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Recalling Hindu-Javanese Voices in Bali

Anthropological Media Praxis between the Visible and the Invisible

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Abstract— This paper argues the potential of filmmaking to encompass "visible/tangible" and "invisible/intangible" cultural heritages, invoking W.J. Ong's theory of "Orality and Literacy." To exemplify the impact of media from a historical perspective, the paper takes up two cases related to the old tale of Sri Tanjung in the era of Hindu-Java in Indonesia: Prijono's 1938 book of the lontar manuscript from Bali, and my filmmaking project in Bali, which focuses on the archaic meter in the original lontar unveiled by Prijono. The first case reveals the attribution of Prijono's text as a product of Western literacy training that consequently marginalized the lontar's original orality as a kidung (ritual song). The second clarifies the "diversity within a norm" in reciting the meter (pupuh wuikir/adri) by Balinese successors and the similar feature of kidung videos on YouTube, representing a variety of communal oral styles shaped by ritual practices. The comparison finds that, while "text-making of Hindu-Javanese culture" by local intellectuals in the 1930s served to unite Indonesian nationalism for the future, "filming/performing kidung/kakawin" utilizing today's digital infrastructure promotes local diversity of cultural transmission; it is reactivating the polyphonic nature of ancient manuscripts through the recursive/retrospective relationship between bodily memories and audiovisual images. Today's bottom-up-oriented interpretive activities, through traditional performing arts, thus suggest the significance of dialogical filmmaking praxes to visualize cultural memories that were invisible until the last century, whereby technical/technological practices could explore the future vision together to transmit cultural heritage from global and local perspectives.

Keywords—Cultural Heritage; Hindu-Java; Orality and Literacy; Media; Performing Arts

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I. INTRODUCTION

Based on today's manifold support activities for cultural heritage, this article offers an anthropological insight into filmmaking as an intersection between "the visible and the invisible" by invoking W. J. Ong's theory of "Orality and Literacy [1]." It relates the dichotomous key concepts of "tangible/visible/literacy" vs. "intangible/invisible/orality," following *The Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* in 2001[1]. Within this framework, it considers two cases related to a human-nymph marriage tale, *Sri Tanjung*[2], which prevailed during the era of Hindu-Java[3] in Indonesia: Prijono's 1938 book *Sri Tañjung: Een Oud Javaansch Verhaal* and my ongoing filmmaking project "How to Recite *Pupuh*

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[1] It was made as part of the procedure toward *The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.

[2] This is a story of death and rebirth by the innocence of Sri Tanjung (nymph) and the human desire of her husband Sidapaksa.

[3] This term is generally defined as the period from the eighth to the late fifteen centuries when Hinduism flourished in Java.

Wukir/Adri" in Bali. This juxtaposition aims to analyze the media's impact on the relationship between written words and cultural practices from a historical perspective, focusing on the following two points:

The first is the separation of literacy and orality in the letterpress printing era, namely books. The *Sri Tanjung* story was originally inscribed in traditional palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*) as poetry to be practiced as a ritual song (*kidung*). Indonesian scholar Prijono (1907–1969), who later became the Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesia, published a study of the tale in 1938. It consists of the Romanized transcription of the *Sri Tanjung* manuscripts found in Bali, the storyline in prose, and Prijono's philological analysis. As discussed in a previous study [2], Prijono's work served to "publish Hindu-Javanese literature" within the Western literacy paradigm; it necessarily marginalized the elements of traditional oral culture.

The second is the potential of digital media as a "third orality." Ong defines electronic media increased in the last century as "secondary orality"; like primary orality, it fosters "a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas [3]." Considering electronic media, my argument situates today's digital media practices centering on the Internet as a "third orality," allowing more active and dialogical participation than the second one. The filming project thus exemplifies how the digital media "praxis," which implies an applied action rather than "practice," interweaves texts and local bodily memories by visualizing the archaic meter that Prijono found in the Balinese *Sri Tanjung* manuscripts. It also promotes intercultural empathy between Java and Bali, where people have transmitted medieval Hindu-Javanese culture in various styles by rediscovering the aesthetics embedded in *lontar* manuscripts.

