

Kecak Ramayana:
The Origins of Bali's Cultural Crosette

By
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It is nightfall in Bali. You join a group of about thirty others in a circle, all dressed simply but uniform in a black and white checkered *sarong*¹, black or white shirt, and matching *udeng*². The only lights are those possibly offered by a lantern in the middle of the circle and the few lights along the buildings within the compound, and the only sounds are those of active nocturnal insects until the narrator leads in unison “ohm.”

There are three of these before the vocal interpretation of Balinese gamelan melodies are sung in call and response fashion, led again by the narrator, who then initiates *kecak*³, Bali’s infamous interlocking vocal chant. While chanting your rhythm on “cak,”⁴ you are surrounded by others doing the same; some in unison with you, and some with contrasting rhythms, creating a composite rhythm which seems to create the illusion of constant rhythmic chattering. Through repetitions of this as well as intermittent breaks and reappearances of gamelan-inspired melodies, the narrator vibrantly tells the Ramayana epic, a story of Prince Rama and his ultimate quest to rescue his love, Sita, from Ravana’s imprisonment. This ancient Indian epic is acted out by elaborately costumed dancers using the middle of the circle as center stage.

As a participant during a study abroad program in December 2016, I had a front row seat to this high-energy theatrical display as a participant.⁵ Today, as a tourist, anyone can experience this unique performance, but while many believe that performances such as the one our study abroad group was able to see at Uluwatu, a temple in Kuta, Bali, are one-of-a-

¹ Fabric wrapped around the waist.

² Batik head wrap.

³ Pronounced “ket-jak” or “ketchak.”

⁴ Pronounced “chak.”

⁵ This recollection is a combination of experiences resulting from field research in Bali, Indonesia, including personal participation in *kecak* as well as observation of *kecak* performance.

kind, inside looks at ancient traditions of Balinese Hinduism, they are, in reality, performances that have been organized with credit typically to a collaboration between Balinese dancer I Wayan Limbak and German painter Walter Spies. Ultimately, I have come to think of *Kecak Ramayana* as a crosette; this is a type of firework that, after the initial explosion, each streak of color appears to result in a secondary, smaller explosion that sends more streaks of color in various directions.⁶ Like the crosette, modern-day kecak is a result of multiple influences that, together, have created a beautiful, colorful, “explosion” of chant, dance, and cultural appropriation, and like its secondary explosions, has influenced many re-appropriations of the style. As such, my research will present the argument that modern-day *kecak* is no more of an indigenous Balinese tradition than *Schindler's List* is a documentary on Oskar Schindler; rather, it is a re-appropriated version of indigenous traditions that has been created for the purpose of demonstrating aspects of these traditions for the tourism industry.

In order to understand modern-day kecak, we must first understand its origins. Though its presentation is based on Balinese art forms, the story is based on Ramayana, an ancient Indian epic. According to the secondary introduction in R.K. Narayan's shortened modern prose version of the story, the Ramayana is often dated back to 1500 BC by some early scholars but all the way back to 4000 BC as a result of recent studies.⁷ Traditionally, the epic tells the story of Rama, Prince of Ayodhya, who has fallen in love with Sita, and his quest to save Sita from her captor, the evil king Ravana, with the help of Hanuman and his

⁶ Phantom IP, LLC, “Fireworks University; Types of Fireworks; Types of Fireworks Effects,” Phantom Fireworks, Accessed May 3, 2017, <https://www.fireworks.com/fireworks-university/fireworks-glossary/>

⁷ Narayan, R.K., *The Ramayana: A Shortened Modern Prose Version of the Indian Epic (Suggested by the Tamil Version of Kamban)* (The Penguin Group, 1972), xxiii.

monkey army. The original story is told over a series of seven books, each telling one portion of the story⁸:

