

Commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan

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Tektekan Calonarang merupakan sebuah drama tari *Calonarang* untuk pariwisata model baru. Penyajiannya diiringi oleh *gamelan tektekan*, sebuah musik tradisional bambu berukuran kecil, khas Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan. Pada umumnya masyarakat Bali tidak setuju menampilkan unsur budaya yang bersifat sakral untuk pariwisata. Namun, berbeda halnya dengan masyarakat Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan. Mereka justru mendukung komodifikasi *Tektekan Calonarang* dengan menggunakan barong dan rangda sakral untuk pariwisata. Hal itu menimbulkan berbagai pertanyaan, karena bertentangan dengan sikap masyarakat Bali pada umumnya. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami komodifikasi *Tektekan Calonarang* Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan yang menggunakan barong dan rangda sakral untuk pariwisata. Penelitian yang berlokasi di Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan ini dilakukan dengan metode kualitatif. Permasalahan yang dikaji meliputi (1) mengapakah masyarakat di Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan mengomodifikasikan *Tektekan Calonarang* dengan menggunakan barong dan rangda sakral untuk pariwisata; (2) bagaimanakah bentuk komodifikasi *Tektekan Calonarang* tersebut; (3) apakah implikasinya bagi pelaku, masyarakat, dan pertunjukan itu sendiri. Untuk menjelaskan permasalahan tersebut digunakan teori dekonstruksi, teori praktik sosial, teori estetika, dan teori kuasa pengetahuan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa (1) masyarakat Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan mengomodifikasikan *Tektekan Calonarang* dengan barong dan rangda sakral untuk pariwisata dilatari oleh ideologi pasar, ideologi pembangunan, ideologi religi, dan ideologi konservasi; (2) masyarakat Desa Baturiti, Kerambitan, Tabanan mengomodifikasikan *Tektekan Calonarang* dengan barong dan rangda sakral dalam bentuk prosesi dan pertunjukan *Tektekan Calonarang*; (3) komodifikasi *Tektekan Calonarang* dengan barong dan rangda sakral itu berimplikasi pada peningkatan pendapatan pelaku, masyarakat (*multiplier effects*), kelangsungan kekuatan magis barong dan rangda tersebut, peningkatan animo pasar/pariwisata, serta sebagai penguat solidaritas sosial masyarakat setempat. Temuan baru penelitian ini adalah tidak terjadi desakralisasi walaupun barong dan rangda sakral itu dikomodifikasikan untuk pariwisata. Hal itu disebabkan oleh pelaku/masyarakat setempat melakukan upacara penyucian khusus terhadap barong dan rangda tersebut sesuai dengan konteksnya masing-masing pada setiap penyajiannya.

Kata kunci: komodifikasi, *Tektekan Calonarang*, barong dan rangda sakral, ideologi, pariwisata.

Tektekan Calonarang is a *Calonarang* dance drama performed as a new tourism model which in its presentation is accompanied by *Tektekan gamelan*; a small traditional bamboo music from Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan. Balinese communities usually disagree to showcase a sacred culture for tourism, but in Baturiti village this is different. They actually support the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* using sacred barong and rangda for tourism. This raises questions because it is contrast with the attitude of Balinese communities in general. This research is conducted in Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan using qualitative method. There are three main problems in this study, such as: (1) why do the community of Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan commodify *Tektekan Calonarang* which uses sacred barong and rangda for tourism?, (2) what is the form of the commodified *Tektekan Calonarang*; (3) what are the implications for those conducting it, the community and the

performance itself. The purpose of this research is to understand the commodification of *Tektakan Calonarang* in Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan which uses sacred barong and rangda for tourism. To explain the problems, Deconstruction theory, Social Practice theory, Aesthetic theory, and Knowledge Relation theory are used. The results of this research are (1) the community of Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan commodify *Tektakan Calonarang* using sacred barong and rangda is motivated by market ideology, development ideology, religious ideology, and conservation ideology; (2) the community of Baturiti village, Kerambitan, Tabanan commodify *Tektakan Calonarang* using sacred barong and rangda in the form of procession and *Tektakan Calonarang* performance; (3) the commodification of *Tektakan Calonarang* using sacred barong and rangda has the implications for the increase of income of the conductors, community (multi flyer effect), the continuance of the barong and rangda's mystical strength, the increase of interest from the market/tourism, and as a reinforcing social solidarity of the community. The findings of this research are that desecration did not happen even though sacred barong and rangda is commodified for tourism because in every performance the conductor/ community conduct a special purification ceremony for the barong and rangda according to their individual context.