From this perspective, Section II discusses the power of media to articulate and internalize cultural memories through an interplay between orality and literacy. It also refers to technique and technology, whereby today's digital infrastructure encompasses "visible/tangible" and "invisible/intangible" cultural heritages. Section III illuminates Prijono's textual practices within colonial academia and his devotion to Javanese performing arts as a *priyayi* (the local elite) living between Western literacy and traditional oral culture. Section IV examines the diversity of the *Wukir/Adri* meter among local successors and the dynamics of Balinese *kidung* transmission within today's "third orality."

II. WHY MEDIA MATTERS

A. *Historical Overview of Orality and Literacy*

In the current information technology age, media plays a significant role in the survival of cultural heritage; it revitalizes the interaction between old and new materials and practices and the visible and invisible to rediscover traditional culture in the present context. In this regard, it is particularly important to examine how different forms of media support cultural memory transmission.

Humans have evolved writing systems into myriad styles since protowriting began in the fourth millennium BC. However, in many parts of the world, writing skills remained the specific ability of a few intellectual experts until a modern education system was established. Ong's concept of "primary orality" denotes the dominance of spoken language that has occupied much of human history. He particularly remarks on the primary orality mechanism for memorization beyond its function as a communication tool.

But even with a listener to stimulate and ground your thought, the bits and pieces of your thought cannot be preserved in jotted notes. How could you ever call back to mind what you had so laboriously worked out? The only answer is: Think memorable thoughts. In a primary oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns shaped for ready oral recurrence.

Then, examining the thought and expression in primary orality, he reveals nine features: (i) Additive, (ii) Aggregative, (iii) Redundant or 'copious,' (iv) Conservative or traditionalist, (v) Close to the human lifeworld, (vi) Agonistically toned, (vii) Empathetic and participatory, (viii) Homeostatic, (ix) Situational. These features are common to traditional performing arts worldwide, an allegedly intangible cultural heritage. Thus, theatrical modes of elaborate verbal and bodily workings used to be powerful vehicles to convey cultural memories, not merely an aesthetic representation for entertainment. The same could be said about the intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia, such as the shadow puppets (*wayang kulit*) and vast amounts of poetry (*kakawin/kidung*) inscribed on *the lontar*, which were performed all night long in those days.

Ong further notes that the "hearing dominance" of primary orality has been superior to the "sight dominance" of literacy culture for a long time; this is because "Writing served largely back into the oral world" during the manuscript culture period as is exemplified by orations, disputations, and reading literary among medieval intellectuals in Europe. However, printing technology has replaced the lingering hearing dominance in thought and expression with sight dominance.

Writing moves words from the sound world to a world of visual space, but print locks words into position in this space. (an omission) Most readers are of course not consciously aware of all this locomotion that has produced the printed text confronting them. Nevertheless, from the appearance of the printed text, they pick up a sense of word-in-space quite different from that conveyed by writing. Printed texts look machine-made, as they are.

Therefore, letterpress printing accelerates sight dominance in a human's relationship with letters. Furthermore, the legibility of printed text, which is perfectly arranged, unlike written text, prevailed the new behavior of "rapid and silent reading."

Electronic media has drastically affected social communication after the first interaction between human bodily practice and technology through letterpress printing. Ong defined these media like telephone, radio, television, and various kinds of sound tape as "secondary orality"; it is "both remarkably like and remarkably unlike primary orality" and "generates a sense for groups immeasurably larger than those of primary oral culture [4]."

M. McLuhan developed Ong's views using an alternative approach. He considers the media a web of connections, similar to the ecology of information. He also remarks on media power, which "amplifies" a certain part of the human sensorium to create specific "spaces" in thought and behavior; for example, television "involves the maximal interplay of all the senses" beyond the preceding hearing/sight dominance. It then unfolds into a vision that "our central nervous system is technologically extended to involve us in the whole of mankind and to incorporate the whole of mankind in us [5]." Yet, as the technological deterministic viewpoint has been argued, McLuhan's theory raises one question: does the monumental idea of "*the extensions of man*" mean that we are obtaining a perfect memorization mechanism better than primary oral culture? The key to the answer, particularly for people in the digital age, is the fundamental issues of technique and technology.