Book 1, *Balakanda*: The first book introduces us to the extensive family tree that makes up Rama's royal family. His father, King Dasaratha, has three wives and is aging, but has yet to bear any children. He prays to the gods that one of his wives is able to give birth to a child, with specific request that this child is able to kill the evil king/demon Ravana and his demon servants. When his prayers are answered, his son is taken to confront Ravana's demons in otherwise forbidden areas. Proving his divine strength, Rama is able to defeat the demons on three separate occasions. In the latter part of the book, we are introduced to Sita, daughter of King Janaka of Mithila, who is destined to be handed off to whomever is able to lift the bow of Siva. In becoming the first man capable of lifting and stringing the bow, Rama ultimately marries Sita.

Book 2, *Ayodhya kanda*: This book begins with a happy, successful, and devoted marriage between Rama and Sita. It then adds on the news that Rama has been chosen as rightful heir to his father's throne, but evil corruption within the kingdom convinces the Queen that Rama should both not inherit the crown and be banished to the forest. Being his wife, Sita refuses to let him go alone and convinces him to let her accompany him, and his brother Lakshmana does the same. While these three characters are finding themselves deeper and deeper in the forest, Rama's brother,

⁸ Lasmawan, I Made, interview by Michael McSweeney, January 3, 2017, notes Patheos Hindu, "Ramayana Story Summary," Patheos, September 14, 2014, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/hindu2/2014/09/ramayana-pdf-downloads/>. GradeSaver, "The Ramayana," GradeSaver LLC, Accessed March 7, 2017, <http://www.gradesaver.com/the-ramayana/study-guide/summary-book-one>.

Bharata, is reluctantly crowned king, unhappy to have unknowingly betrayed his brother. He then sends a search party for Rama, and after finding him, tells him of the poor state of Ayodhya. Through sorrow, Rama insists that Bharata continue ruling until he is able to return.

Book 3, *Aranya kanda*: The third book is where we begin to see recognizable plot points from the version as told through *kecak*. It begins ten years into Rama's exile, when he is told to find Agastya, an infamous sage, who offers him supernatural weaponry. This weaponry proves very useful when Ravana's sister, Surpanakha, attacks him, Lakshmana, and Sita. After cutting her ears and nose off, she sends an army to attack them, which Rama defeats single-handedly, save for one who returns to Ravana to tell him of the loss. Driven by the anger from the loss, the sight of his mangled sister, and his sister's report of Sita's beauty, Ravana decides to kidnap Sita. In order to do this, he asks his brother to disguise himself as a golden deer, which Sita asks Rama to catch. After luring Rama away from Sita, the disguised brother imitates Rama and yells for Lakshmana, which distresses Lakshmana and causes him to go search for Rama, but not before creating a protective border around their home. Disguised as an elder, Ravana comes to the house begging Sita for gifts of bread and fruit, but insists she bring it to him. As soon as she crosses the border of Lakshmana's protective circle, Ravana grabs her and reveals himself, effectively kidnapping her and taking her back with him. When Rama and Lakshmana return and realize they have been tricked, they began their quest to find and rescue Sita.

Book 4, *Kishkinda kanda*: In this book, we are introduced to monkey king Hanuman, though we are first introduced to Sugriva and Vali, rival brother monkey kings who

were pitted against each other long ago. Sugriva offers to help the now duo find and rescue Sita, but not before avenging past transgressions of Vali. After multiple battles, Vali is eventually killed, but Sugriva does not seem to hold up his end of the deal as he gets caught up in the lavish lifestyle of his throne. In a drunken stupor that renders him incapable of doing the task himself, he eventually sends out search parties, one of which is lead by Hanuman.