Keywords: commodification, *Tektakan Calonarang*, sacred barong and rangda, ideology, tourism.

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INTRODUCTION

Performing art is an important part of the Bali Hindu society. If viewed from the purification point of view, the Balinese performing art can be classified into two; they are the sacred performing art and propane performing art. The sacred performing art is performed as a part of rituals, and the propane performing art is performed as an amusement and as a part of social, political and economic activities.

However, among different types of the performing art in Bali, the ones which are performed for tourists have rapidly developed. This can be seen from the fact that there are so many types of performing art which are performed for tourists in Bali. Such types of performing art are frequently presented as a part of dining program and other important events which are related to the tourism industry in Bali. The types of the performing art which are performed for tourists in Bali are *Cak and Fire Dance*, *Frog Dance*, *Fire Dance*, *Ramayana Dance*, *Jegog Dance*, *Joged Dance*, *Tektakan Calonarang Dance Drama*, and so forth. Each has its own uniqueness and specialty.

Among the types of the performing art which are developing in Bali, the *Tektakan Calonarang Dance Drama* is the most interesting one. It is a unique one as it also presents the theme *rhwa bhineda* (the concept that badness and goodness cannot be separated from

each other). Its presentation is accompanied with the *tektakan* gamelan orchestra, which is a traditional Balinese gamelan orchestra, made of small size bamboo and played alternately and dynamically with varied tempo.

It is interesting to explore the commodified *Tektakan Calonarang* Dance Drama as, in general, the Balinese people disagree that the sacred cultural elements are performed for tourists. Unlike the Balinese people in general, the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan involve the sacred *barong* and *rangda* in the *Tektakan Calonarang* performance. It seems that there is nothing wrong for them to involve the sacred cultural elements in the performance presented for tourists.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

The present study entitled "Tektakan Calonaran at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan" was designed to use the qualitative method. The study was conducted at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan and was intended to describe and explain everything related to the problems of the study.

The phenomenon of the commodification of *Tektakan Calonarang* was analyzed using the paradigm of

cultural studies. As a research technique, this method gives emphasis on the quality of the data as the measurement for obtaining valuable explanation and understanding of the object of the study. Therefore, Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen (1972: 25) stated that the qualitative method is highly relevantly used to discuss the socio-cultural phenomenon.

Barker (2005: 9) stated that a practice can lead to a variety of changes and improvements and the sustainability of a culture. Such a definition involves a variety of symbols of life. Therefore, in this present study the qualitative method was used to observe the actualization of the cultural value of the phenomenon of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang*.

The commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang*, as a cultural phenomenon, cannot be separated from the dynamism of socio-culture in the current era. Sedyawati (1994: 3) stated that it is better not to be understood from its physical form but also from the aspect of those who are involved in such a cultural practice. That includes the correlation between the struggle for and the shift in strength to the scope in which those who are involved in such a cultural practice play their roles. Apart from that, it can be understood that the cultural manifestation and the power of those who are involved in the performance indirectly contribute to the changes which are made as an attempt to improve and sustain the culture. Therefore, the steps taken in the present study are (1) the research method used was the qualitative method; (2) the location where the study was conducted was determined; (3) the type of the data source was determined; (4) the informants were determined; (5) the research instrument was determined; (6) the technique of collecting data was determined; and (8) the technique of presenting the result of data analysis was determined.

RESULTS

A. The Ideology Leading To The Commodification Of *Tektekan Calonarang* At Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan

The local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan consider that the sacred *barong* and *rangda* should be performed '*mesolah*'; they should dance so that the sacredness they have still maintain the magical power. The local people believe that the *barong* and *rangda* which they worship can

protect themselves and their lives. Therefore, the local people keep performing them for the sake of their peaceful and comfortable lives.