B. *Affordance between Technique and Technology: How Media can Visualize What is Invisible*

Agazzi's discussion helps reconsider the complex relationship between techniques and technology. According to his definition, the technique can apply certain *know-how*. Like the technical skills of a craftsman or pianist, through the accumulation and transmission of experiences without being supported by *knowing why*. Meanwhile, technology implies "theoretical application" as indicated by the suffix "-*ology*," significantly overlapping with the essential meaning of the ancient Greek "*techne*": the ability to base *knowing why*. However, after the Renaissance, modern science shifted technological activities to focus on *projecting* new instruments and practices rather than *explaining* them. In addition, technical equipment in scientific research has strengthened the interdependence between science and technology, and technology has adopted the characteristics of applied science [6].

Agazzi's description acknowledges the constant development of science and technology through innovative ideas, suggesting that most people, even those working in the above fields, live in the realm of *know-how*. Therefore, it would be appropriate to equate the concept of "technique" with the anthropological term of *habitus*: a particular form constructed in individual and collective thoughts and practices by accumulating social communication, as is often used synonymously with *culture*. Furthermore, given today's computer-oriented lifestyle, one can assume that *technological habitus* is prevalent among users of digital devices (e.g., smartphones, tablets, PCs) without *knowing why*. McLuhan's theory is right within this purview since such "affordance" between technique and technology underlies the human's cognitive operations today, saying, "the personal and social consequences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves - result from the new scale introduced by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology [7]."

Then, within today's rapidly changing technological and or cognitive environment, how can humans maintain their identity in "history"? When returning to the memory, Connerton provides a significant view: "bodily practice" is a platform of interpretive activities for transmitting social/cultural memories. The theory stands on two types of memorization practice: *incorporating practic*e, which means a series of actions/representations (e.g., speaking, dancing), and *inscribing practice* is recording information on various devices (e.g., prints, photographs, sound tapes). These implicit and explicit bodily practices are integrated into communal memory by embodying periodic commemorative ceremonies. Thus, he notes, "*incorporating* and *inscribing* may be the objects of our interpretive activity [8]."

Discourses suggest infrastructural possibilities and the responsibility of the contemporary third orality in transmitting cultural memories. This allows anyone to easily post, share, and discuss cultural records online. Thus, the Internet is a global storage of cultural memories that visualizes what was invisible in the primary/secondary orality era. It is not limited to stylized traditional culture; T. Ishimura reports cases in Oceania, where visualizing indigenous knowledge of nature is a salient issue in protecting traditions and communities amid global climate change [9]. However, as Connerton envisions, only collaborative bodily practices between senders/*inscribers* and receivers/*incorporators* allow the posted information to be reconstructed into a substantive "cultural memory." From this perspective, cultural transmission since the first oral tradition is reminiscent of *Möbius Strip*; it is woven from various technical/technological *habitus* and "media" to continue the power of endless hermeneutic inquiry of *selves*.

III. WHAT PRIJONO'S TEXT-MAKING PURSUES

A. *In the Stream of "Letterpress Lontar"*

This story is set before the electronic age/secondary orality when European printing technology prevailed in the Dutch East Indies (see [2]). "Books about Indonesian culture" appeared in the seventeenth century as ethnography by Western travelers, officers, and missionaries. After The Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1778, "writing indigenous culture" became more active among colonial scholars. It was accelerated by the publication of the journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-land en*

volkenkunde (1853–1952) and the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1838–1894). In addition to the Royal Batavian Society, the Royal Institute for Linguistics, Land and Ethnology (KITLV) has also actively published academic monographs while collecting traditional manuscripts (*lontar*) from across the archipelago since 1852; in 1908, these were integrated into the archive of *Koloniale Bibliotheek* (the Colonial Library) in Leiden.

The "interpretive community" of medieval Hindu-Javanese culture is equally significant. W. R. B. van Hoëvell, the president of The Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, initiated it in the 1840s. Afterward, King Mangkunegara VII and his colleagues established the monumental *Java-Instituut* in Surakarta in 1919: the first research center where Dutch, native Indonesian (*pribumi*), and mixed Indonesian (*Indos*) intellectuals studied Javanese history and culture together under the mission to "protect the noble court culture since the era of Hindu-Java from modernization." Notably, the Institute's early committee included Tjokroaminoto, the leader of *Sarekat Islam* [10]. This suggests that Hindu-Javanese cultural heritage had a specific value as an inclusive space or sanctuary among intellectuals living amid the complex political conflicts of the time. Furthermore, the spirit of Javanese culture that they rediscovered enhanced Indonesian nationalism.