Book 5, *Sundara kanda*: This book focuses on Hanuman's scouting of Lanka, the city in which Sita is held captive. After flying there, he watches Ravana threaten Sita in the event that she does not choose to love and devote herself to him. In her purity, she continues to preach her love for Rama and does not give in to Ravana or his demon servants' demands. In order to not draw too much attention to himself, Hanuman transforms into a small monkey to safely approach Sita and tell her Rama's story, presenting an item of his jewelry as proof of his trustworthiness. She sends a piece of her jewelry back with Hanuman to prove that she is still alive and well, but before leaving, Hanuman transforms back into a giant version of himself and destroys the gardens, eventually allowing his own capture in order to speak to Ravana and warn him of Rama's impending attack on Lanka. Ravana wants to kill Hanuman for threatening him, but is reminded that it would not be dharma⁹ to kill a messenger, so Ravana instead decides to light his tail on fire and parade him around

⁹ According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, in Hinduism and Buddhism, *dharma* is defined as "the basic principles of cosmic or individual existence: divine law." "Dharma." Merriam-Webster.com. Accessed May 2, 2017. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dharma>.

the city. Protected from the pain by the fire gods, Hanuman takes the opportunity to survey the landscape, and after escaping uses his tail to burn down the city.

Book 6, *Yuddha kanda*: Rama and the monkey army build a bridge across the ocean to the far away island where Lanka is located and Rama guarantees safe passage via a blessing from the ocean god, Varuna. Meanwhile, Ravana is seeking advice regarding the anticipated arrival of Rama and his army and receiving conflicting advice from various sides. When they arrive, Ravana tries to trick Sita into believing that Rama has been killed by presenting to her a look-a-like severed head, but Sita is tipped off by one of her guards and does not fall for Ravana's deception, which angers him. Rama then sends in one of the warriors to convince Ravana to surrender Sita so the conflict can end peacefully, but Ravana violently denies the request, triggering war. There are many casualties on both sides, but the most notable damage is to Lakshmana, who falls victim to Ravana's son, Indrajit, putting him in a coma. Rama assumes him dead, but he is told that herbs from a distant mountain can revive him, which Hanuman flies to retrieve. After bringing the entire mountain, Lakshmana is healed. Following this, Indrajit attempts to trick Rama into believing that he beheads her in front of him before Rama realizes it is yet another trick. When attempting to make himself invincible, Indrajit is interrupted by Lakshmana, who eventually kills him. With virtually nothing left to protect him, Ravana is finally vanquished by Rama. Hanuman then frees Sita and brings her to Rama, who is initially skeptical of her loyalty to him having lived so long under Ravana's roof, but she steps into a fire unharmed, proving her purity. Having lined

up with the end of his exile, Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana then return to Ayodhya, where Rama and Sita inherit the throne.

Book 7, *Uttara kanda*¹⁰: This rumored late addition to the story brings Agastya, the infamous sage introduced in book three, back to visit Rama and Sita and tells them the stories of all those he had met and battled during his exile. However, skepticism of Sita's fidelity to Rama during her captivity grows among the kingdom to a point of safety concern for Rama, ultimately causing him to reluctantly exile a pregnant Sita, during which she gives birth to her and Rama's twin sons, who eventually hear the Ramayana, the story of their own father. With news of this, Rama orders Sita and their sons' return to Ayodhya and accepts them back into his life, profusely apologizing for such poor treatment. Sita, however, no longer wants to live and requests the goddess of the earth to take her, which she does. Though heartbroken by Sita's passing, Rama continues to rule Ayodhya as he was destined, and eventually leaves this world through a river and joins Sita in the heavens.

Now that a basic understanding of the story has been presented, we can compare the modern-day telling of the story through kecak with the original story. I have heard from multiple sources¹¹ that kecak limits itself to one episode of the Ramayana, but through my research, I have found this to be a misnomer. In a typical presentation, like the previously mentioned performance at Uluwatu temple in Kuta, Bali, the story is commonly broken down into five acts performed as a single one to one and a half hour performance. The story

¹⁰ In some conversations with various academics and Balinese natives, it has been noted that this book is believed to have been added to the story some time after its creation and is therefore not included in all versions of the *Ramayana*.