According to the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, the sacred *barong* and *rangda* which are performed for tourists do not contradict the prevailing norms. In addition, performing them means respecting them and such a performance has become the identity of the performing art at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan. They believe that the *Tektekan Calonarang* which they have created will be able to exist continuously.

The theory of Practice proposed by Boudeu and the theory of Relation of Power and Knowledge proposed by Foucault were eclectically used to give a clear comprehension of the ideology leading to the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda*.

The society of Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan is a globalized one; it is open to everything which is new including changes. Its openness can be seen from the fact that the local people living there tend to be the cultural consumers instead of the cultural producers. Such a condition makes the society, as the owner of *Tektekan Calonarang*, positions itself as the cultural object as financially and socially they were not able to establish *Tektekan Calonarang* group '*sekaa*'.

Such a group known as *Sekaa Tektekan Calonarang Rama Bawa*, which involves the "sacred" *barong* and *rangda*, is frequently performed at Kerambitan Anyar Palace. This cannot be separated from the desire of the viewers (foreign tourists) who are surprised at the attraction in which the dancers stab the *rangda* using the wavy double-bladed dagger. The *rangda* dancer does not get wounded; therefore, it is believed that the sacred *rangda* has been protected. Therefore, it can be understood that *Tektekan Calonarang* has now been deconstructed; it has been performed for tourists instead of being performed as part of the temple festival. Such a deconstruction has been made by the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan in order to fulfill what is needed by the market.

The industry of tourism needs a lot of infrastructures and human resources to make tourists intend to

visit tourist attractions. Those who are involved in tourism also play an important role in promoting tourist destinations. Tourism has contributed to the improvement of the local people's standard of living and orientation.

Many opportunities in tourism which were made available inspired Anak Agung Oka Silagunada to commodify *Tektekan Calonarang* with the theme "Prosesi Ritual Penyambutan Tamu Kerajaan" (the Welcoming Procession for the Royal Guests). Such a performance started from what had been intended by Anak Agung Oka Silagunada as the royal elder to maintain the patron-client relationship between the palace and the surrounding community. He did his best to develop the palace as a tourist attraction so that job opportunities were available for the surrounding community in art and other fields. In this way, it was hoped that the palace would become the center of the orientation of the social activities done by the surrounding community in the royal tradition.

As a commodity which is offered to tourists, the *Tektekan Calonarang* performance can directly contribute to the increase in the income earned by the local people and the government. Such an economic reason becomes important as it is hoped that such a commodity can be sold to the public. Various forms of commodification are created to package such an activity to make it valuable economically. It is recognized that *Tektekan Calonarang* has been able to be directly and indirectly economically valuable.

The fees earned by those who are involved in the *Tektekan Calonarang* performed as a tourist attraction are collected, and are distributed once in six months when they celebrate the feast days of Galungan and Kuningan. Some is also spent on the things needed to look after and restore the temple.

Pitana (1994) defined that development is "*suatu proses perubahan kearah yang lebih baik melalui upaya secara terencana*" (a process of changes which are planned to make improvements). The development which is directed to make people aware and willing to take care of and preserve their respective local culture is intended to change their behavior. Development is conducted based on humanity, empowerment and independence, justice and equality. The reason is that people are needed as the actors of the developmental process.

Life is getting more complex and modernization does not only take place in economy and industry but also in every aspect of life which can change the society's life. Therefore, development is not only conducted in education, socio-politics, law and religion but it is also conducted in culture. Apart from that, development in every sector needs culture to make the programs which will be performed successful. Therefore, the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* plays an important role in the ideal development of Tabanan.

The development of creativity cannot be separated from artists. The creativity of an artist is determined by the knowledge which both the choreographer and composer have as the creators of a performance. Their knowledge affects the forms of their works. That can be seen from their works; if they are created to support their economy, their works are oriented towards the art industry; their developmental creativity and presentation are in accordance with what is needed by the market or the capital owner. Similarly, if they are created to be performed as part of a religious ceremony (offering), their orientation will give priority over the spiritual and religious values. As well, if the art works are created for a festival (art for art), they will be created based on the festival art rather than what is economically needed by the market. In other words, it can be stated that the objective and orientation of the art are always related to the objective which is aimed at and the creative ability of the artists. The same thing has also taken place in the process of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan.