Prijono was born in 1907 in Yogyakarta [11]. He grew up during the transitional period when local elites/*priyayis* participated in colonial academia due to the Ethical Policy/*Ethische Politiek*. He learned about sophisticated Javanese court (*kraton*) culture from his father who was working as a courtier (*abdi dalem*), while joining a local dance school, *Krido Bekso Wiromo*. However, he studied at the Dutch-based primary school (HIS) in Yogyakarta and graduated from secondary school (AMS) in Surakarta in 1929. He moved to Paris and completed a French course (*Cours Mayon*) in 1932 at 25. He finally settled in the Netherlands and studied at Leiden University as a member of the philological community represented by J. L. A. Brandes (1857–1905) while joining the Student Association (*Perhimpoenan Indonesia*) *(Fig. 1)*. As an Indonesian bureaucratic candidate educated in Western literacy, Prijono completed a doctoral course with a *Sri Tanjung* study in 1938.

Fig. 1. Prijono and Indonesian colleagues in Leiden. Prijono stands in the left corner of the back row. (Shelfmark: KITLV403229, Title: "*Indonesische studenten te Leiden*," published in 1933)

The thesis was issued in the same year by two publishers: Nederlandsche Boek-en Steendrukkerij in Den Haag and Burgersdijk and Niermans-Templum Salomonis in Leiden *(Fig. 2)*. The former is the entire doctoral thesis made into a book as a collection in university libraries, whereas the latter is designed for public availability. Their contents are almost the same.

The features of Prijono's textualization can be summarized in three points. The first is the origin and author of the story. Prijono assumes that the story's origin is supposedly around Banyuwangi in East Java and that the manuscripts from Bali[4] written in Middle Javanese with Balinese characters would be a derivative of Citragotra, who wrote the *Sudamala* story, supposedly in the mid-fourteenth century. Second, he assembled 14 damaged manuscripts into a single story composed of seven cantos (493 stanzas); the 14 items consisted of five *lontar* and nine paper manuscripts that copied the words inscribed in *the lontar*. Third, the description style; in addition to the Romanized transcription of the 493 Middle Javanese stanzas, he summarized the storyline in prose format in Dutch [12].

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[4] There is another *Sri Tanjung*'s manuscript (in a form of booklet) from Banyuwangi investigated by Indonesian scholars [13].
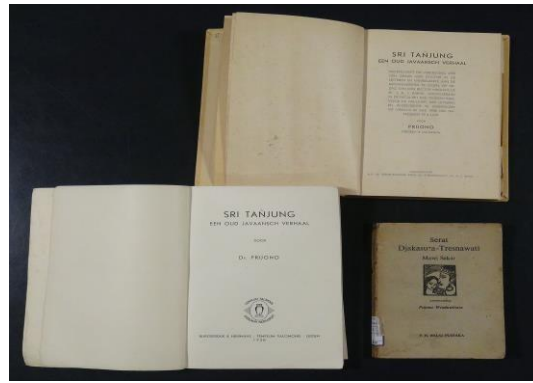
Fig. 2. Prijono's 1938 *Sri Tañjung: Een Oud Javaansch Verhaal,* published by the Nederlandsche Boek-en Steendrukkerij (the top right) and the Burgersdijk & Niermans-Templum Salomonis (the bottom left) The book at the bottom right shows his last work, *Serat Djaksura-Tresnawati Mawi Sekar* (1966).

Within this purview, the issue is not the validity of his analysis but the thought and behavior shaped by the form of "printed book." It follows the style of today's academic writing, including references to previous studies. It largely depends on the works of Dutch scholars, particularly those of H. N. van der Tuuk, who collected most of the *Sri Tanjung* manuscripts. Yet, rethinking the nature of *lontar* in primary orality, the book could be regarded as an artifact of the shift to "sight-dominance" in the colonial era; Prijono's effort in Western literacy training finally produced the book for "silent reading." As Ong says, "Writing is a technology [14]." The published *Sri Tanjung* is a product of printing technology since it shaped Prijono's thought and writing into an academic paper book, a symbol of civilization then. Thus, the literary work contributed to publishing "letterpress *lontar* of Hindu-Javanese culture" in Leiden.