¹¹ Based on conversations with various Balinese locals and some academics. This inconsistency could be result a language barrier.

appears to be simplified to books two or three through six and are slightly rearranged and greatly simplified for the sake efficient presentation. According to an accompanying sheet of paper explaining each section of *Kecak Ramayana* at Uluwatu temple, each “act” of the performance is presented as follows:^{12, 13}

Act 1: This section includes Rama, Sita, Laksmana (Lakshmana), and Kijang, and begins with the golden deer and all of Ravana’s deceptive distractions from Book Three.

Act 2: This section includes Sita, Rhawana (Ravana), Bhagawan, and Garuda, and includes the kidnapping of Sita.

Act 3: This section includes Rama, Laksmana, Hanoman (Hanuman), and Sugriwa, and is where Rama and Laksmana begin their search for Sita and meet Hanoman.

Act 4: This section includes Sita, Trijata, Hanoman, and The Giants,¹⁴ and plays out Hanoman’s trip to Alengka¹⁵ where he tells Sita of Rama’s intention to save her and burns down the city.

Act 5: This final section includes all characters and includes the final battle between Rama and his army against Rhawana and his army, ultimately ending with their victory as well as the reuniting and homecoming of Rama and Sita.

We will come back to how and why these simplifications and alterations took place, but first we must continue understanding the stylistic origins of the presentation.

¹² Some of the names are spelled and/or pronounced slightly differently than they are in the full Ramayana story. Names in parenthesis are alternate spellings as seen in the book summaries.

¹³ Jl. Raya Uluwatu Pecatu – Kuta, “Sekaa Tari Kecak; Kecak Ramayana & Fire Dance: ‘Uluwatu’”

¹⁴ This appears to be referring to the monkeys’ ability to transform their own size, but this is not clarified in this version of the story.

¹⁵ Lanka, the island city ruled by Rhawana (Ravana).

Skipping ahead chronologically to the early 20th century, we recognize two types of dance traditions that had strong influence on today's performances of *Kecak Ramayana*. The first of these is *tari sang hyang*. The word *tari* refers to "dance," and *sang hyang bidadari* refers to "heavenly goddess," so it can be inferred that *tari sang hyang* refers to a "dance of heavenly goddesses."¹⁶ This type of dance is categorized as ritual trance, as it was commonly believed that the dancers were possessed by the gods before beginning the ritual. Traditionally, this dance was used as a way of warding off evil spirits when inhabitants of a village or compound believed that certain happenings were omens signifying the presence or coming presence of these evil spirits.

A few key comparisons can be drawn from *tari sang hyang* to modern-day *kecak*. The first is the musical accompaniment of *gamelan mulut*, or the *cak* chorus,¹⁷ in place of gamelan. This is a type of vocal chanting that, as I was taught during my time in Bali, is meant to imitate the sounds of the Balinese gamelan, and is also used in *kecak*. The second is the dress. In modern-day *kecak*, the dress is very simple: all chanting participants (traditionally all men) wear a black and white checkered *sarong*, no shirt, and a matching *udeng*. Traditional *tari sang hyang* follows this same principle.

The other style that appears to have prominent influence on *kecak* is one called *legong*. In her book, Maria Talamantes notes that *legong* is a "more developed dance form with ties to palace traditions of female dance," and is intended more for social and

¹⁶ These definitions are a mix of multiple interpretations/translations. (See: Talamantes, Maria, *Performance of Identity: The Pelegongan Andir of Tista, Bali* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006) , p. 357 and Stepputat, Kendra, *Performing Kecak: A Balinese Dance Tradition Between Daily Routine and Creative Art* (International Council for Traditional Music, 2012), p. 50, footnote 5)

¹⁷ *Gamelan mulut* is a term created by German zoologist Erwin Stresemann and is described as the *cak* chorus by author Kendra Stepputat (See: Stepputat, *Performing Kecak*, 51-52)

entertainment purposes, though not quite to the extent of tourism. Unlike *tari sang hyang*, *legong* actually uses gamelan instruments. Though this is in contrast to *kecak*, the dress for *legong*, in addition to its less formal use, appear to be strong influences on *kecak* in its modern form. The dress for *legong* is traditionally extremely elaborate, as is the dress for the dancers in modern-day *kecak*.