What is needed by the Kerambitan Palace in the middle of various opportunities in tourism mediates the artists' creativity in developing *tektekan*, which then determines the quality of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang*. If the artists have insufficient abilities, no innovative art works will be produced. Their creativities are the key to the form of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* of which the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan are proud.

Hadi (2000) stated that art and religion are close domains. Art plays an important role in social and religious activities. As described before, *Tektekan Calonarang*, based on its classification, is a sacred type of performing art. The reason is that it involves the sacred 'sungsungan' *barong* and *rangda*. The

former is referred to as *Jero Gede* and the latter is referred to as *Ratu Ayu*; both have their sacred characteristics.

Such a condition is in accordance with what is stated by Bandem (1996:25), who stated that the equipment used and the myth which inspires such a type of performing art can make it either a sacred or a propane one. The sacred 'sungsungan' *barong* and *rangda* are made by the local people based on the magical instruction which is believed to be from *Ida Bhataras Sesuhunan*, the God who resides at Baturiti Village. The local people believe that the God who is worshipped can protect them from misfortunes. Therefore, ideologically the local people especially those living at Baturiti Village should take part in every ritual which is performed on holy days such as what are locally referred to as *pujurnama* (full month), *tilem* and *tumpek*. On such days the local people go to *Paempatan* Temple where the sacred *barong* and *rangda* reside. This is an attempt made by the local people to maintain the good relationship in the dimension of *prahyangan* for the sake of their safety. Such a view is shown in the *Tektekan Calonarang* performing art, showing that the local people believe in the myth that a ritual should be performed for every activity, as described as follows.

There are several myths which have contributed to the existence of *Tektekan Calonarang*, which are regarded as facts by the local people. One of the myths which is strongly believed is that the sacred *barong* and *rangda* can ward off the epidemic diseases which the local people living at Baturiti Village may suffer from.

It is stated that in 1920s there was an epidemic disease at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, which suddenly cost many lives. The local people believed that such an epidemic disease resulted from the excessive interference of the supernatural strength. Therefore, it should be warded off in a particular manner.

Tektekan is believed by the local people as a means of reducing restlessness; the evil spirits '*bhuta kala*' are believed to be able to affect them negatively; therefore, the epidemic diseases are believed to come from the powerful strength of *bhuta kala*. *Tektekan* is believed to be able to prevent the epidemic diseases from generation to generation. The existence of such a myth has made the *Tektekan Calonarang* an important performing art of which the sacredness

should be maintained.

In accordance with *Jero Mangku Pura Dalem*, every activity which is related to the *Tektekan Calonarang* should be completed with several types of offerings, indicating that Baturiti Village is a religious society. Based on the information given by Mangku Istri (Jero Mangku Pura Dalem's wife), it can be explained that the rituals which are performed as part of the *Tektekan Calonarang* performing art consist of: the ritual which is performed when the practice is commenced, the ritual which is performed when new dancers are involved, the ritual which is performed every time it is performed, and the ritual which is performed when it is about to be performed.

The *Tektekan Calonarang* performing art is a socio-cultural activity which is performed to express the local people's cultural identity individually and collectively. Apart from that, the local people living at Baturiti Village believe that the sacred *Barong* and *Rangda* have the spirit of protecting the local people. It is believed that they are the figures which can give the local people safety, peace, welfare, prosperity, and good health. The importance of such figures and expressive mediation has conserved the art identity of the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan.

The patron-client relationship between the palace and the surrounding people are still well maintained. Almost all the rice fields and the un-irrigated fields which belong to the palace are cultivated by those living around the palace. As already known that the functional relationship between the tenant farmer and the landlord is still maintained until now; what is yielded is divided, some goes to the landlord and the rest goes to the tenant farmer. However, such a relationship is getting stronger due to the new job opportunities made available by tourism, making the local people frequently get together which tightens the solidarity among them. The solidarity among them is highly needed to keep the local people united and to reduce the problems they may have.

B. The Form Of The Commodification Of *Tektekan Calonarang* At Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan

It is necessary to explain the form of the *Tektekan Calonarang* performing art in order to understand the form of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang*

comprehensively.