B. As a Pudjangga Menari (Dancing Literary Man)

Prijono's devotion to performing arts is worth mentioning. In Leiden, he exerted his Yogyakarta-style performance skills in the cultural promotion of Indonesia at the Student Association for Indonesian Arts (SVIK), which gave him the title of honorary member in 1938 [15]. The club started in 1935 amid rising nationalism among Indonesian students. This awareness corresponded to increased performing arts organizations in Java since 1918. Accordingly, his life as a *pudjangga menari* (dancing literary man) continued even after returning to the homeland in 1938. He actively supported the Jakarta branch of his alma mater, the dance school *Krido Bekso Wiromo*. During the Japanese occupation, he composed an opera titled *Banjaran Sari*. After independence, he promoted many overseas performances of Indonesian music and dance during his ministerial tenure [11]. He also worked as a literacy practitioner. After working in higher education in Jakarta, he founded the Gadjah Mada University in 1946. He was promoted to Minister of Education and Culture of the Soekarno Cabinet in 1957 for these achievements. He first exercised his ministerial power in Indonesian orthography based on IPA characters (*Ejaan Prijono-Katoppo*) to improve the nation's literacy rate, which was only 7% [16]. From an international perspective, he also introduced foreign literature, such as Romanian folktales, to connect Indonesia and the world.

Prijono's loyalty to the two realms, orality/performing arts and literacy/academic writing–portrays how both were important in building the new nation. Although his thesis marginalized the oral culture embedded in the original *lontar*, the long transcription process from Middle Javanese to Dutch might have made him ponder the message of this story. He later referred to the importance of regional literature in introspecting traditional morals and modern ideals [15]. For many *priyayis* of the time, "text making of Hindu-Javanese culture" was a reflective practice to overcome their reality, as in the *Java-Instituut*. Significantly, their academic dissemination enhanced Indonesian nationalism in parallel with a rapid increase in the local press through the printing industry [17]. In performing arts, nationalists invented many dramas by excavating the past in search of their ethnic identities [18]. As a quadrilingual *pudjangga menari*, Prijono dedicated his whole life to the hermeneutic inquiry for Indonesian "selves" in the turbulent period. In 1966, three years before passing away, he published his last work, *Serat Djaksura-Tresnawati Mawi Sekar (Fig. 2),* written in Javanese, his mother tongue.

IV. How to Recite the *Sri Tanjung*: Contemporary Balinese *Kidung* and "Third Orality"

A. You Know What You Can Recall: The Pupuh Wukir/Adri in Balinese Memories

In those days, *lontar* manuscripts supported the rich Indonesian oral culture as a supplementary item. Modernity prevailed in printed books and sight-dominance literacy in Indonesia, as exemplified in Prijono's case. While the Dutch-oriented collection

and transcription of large amounts of *lontar* was part of preserving cultural heritage, Prijono and his colleagues' struggle between the two worlds implicitly signifies what they could not achieve in their textual practices. Prijono's book, written in Dutch, was never known to the locals, and *Sri Tanjung*'s oral culture in Bali almost disappeared.

