because horses have been spread throughout the Indonesian Archipelago since before the end of the last Ice Age in 8,000 BC (Hendricks 13). Further, evidence of knowledge of horse riding in the Malay Archipelago reaches as far back as the 4th century BC. Images of horses can be seen on Dong Son bronze kettledrums from that period prior to the establishment of Srivajaya. These drums are associated with Chinese trade in the area, and could have been manufactured in areas that are present day Thailand or South Viet Nam. Several of these drums have surfaced from a number of archaeological sites around Indonesia. One in particular is from Sangenang Island near Sumbawa and is called the Makalamau Drum. It depicts a horse with saddle blanket and bridle being controlled by a standing attendant. This drum dates to C. 300 BC, since the images are similar to those seen prior to, and occasionally during, the Han period (Heekeren 24-25, Miksic 38-39). From the evidence provided by the kettledrums it is clear that horse riding was certainly known from Sumatra to Timor and into the Spice Islands well before the 3rd century BC.

The arrival of the early Chinese traders to the Malay Archipelago may very well have spawned the development of Jaran Kepang from animistic roots in an area somewhere between East Sumatra and East Java. This would have been significantly prior to the arrival of Arabian Horses that accompanied the Islamic conquests late in the next millennium. Since it is likely that Muslims would have discouraged animism and the

expansion of animistic performance forms, it is unlikely that Jaran Kepang resulted after the introduction of Middle-eastern riding and breeds. However, there is evidence of Arabic trade in the region of Sumatra and Malaysia as early as the 4th Century which cannot be discounted.

The theory proposed here is that Jaranan descended from a Stone Age trance tradition that included the horse as one of the hunted animals whose spirits were to be channeled. The arrival of trade civilization elevated the horse from food to tool prior to the 8th Century. By the era marked by the finishing of Borobudur, the horse was already established as a tool of hunting, war and construction. By this same era, the horse was also a central part of the ritual complex of Central and East Java. Sight of the use of horses by the upper classes for both hunting and war would have had a great impact on the view of such a creature in the eyes of the village population. Further, employment of village labor for these hunts would also have had an impact on elevating the horse to mystical levels. Thus, by the 14th Century, the jaran kepang style of trance performance was firmly established in Central and East Java.

One final thought on Jaranan is the continued increase in number of groups and the success that the revival has enjoyed. A primary factor must be economic. These performances are still performed in a ritual and ceremonial context, however the economic impact on a community can't be ignored. JSP and its draw of thousands of people from outside the village is a prime example of what a successful performance group can mean to the community in terms of prosperity. Such stories can only encourage others to imitate those successes.

Appendix A

Mantras for Jaranan of East Java⁴⁷

MANTRA MANDI KRAMAS

Javanese

Salam ngalaikum salam. Niat inggsun adus kramas ngedusi badan kayun manggihi toyo rebani. Dus lali dus mani. Badan adus dendusi padha badan. Roh adus den dusi padha roh. Sukma adus dendusi padha sukma. Dat teles sukma ngalam dat urip tan kena kawoworan sakjerone karsa. Niat ingsun adus kramas ngedusi banyu saking kodrattulloh. Byur njoba suci sakjerone badan rebani. Allahu ngalaihi wasalam. (Puasa 3 hari)

Indonesian Translation

Semoga keselamatan menyertai kita. Saya berniat mandi keramas, memandikan badan dengan air suci. Memandikan jiwa dan raga. Badan mandi dimandikan oleh badan, roh mandi dimandikan sama roh dan sukma mandi dimandikan sama sukma. Zat basah alam sukma zat hidup tak dapat tercampurkan dalam kehendak. Saya berniat mandi keramas dengan menggunakan air pemberian Tuhan. Byur, suci diluar badan dan suci dalam badan seutuhnya. Keselamatan Alloh bersama kita.

English Translation

We hope that Your blessing will always stay with us. I intend to cleanse the entirety of my hair and body with holy water. To cleanse my soul and physical body. Cleansing my body will purify body, cleansing my soul will purify my soul, and my impure spirit with my pure spirit. These things can not be willingly mixed. I intend to cleanse my entire soul and body with water from God. Now I splash holy water outside and inside my entire body. The Blessings of God will always be with us. (Fast for three days).

⁴⁷ Sources: Satuwar, Juwono. Translations: Susanto

MANTRA MENDATANGKAN ROH HALUS

Javanese

Salam ngalaikumsalam. Iki dina(hari itudiucapkan) kula maringi dedaharan sekul gonda arum sakkudupe (kukuse) kukuse maya-maya semundul suwarga arum gandane mongga dipun gonda lan mongga dipun rasa. Lek enten kekurangan kula maringi dedaharan dinten niki Kula nyuwun sepunten ingkang kathah. Doa ini dibaca sambil membakar kemenyan.