The *Kerambitan* Palace does not construct any specific stage for the performance entitled “Welcoming Procession for the Royal Guests”. It is performed in the front yard and main yard of the palace. *Tektakan Calonarang* is performed at the outside yard of the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, Tabanan. The commodification of *Tektakan Calonarang* presented by the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, is completed with the welcoming procession for the royal guests and involves 300 people each time it is presented.

Tektakan Calonarang is one form of the performing art which can be seen that it is made up of several elements or aspects. The aspects of *Tektakan Calonarang* are the dancing elements and its performing structure. The form of the *Tektakan Calonarang* at Anyar Palace, Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, can be clearly understood from the aspects which form it. (a) The Theme of *Tektakan Calonarang* Performance. *Tektakan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, is presented in the form of a dance drama with the theme *Calonarang* entitled *Ni Diah Ratna Mangali*. (b) The Structure of *Tektakan Calonarang* Performance. *Tektakan Calonarang* is presented in four stages, each has an important role and one stage is related to another. The four stages can be described as follows. (c) The Dancers. *Tektakan Calonarang*, which can be classified as a magical ritual performing art, is presented in the form of a dance drama involving 16 (sixteen) dancers; 10 (ten) are males and six are females. The male dancers are made up of the *Bahula Dancer*, the *Penasar Dancer*, the *Kartala Dancer*, the *Patih Pandung Maguna Dancer*, the *Pangpang Dancer*, the *Rangda Dancer*, the *Front Barong Dancer*, the *Back Barong Dancer*, one *Jerunying Dancer*, and two *Jerunying Dancers*. The female dancers are made up of 4 (four) *Sisya Dancers*, one *Condong Dancer*, and the *Ratna Mangali Dancer*. The Dancing Movement *Tektakan Calonarang* is presented in the form of a dance drama with the theme *Calonarang* entitled *Ni Diah Ratna Mangali*; the characters dance in such a way that they form *Tektakan Calonarang* as described below.

The *sisya/dayang-dayang* dancers perform the movements made by *Buta Nawa Sari* (*ngereh*); their hands are lifted upward bringing fabric with a design with mystical properties ‘*raja*’ in it; every dance lifts one of her feet upward (*nengkleng*). The movements

made by the character *condong* are referred to as *gerakan mungkah lawang*; she also sings a song referred to as *pupuh pangkur*; the dancing movements she makes are similar to those made by the character *condong* in the *arja* dance drama. Such movements are referred to as right *agem*, left *agem*, walking while turning left, *angselbawak*, *rightagem*; improvisations are also made before the kneeling (*metimpuh*) movement is made. The movements made by the character *Galuh* (*Ratna Mengali*) are known as right *agem* and *ngambil oncer* (while singing what is known as *pupuh dandang* and *pupuh ginada penyerita*). The movements made by the character *galuh* are similar to those made by the character *galuh* in the *Arja* dance drama, known as right *agem*, left *agem*, walking while turning left, *angsel bawak*, *right agem*; improvisations are made before the character *Galuh* and the character *Condong/Sisya* meet.

The character *Penasar* and the character *Kartala* make improvisations while making the movements which are known as *metandak cecantungan*, *gandang-gandang*, *ulap-ulap*, *nabnab udeng*, *seledet*, *gelatik nuut papah*, and *ngopak lantang*. The character *Bahula* make movements as those made by what is known as *mantri pearjan* while singing a song which is known as *pupuh sinom*. The movements which are made are *gandang-gandang*, *nabdab gelung*, *ulap-ulap*, *seledet*, *gelatik nuut papah*, *ngopak lantang*, *ngeraja singa*, *melingsir* and *ngerajeg*. In this stage, the movements which are made are *gandang-gandang*, *nayog*, *ulap-ulap*, *nabnab urangka*, *nabdab gelung*, *ngelangsut*, *ngambil saput*, *seledet*, *malpal*, *milpil*, *ngopak lantang*, *ngeraja singa*, *melingsir*, and *ngerajeg*.