The project "How to Recite the *Pupuh Wukir/Adri*" therefore focuses on the archaic meter that Prijono found in the *Sri Tanjung* manuscript from Bali. He also describes the meter *pupuh Wukir* in the footnote [19] called *Adri* in Bali. The original text uses the local term "*apupuh*," equal to the Western meter concept. The "*apupuh*" is generally called "*pupuh*" today, and various *pupuh* exist in traditional Javanese and Balinese *kidung*. The *pupuh Adri* has the same pattern as *Wukir* among approximately fifty *pupuh* existing in Bali [20]. Prijono clarified the *Wukir* pattern of vowel sounds in the end syllable underlying the following stanzas.
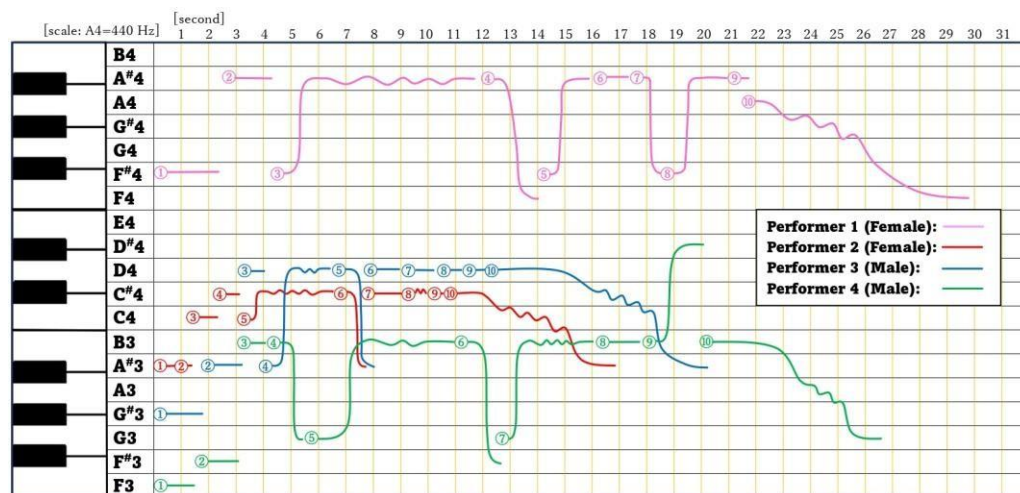
a. 10u (i); b. 6e (a, o); c. 8i (u); d. 7u; e. 8u; f. 8e (o, a); g. 8u (a); h. 8a; i. 8a

Each stanza comprises nine lines (a–i). For example, "10u" of "line a" means that the line consists of 10 syllables and ends with the vowel "u." The following (i) is the exceptional change of the end syllable. It is unknowable how far Prijono's *technical habitus* based on Javanese court culture could image the melody of the *pupuh Wukir/Adri*. Therefore, Prijono's incapability of "visualizing the reciting technic" due to the era suggests the significance of "excavating" the shape of this meter; it is a relic of the memorization system in primary oral culture, as the maxim "*You know what you can recall*" by Ong.

The project was launched in April 2023 by the author in collaboration with local scholars, educators, and practitioners introduced in the acknowledgment. It aimed to construct a platform for transmitting Hindu-Javanese culture by visualizing *Sri Tanjung*'s orality within today's digital infrastructure. This collaborative project progressed with three works: filming the recitations of the *Sri Tanjung*'s text in the *Wukir/Adri* meter by local *kidung* successors who *know* it, editing the video for online publication, and the academic analysis of the audiovisual materials. It thus generates dialogical interpretive media between *incorporating* and *inscribing practice* in the third orality milieu that did not exist in Prijono's era.

The research revealed two features from the Balinese bodily memory of *pupuh Wukir/Adri*. Table I is a visualized example invented by the author to compare the first lines sung by the four performers. To make the patterns widely understandable, it combines the universal standards (the scientific pitch notation from F3 to B4 and the timeline in seconds) and the local perception of "imaging a melody with a line" as they often note up/down lines on lyrics text.

TABLE I.   THE NOTATION OF PUPUH WUKIR/ADRI (THE FIRST LINE) BY A. NOZAWA

The first is the pattern. They sing the first line from different stanzas in the common "10u" rule divided by a slash (/).; "*Ki/ Si/da/pak/sa/ mang/ke/ wi/nu/w**u**s* (Now I'm telling about Sidapaksa)" by Performer 1 (P1), "*Su/mĕng/kĕng/ gĕ/gĕr/ ka/ton/ ang/la/ng**u*** (They climbed a mountain)" by Performer 2 (P2), "*Prap/ti/ ring/ ka/yang/an/ tan/ a/san/t**u**n* (On arriving at the gods' palace)" by Performer 3 (P3), and "*Kang/ pa/nang/ki/lan/ sĕ/sĕk/ se/pu/n**u**h* (The king's conference room was crowded)" by Performer 4 (P4). Despite the difference in the lyrics, they have three common points: 1) All notes are confined within a different pentatonic scale (less than five notes); 2) The first syllable begins with a low note of short duration, and the tenth syllable forms a long duration including *melisma*, starting at a high note and then coming down slowly to around the same pitch as the first syllable; 3) The central body of the first line consists of one or two trapezoidal climax/es, of which the upper part is represented by a long duration including *melisma*, and the range between the lowest and the highest pitches is about two or three tones (P1: approximately 349/367 to 466 Hz; P2:233 to 277 Hz; P3:233 to 294 Hz; P4:185/196 to 247 Hz).