Also worth noting is in which part of the temple each of these two styles are traditionally performed. In any Balinese temple, there are three levels, or *mandalas*.¹⁸ Each hold a very specific purpose, the tradition of which is deeply respected among those practicing Balinese Hinduism.

1. The first level is *Utama mandala*. This is the innermost section of any temple, only accessible by the likes of priests and dignitaries and used only for the deepest religious ceremonies. This is the section in which *tari sang hyang* is performed, as it is considered an exorcism rite.
2. The second level is *Madya mandala*. This is the middle section, where most activities take place, and includes several pavilions for gathering, offering, gamelan, and more. Tourists can occasionally enter this section so long as they are correctly clothed in addition to a list of other requirements.¹⁹
3. The third level is *Nista mandala*. This is the outer-most section of the temple, and though it may appear to be outside the temple and not always confined by walls, it is still considered sacred ground. This is the section in which

¹⁸ Lasmawan, I Made, "Balinese Music and Culture," Lecture Series, December 2016-January 2017, Bali, Indonesia.

¹⁹ This list is typically posted just outside the entrance of any given temple, and generally forbids things such as revealing clothing, menstruating women, obscenity, etc.

legong traditionally takes place, and is also the level in which tourists are typically allowed to enter.

By examining the three levels, especially in relation to where the aforementioned styles traditionally take place, we can see how closely related the traditions of *legong* are to modern-day *kecak*. Though the musical presentation of *kecak* appears to be more closely related to that of *tari sang hyang* and the like, the more social nature of *legong* appears to have heavily influenced that of *kecak*. When visiting Uluwatu temple, if one were to watch *Kecak Ramayana & Fire Dance*, they would notice that they are in this third level of the temple.

Having all of this information in mind, we are inevitably brought back to the questions of how, when, and why did *kecak* come to mix all of these concepts together to create a tradition; more importantly, it begs the question of why a culture so devoted to its own deeply religious traditions seemed to suddenly feel the need to create something for the sole purpose of pleasing tourists. The answer to these questions requires us to go back once again to the early 20th century, when many European expatriates were researching in Bali. Most notably is a German artist named Walter Spies who was in Bali during the 1930's and is largely credited with the creation of modern-day *kecak* alongside Balinese dancer I Made Limbak.

It is said that Spies was very impressed by Limbak's dancing ability and felt that he had not been given an opportunity to fully realize his talent and ability, pushing him to create something more.²⁰ Moreover, it was extremely important to Spies that, no matter

²⁰ Stepputat, *Performing Kecak*, 50.

what was created, that it be credited as strictly Balinese. In her report, Kendra Stepputat includes a quote from Spies about this:

“It is true, that the creative effort which produced the astonishing ensemble we have attempted to describe [the *kecak* of northern Bedulu] was partly inspired by certain Europeans who felt Limbak’s great gifts as a dancer had not found their full expression in Baris, and urged him to make something splendid out of the *Ketjak* group of his own village. But the *Ketjak* was of purely Balinese inspiration.’ (Spies and de Zoete 1973:83)”²¹

Regardless of Spies’ interest in keeping the credit in Bali, it seems to consistently be attributed to the work of himself in collaboration with Limbak. After returning to Germany and coming back to Bali once more, he was able to assist in getting the first performances of *Kecak Ramayana* off the ground, and as they say, the rest is history.

Most important to note, however, is that modern-day *kecak* in no way has replaced traditions such as *tari sang hyang* and *legong*; all of these styles still manage to co-exist, much in the same way that various musical styles of the United States have fed off of each other but continued to co-exist, even in popular music (e.g. backbeat-driven acoustic pop music and electronic pop music).