The movements made by the character *Pangpang* are those which are needed to show that she is involved in the war against the characters *Penasar* and *Kartala*. The movements they make are *memukul* (hitting), *melaib* (running), *mekelid* (avoiding), *nguber* (running after), and *ngejuk* (catching). The character *rangda* with her *ngereh* movement runs around the stage bringing white fabric with a design with mystical properties with her ‘*rerajahan*’. The movements which are made are known as *gandang-gandang*, *nayog*, *gayal-gayal*, *nyigcig*, *melincer*, *ngereh*, *jalan rangda*, *gegirahan*, and *mekecos*. Unlike the movements which are made by the *barong* and *rangda* which show that they fight against each other using their own magical power, those made by

the *rangda* are wagging and swaying the mask (the head) of the *barong* and holding it.

The art of cosmetics is generally classified into three; they are the head cosmetics, facial cosmetic, and body cosmetic. The head cosmetic used in *Tektekan Calonarang* are head covers locally referred to as *gelunganandudeng-udengan*, red and white flowers, thatch, and *gegirang* leaves.

The head cosmetic used by the dancers in the *Tektekan Calonarang* performance are the powder pad, powder, eyebrow cosmetic, cheek cosmetic, eye shadow, lipstick, and white forehead cosmetic. The facial cosmetic used by the gamelan players is locally referred to as *gecek*; it is white in color and between the right and left eyebrows.

The clothing and properties worn by the dancers and gamelan players who are involved in the *Tektekan Calonarang* performance are as follows.

- (1) The clothing worn by the characters *Dayang-dayang/Sisya* is made up of white satin inner fabric, breast cover, red *capuk* fabric, yellow belt, head cover made of white fabric (*kudung*); their hair hangs loosely;
- (2) The clothing worn by the character *Condong/Inye* is made of: long-sleeved white shirt, purple fabric, yellow belt, velvet necklace, yellow fabric, what is referred to as *lamak condong* made of yellow fabric, breast cover, *kana* bracelet, *gelungancondong*, and what is locally referred to as *ampok-ampok*;
- (3) The clothing worn by the character *Galuh/Putri* is made up of long-sleeved shirt, green fabric, yellow belt, velvet necklace, what is referred to as *lamak* made of yellow fabric, and what is known as *ampok-ampok*.
- (4) The clothing worn by the character *Penasar* is made of red and velvet shirt, *kana* bracelet, yellow fabric, white trousers, velvet belt, *penasar* head cover, red flowers and what is known as *stiwel*.
- (5) The clothing worn by the character *Kartala* is made of short-sleeved shirt, yellow fabric, white fabric, velvet necklace, *kertala* head cover, and red flowers.
- (6) The clothing worn by the character *Bahula* is made of long-sleeved black and velvet shirt, *kana* bracelet, white trousers, yellow fabric, what is known as *stiwel*, belt, velvet necklace, breast cover, a wavy double-bladed dagger, and what is called *mantri* coil.
- (7) The clothing worn by *Patih Pandung Maguna* is made of red and velvet long-sleeved shirt, *kana* bracelet, white trousers, breast cover, what is known as *stiwel*, belt, velvet necklace, yellow fabric, a wavy double bladed-dagger, *gelungan patih*, red flowers, thatch, and *gegirang* leaves.
- (8) The clothing worn

by *Rangda* is made of what is called black and white shirt, red fabric, black and white trousers, leather necklace, what is called *ampok-ampok*, long nails, *gelungan rangda*, and fabric with a design with mystical properties. (9) The clothing worn by the character *Pangpang/Celuluk* is made of white fabric with what is called black and whitelines, a pair of white trousers with black and whitelines, red fabric, black and white belt, long nails, *gelunganceluluk* and long hair. (10) The clothing worn by the character *barong* is made of a pair of white trousers with black and white lines, and *barong* head. (11) The clothing worn by the character *Jeruning* is made of black satin fabric, black and white cover, red, white and black *umpal*, and three small white house lizard-like ornaments (one on the right, one in the middle, and one on the left) and a wavy double bladed dagger. (12) The clothing worn by the gamelan players is made of black satin fabric, black and white cover, red, white and black *umpal*, and three small white house lizard-like ornaments (one in the middle, one on the right, and one on the left).