The second is the variation. The performers' learning processes and regional, social, and educational backgrounds are varied. In addition to gender and age differences, each person's voice has unique characteristics. Therefore, there is diversity in the pitch

range (P1: F4 to A#4, P2: A#3 to C#4, P3: G#3 to D4, and P4: F3 to D#4). Moreover, P4 has the lowest and highest notes out of the standard range, whereas P1 and P2 maintained a relatively conservative style.

Visualization of a human voice or sound is similar to drawing a map, which varies in style according to the focusing point. Table 1 particularly extracted the pitches, durations, and lines of ups/downs to visualize the entire shape of the first line. Therefore, the image is seen as "mountain climbing." Keeping the pattern, singers improvise how many times they go down to a valley and climb up again during the middle syllables, depending on the song's length (this recording asked them for a short one). They can also fly to the sky or dive into the sea, "pursuing freedom within limits."

While Prijono "integrated" the fragmented *lontar* manuscript into "a book to read," Table 1 shows "diversity within a norm" in *Sri Tanjung*'s oral aspect. However, this is a typical notation based on repeated listening and musicological knowledge since the "secondary orality" era. Instead, the potential of today's media praxis can be seen in the ongoing local team's work: a slideshow video that combines various *Sri Tanjung* recitations and a children's classical play of the story for release on the Internet [21]. It significantly reflects the next case of Balinese *kidung* transmission within today's "third orality" milieu.
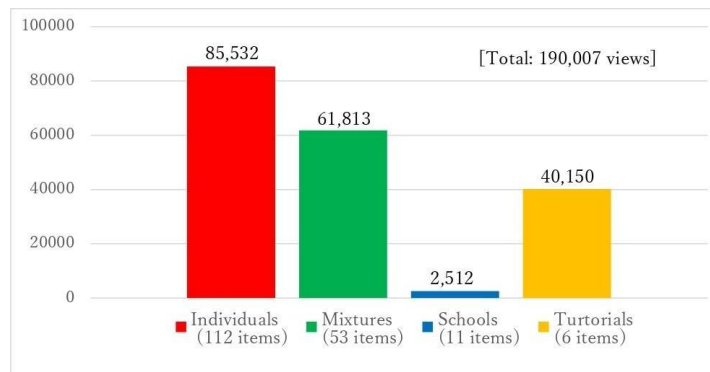
B. Polyphonic Existence of Kidung on the Internet

Balinese *kidung* has been largely transmitted through primary orality until today. The reformation in the post-Suharto era since 1999 has strengthened local culture education in public schools in Bali, including "normative" *kidung* lessons. However, due to the lingering dominance of bodily memories, it does not necessarily establish an effective correlation with local practices.

The practices of Balinese *kidung* are deeply related to Hindu rituals in local communities, where singing *kidung* for the Gods is an important ritual for women. This tradition has generated a local diversity of *kidung* styles, particularly in vocal techniques. In the author's research area in central Bali, the technique is called *lengkuk-lengkuk/cengkok*, the same as *melisma* in musicology, singing one syllable in succession, as illustrated in Table I. A song with the same title and lyrics is sung differently in each village (*desa*) or division (*banjar*) to embody their local identities. Therefore, Balinese women transmit *their kidung* orally in such environments through frequent ritual participation. In addition, a woman who marries a man in another area must learn the local style to become a community member.