The innovation has not stopped with *Kecak Ramayana* either, and though it is a young art form at less than one hundred years old, it has already reached the eyes and ears of the Western hemisphere, where it is guaranteed to see many derivatives for years to come. One example of this is *Monkey Chant*, a drum set solo written by Glenn Kotche that was inspired by field recordings of *kecak*. In the piece, drums are used to mimic the sound

²¹ Stepputat, *Performing Kecak*, 53.

and rhythm of chanting, almglocken are used to imitate the sound of the small gongs comprising the *trompong*, a large instrument used in gamelan comprised of a graduated set of small pitched gongs, a kalimba and crotales to imitate the Balinese *pelog* scale, one of the scales gamelan are traditionally tuned to and the one that is traditionally sung in *kecak*, a prepared snare drum with wires, friction sticks, and springs to imitate the monkey sounds and represent characters of the Ramayana, and a metal coil fruit basket with a contact microphone to emulate the deep, engulfing sound of the Balinese gong.²² Though his version does not line up with the version that can be seen and practiced in Bali, he has creatively and artistically developed a version that tells the Ramayana without narration but largely stays true to the rhythms and timbres of the Balinese version.

Additionally, versions of *kecak* have been presented to Western audiences through film, including as part of Ron Fricke's *Baraka*, a film that presents human culture in various parts of the world.²³ One approximately six-minute portion of the film presents a well-produced part of a performance of *kecak*, though not *Kecak Ramayana*, from Borobudur, a Buddhist temple nestled on the Bromo volcano in Bali.

Today, any tourists in Bali can see for themselves what is often marketed as an ancient Balinese tradition, but these are typically going to be some version of *Kecak Ramayana*. While I would highly recommend anyone who has a chance to go to Bali to take the time to see one of these incredible, high-energy performances, I make this recommendation knowing fully that it is a tourist-centered experience, and I firmly believe that the same can be said about most popular tourism attractions in any part of the globe.

²² Kotche, Glenn, "Monkey Chant," (Glenn Kotche, n.d.)

²³ The section of this film including *kecak* can be viewed on YouTube at <https://youtu.be/2WHx2ITKtUg>, and the full film can also be viewed on YouTube at <https://youtu.be/bbykhJ8aTz0>.

While always greatly appreciating and respecting the art that is *kecak* and *Kecak Ramayana* specifically, I will always think of it as Bali's tourism-created croquette; *tari sang hyang*, *legong*, and people like Walter Spies and I Made Limbak are the gunpowder, shell, and all other parts that go into the creation of this beautiful, multi-layered firework that is modern-day *kecak*, and presentations such as Glenn Kotche's *Monkey Chant* and Ron Fricke's *Baraka* are the secondary explosions that result from each of the tails from the initial explosion. Every aspect of that firework can be analyzed and appreciated, but at the end of the day, it is the primary explosion that will be remembered; that is, until the next Walter Spies comes along and pushes for further innovation.

Though *kecak*, in its modern form, is no more of an indigenous Balinese tradition than Chicago's deep-dish pizza is a traditional Italian dish, it is a beautiful art form that has been appreciated, observed, and mimicked for decades, and will likely continue to be for many years to come. Its re-appropriation of indigenous traditions such as *tari sang hyang*, *legong*, and others is one that expands on the already vast, unique culture of Bali, Indonesia, and likely gives us a closer look into a culture that may have otherwise only been known for its physical beauty and vacation spots. Modern-day *kecak* allows our world an inside look, not just at Bali, but at the Balinese people as well as their unique version of Hinduism and general way of life as influenced by multiple cultures, including India where the *Ramayana* originates. *Kecak Ramayana* itself may just be an addition to Bali's thriving tourism industry, but it can also be our doorway into the Balinese way of life; it is up to us to decide whether or not we venture any further.

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