Indonesian Translation

Semoga keselamatan menyertai kita. Hari ini (example- senin kliwon) saya mempersembahkan seperangkat makanan dengan bau harum kemenyan yang asapnya naik sampai di surga, silakan dibau dan dirasakan. Jika ada kekurangan dalam saya mempersembahkan hidangan ini saya minta maaf sebanyak-banyaknya.

English Translation

We hope that Your blessing will always stay with us. Today is (mention the day in Javanese calendar-example: Senin Kliwon). I have served this offering of food and fine incense which is making smoke that goes up to touch heaven. Please smell the aroma and enjoy the food that is served. If there is anything lacking in this offering I deeply apologize and ask forgiveness. (This mantra is said while burning the incense).

MANTRA UNTUK MENGUSIR

Javanese

Salam ngalaikum salam sapa sing manjing wonten ragane si (disebut namanya) perlu apa, iki duduk panggonanmu. Panggonmu nduk kayu lan watu. Lek ora perlu ndang balekno. Sukma jati mbalik nang widi. Sukma kosong mbaliknang angkosa (dibisikkan ke telinga). Lailahailalloh Muhamadarosullulah.

Indonesian Translation

Semoga keselamatan Tuhan menyertai kita. Siapa yang ada di dalam badan Si ... (disebut namanya) perlu apa? Ini bukan tempatmu. Tempatmu di kayu/pohon dan di batu. Jika tidak ada keperluan cepatkan kembali. Sukma sejati kembali ke Tuhan. Sukma kosong kembali ke angkasa. Tidak ada Tuhan kecuali Allah dan Mohammed adalah utusan Allah.

English Translation

We hope that Your blessing will always stay with us (This is said when greeting the spirit that has entered the body of a dancer). Who is inhabiting the body of (name the dancer)? What do you need? This is not your place. Your place is in the trees and rocks. If you have no need to be here please go back quickly. The real soul will return to this world of God. The fake/empty soul will return to the air. There is no God except Allah and Mohammed is the messenger (Or Christian equivalent).

APPENDIX B

List of Instruments for Major Types of Jaranan

Jaran Kepang/ All forms of Pegan

- 1) kenong
- 2) gong
- 3) peking
- 4) demung
- 5) kendang
- 6) selompret (optional)
- 7) saron (optional)

Jaran Kepang Ranupani

- 1) Saron
- 2) kendang
- 3) gong
- 4) kempel

Reog Ponorogo

- 1) kenong
- 2) gong
- 3) tipung
- 4) angklung
- 5) selompret
- 6) kendang
- 7) kempel

Jaranan Senterewe Pesisiran

Gamelan

- 1) kenong
- 2) gong
- 3) peking
- 4) demung
- 5) kendang

Modern Instruments

- 6) lead guitar
- 7) base guitar
- 8) 7-piece drum with base
- 9) key board

Jaranan Dor

- 1) kempling
- 2) angklung
- 3) jedor
- 4) Kendang
- 5) ketepung

APPENDIX C

Listing of Types of Javanese Dukun⁴⁸

Dukun Bayi: A female dukun who is regarded as a midwife, this person specializes in all aspects of fetal and postnatal spiritual and healing. The dukun bayi today is also officially encouraged by the Indonesian government to receive medical training as a midwife.

Dukun Pijet: A specialist in spiritual and healing massage. Women specialize in massage for women and men for men.

Dukun Perewangan: A dukun who serves as a medium for determining the sources of village and individual problems. This person can be a male or female who enters a state of trance possession.

Dukun Calak: A specialist in circumcisions and is the exclusively the domain of men.

Dukun Wiwit: A ceremonial and harvest specialist who presides over annual and full moon ritual ceremonies. This dukun is also consulted for crop plantings and other agricultural problems.

Dukun Pengantan: Exclusively held by women, these dukuns are involved in the planning and decorating of weddings.

Dukun Petungun: Experts in cosmology and numerical divination.

Dukun Temung: A sorcerer-like dukun usually associated with the dark arts and black magic. A dukun temung can be consulted for countering malicious spiritual powers, or for inflicting such powers on an enemy.

⁴⁸ Sources: Geertz: 1960, Suparlan: 1991, Susanto and Satuwar.

Dukun Susuk: Specialists in the use of metals and other substances for the accumulation of power.

Dukun Jampi (orang jamu): A person, male or female, who specializes in healing herbs and other native remedies. This person is often consulted for the choice of herbs to be grown in a family garden and added to the family's daily diet.

Dukun Japa: A specialist in spells and incantations who can be a man or a woman. Similar to the *Dukun Tenung*, but usually associated with positive energies.

Dukun Siwer: A specialist who is consulted for the prevention of natural disasters. For instance this dukun may be consulted for keeping away rain on the day of a feast or preventing the breaking of dishes during the feast.

Dukun Biasa: This is a general practitioner dukun who is trained in several different types of practice. Most often this person will be a *wiwit*, *calak*, *petungan* and *siwer*.

Dukun Tiban: This dukun is a person who has received abilities from a sudden miracle, rather than a long period of training. The *tiban* is considered to have been entered by one or more spirits from which he or she derives the power of divination.

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