The music which accompanies *Tektekan Calonarang* performance is gamelan which is made of small size bamboo combined with the Balinese traditional gamelan such as *Kulkul*, *Suling*, *Kendang*, *Kecek/Cengceng*, *Kenong* and *Gong*.

There are two locations where *Tektekan Calonarang* is performed; they are the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan and at the Continental Hotel, Nusa Dua. (a) *Tektekan Calonarang* Performed at the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan. Many traditional cultural potentials which Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, has are performed for the tourists who come to visit the palace. Anak Agung Oka Silagunada, as the royal elder, presented the theme "the welcoming procession for the royal guests". The potentials which the local people had were taken into consideration. As an illustration, the local people were very good at making traditional foods and cakes and so forth. Such potentials caused Anak Agung Oka Silagunada to choose the theme "the welcoming procession for the royal guests".

No special stage is prepared by the palace for the performance; it is performed at the front yard of the palace, and at the main yard of the palace. *Tektekan Calonarang* is performed at the outer yard of the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, Tabanan. (b) *Tektekan Calonarang* Performed at Hotels. *Tektekan Calonarang* is regularly performed at the

Intercontinental Hotel; in addition, it is also sometimes performed at the other hotels located at Nusa Dua, Bali. This proves that the *Tektekan Calonarang* has the same pattern as the one performed at the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, which can contribute to the local people's economic improvement.

The group is paid more or less Rp. 2,500,000.00 (two million five hundred thousand rupiahs) for one performance, meaning that it can earn more or less Rp. 12,500,000.00 (twelve thousand five hundred thousand rupiahs) or more or less Rp. 150,000,000.00 (one hundred fifty million rupiahs) per year. Such funds are usually distributed once in six months.

The organization which supports *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan is administratively referred to as *Sekaa Rama Bawa*. It was established in 1970 to look after, maintain and develop *Tektekan Calonarang* in accordance with the local people's situation and condition. (a) The management of *Tektekan Calonarang* Group is as follows:

Head : I Ketut Sujaya; Secretary : I Wayan Yuna; Treasurer : I Komang Agus; The section dealing with the dancers: I Komang Agus; The section dealing with the gamelan : I Putu Budi Artana, S.Sn.; The section dealing with offerings : I Made Sukrata; The section dealing with transportation: I Wayan Yuna; The messenger : I Wayan Darma.

Each works in accordance with his function and responsibility; each is devoted to what he is supposed to do and high moral responsibility.

The *Tektekan Calonarang* group has more or less 60 members, ranging from the head, secretary, treasurer, messenger and its members. The members are made up of what is called *juru uruk* (the dancing trainer and gamelan trainer), *juru igel* (the dancers), *juru gambel* (the gamelan players), *juru rias* (the makeup person), *pemangku* (the priest), and those who are responsible for preparing offerings. Both the management and members have obligations and authorities based on the agreements which have been made together.

Tektekan Calonarang was produced by the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan in order to improve their standard of living. Such a production is seen when *Tektekan Calonarang* is traded in order to improve the economy of the

local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, meaning that the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* is related to economy and tourism. *Tektekan Calonarang*, as the product, which is currently developing, is packaged by those who have power and financial capital, sponsor, social capital and have political relationship with the government.

The distribution of *Tektekan Calonarang* is directly related to the agents of distribution; the product is distributed by those who are powerful economically and politically; what they do is shown in the form of promotions. The ruler and the agent distribute *Tektekan Calonarang* through performances, ceremonial activities and through electronic and printed media, meaning that there will be advertisements if there is money. In addition, interests cannot be ignored. *Tektekan Calonarang* is also promoted or distributed through internet (<http://www.tektekan.com>) or through commercial television advertisements or through various printed media such as books, newspapers, magazines, bulletins, and brochures.

Tektekan Calonarang is consumed by both domestic and foreign tourists and is performed at the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, Tabanan and at the hotels located at Nusa Dua Bali.

C. The Implication Of The Commodification Of *Tektekan Calonarang*

The commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda* which is performed for tourists affects several aspects of life of the local people living at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan. It also affects those who are involved in the performance, the performing art, the local people's economy, the palace, and socio-cultural life.

As a whole it can be stated that the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* has affected the local people's lives. It has positively affected the local people's economy, which can be seen from the fact that many economic opportunities have appeared. This can be enjoyed by those who are involved in it such as the tour and travel agencies, the silver smiths, the traditional art groups, and the small groups of traders, meaning that the local people's economy has been made to improve by *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda*.

The commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda* which is performed for tourists at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan has caused new creations and innovations to appear. *Obor Massal*, *Okokan* and *Cetrung Kesedihan* illustrate the appearance of new creations and innovations.

The appearance of *Tektekan Calonarang* which is performed at the Anyar Palace, Kerambitan, for tourists contributes to the local people's economy. Additional income can be earned by preparing the equipment needed for such a performance. The palace buys what is needed for such a performance from the surrounding people, which is then paid by the travel agency who has such a type of performing art performed. In addition, the local people can also sell foods and beverages around the palace as when such a type of performing art is performed there are many drivers and people who come to see it. This means that *Tektekan Calonarang* which is performed at the Anyar Palace, Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, for tourists contributes to the local people's economy.

The development of the communication between the palace and the outside world causes the boundaries of the inflexible traditional culture to be getting flexible. The palace is only used as the place where traditional activities are performed, but it is also the place which is used as the arena where the traditional performing art with new values is performed.

The dinner program which is completed with *Tektekan Calonarang* and the welcoming procession for the royal guests is a new breakthrough made by the palace which can improve the economy of the palace and local people. Apart from that, the palace also functions as the arena where touristic activities such as *Tektekan Calonarang* can be performed.

Socially and culturally, the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* positively contributes to the cultural sustainability. This will become the identity of such an ethnical area in general and the cultural identity of the society of Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan. It has also led to new creativities.

NOVELTIES

Based the result of the data analysis, several novelties can be described as follows. (1) The sacredness of

the *barong* and *rangda* used in *Tektekan Calonarang* performed for tourists does not get degraded. The reason is that every time it is presented, a purification ritual is performed. (2) The development of the commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan strengthens the legitimacy between the palace and local people. The palace can maintain the patron-client relationship and the royal authority as such a performance benefits the local people and supports the royal politics. (2) The commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan contributes to the economic and socio-cultural "symbiosis mutualistic" relationship among the palace, the surrounding society, and the travel agency. It also enriches the treasure of the Balinese culture.

CLOSING

Conclusion

Based on what was described above, as far as the present study entitled "the Commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* at Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan, in which the qualitative method and the theory of deconstruction, the theory of social practice, the theory of religion, and the theory of aesthetics were used is concerned, several conclusions can be drawn as follows. (1) The religious ideology, the market ideology, the conservation ideology, and the cultural ideology have inspired the society of Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan to commodify *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda* which is performed for tourists. (2) The society of Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan has commodified *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda* in the form of the procession of *Calonarang* Dance Drama. (3) The commodification of *Tektekan Calonarang* involving the sacred *barong* and *rangda* has strengthened the local people's belief in the magical power which the *barong* and *rangda* have. The fact that more and more are interested in viewing *Tektekan Calonarang* has certainly contributed to the economy of those who are involved in such a performance and the economy of the local people. It can also contribute to the image and identity of the local people. As it is frequently performed, it contributes to its conservation and sustainability. In addition, it has also indirectly functioned to bind the social solidarity among the local people.

Suggestion

Based on the result of the study, it can be concluded as follows. (2) It is suggested to those who would like to create a Balinese culture-based performing art which is performed for tourists that they should refer to the concept of the commodification of *Tektakan Calonarang* in which different local people's potentials of cultural art are packaged into one so that every can take part in it based on the potentials they have; in this way, conflicts can be avoided. (2) It is suggested that the *Tektakan Calonarang* group should maintain the quality in order to be able to compete locally and globally. (3) To anticipate any possible competition, it is suggested to the government of Tabanan Regency that it should protect and conserve all the cultural arts in Tabanan Regency. It is also suggested to the palace that it should improve the quality of the service it provides, expand the network, and cooperate with national and international parties, and that it should also perpetually promote the existence of such a type of performing art. The time and ability which the writer had were limited; there are many things which need to be investigated; therefore, further research should be conducted to reveal what is not discussed in this present study.

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