However, traditional Balinese oral culture is not immune to changes over time. In the era of secondary orality, for example, the program *Mabebasan* on radio and television has promoted dialogical transmission of *kidung* since the early 1990s [22]. Moreover, the third orality in today's digital era generates a new stream, particularly observed in YouTube videos, the most common media among Balinese people today. For example, Table II shows the view counts of videos with the title *Kidung Wargasari* uploaded this year (2023. Jan. 1 - Sep. 10). *Kidung Wargasari* is a set of classic ritual songs essential to temple ceremonies (*dewa yadnya*) throughout Bali. However, this is a small portion of the countless *kidung* songs.

TABLE II.   THE VIEW COUNTS OF VIDEO TITLED "KIDUNG WARGASARI" IN 2023 (JAN. 1 – SEP. 10) INVESTIGATED BY A. NOZAWA

The population of Bali is 4.47 million in 2023, including aliens with permanent residence status. Therefore, the social impact of the 182 videos and 190,007 views is insignificant because there are countless *kidung* videos on YouTube. The main issue of cultural memory, the prime concern, is the "relationship between orality and literacy" configuring the current Balinese *kidung* transmission in today's third orality. From this viewpoint, the uploaded 182 videos were categorized into four genres: *i*. Individuals (112 items): individual performances by *kidung* masters; *ii*. mixtures (53 items): combinations of *kidung* songs and images (photos/videos) without featuring individual performers; *iii*. Schools (11 items): school events related to *kidung* singing; *iv*. Tutorials (six items): Master's coaching on techniques and tips for singing *kidung*.

Applying the "presence or absence of descriptive explanation" as the criterion (orality is the latter and literacy is the former), the result shows the evident dominance of orality; the ratio of the orality group (*i, ii, iii*)[5] and the literacy group (*iv*) is approximately "29:1" in the number of videos, and "3.7:1" in the view counts. Notably, the visualized pitch lines in the videos of *iv* (e.g. [23]) are

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[5] The schools' videos are included in the orality group due to the contents consisting of students' performances without text.

not so-called musical scores but "supplemental writings in primary orality." It is unclear why only six videos achieved many views; one possible reason is their "normative" method, which meets school lessons.

The category of individual videos (*i*) at the top of both points seems directly related to the diversity of the Balinese *kidung*. For *kidung* experts, recital presentations via online videos are a great opportunity to show their skills of "pursuing freedom within a norm" (Table I). However, they may represent each regional character of *kidung* as local leaders (*pengawit*) who sing the first verse in a ritual so that other people follow the style monophonically. As for the mixture videos (*ii*) in the second rank, interestingly, all adopted visual images were related to ritual practices (temples, people's crowds/*ramé*, offerings, etc.). In addition, most videos include the sound of a gamelan called *lelambatan* as background music (e.g. [24]). Although this is not an accompaniment for the *kidung*, the typical ritual *habitus* of performing both are represented in these videos.

This tendency in the online videos suggests a recursive relationship between Balinese bodily memories and audiovisual images online. It represents the "polyphonic nature" of the Balinese *kidung*. Rather, the third oral feature is observed in retrospective mixed videos filled with typical ritual scenes. These videos support perceptual interactions with "Balinese-ness (*Ajeg Bali*)," as exemplified by the Besakih temple (the headquarters of Balinese Hinduism) and the normative *kidung* tutorials. However, due to the inseparable relationship between local societies and ritual practices, that centralized sense of belonging will be reorganized within the *desa/banjar*-level communal manners, whereby the "online showcase" of Balinese *kidung* would be reproduced continuously.

V. CONCLUSION

In the early twentieth century, the Hindu-Javanese culture in the imagined golden age had to be represented in two ways: *inscribing*/writing or *incorporating*/bodily performance. Prijono engaged in both Indonesian nationalism and his own identity. Given this history, the potential of today's filmmaking is to unearth buried ancient voices under brilliant literacy castles, as media praxis exemplifies. The orality of *Sri Tanjung* survives in Balinese bodily memories. It might have transformed from the original style, but this is also the primary reason for orality's resilience to environmental changes. Furthermore, the different *Wukir/Adri*'s tones by different bodies, highlighted through the project, are reminiscent of the *lontar* fragments that Prijono encountered at the library in Leiden. The audiovisual work of the findings is ready to be accepted by the competing diversity of Balinese *kidung* on the Internet, particularly on YouTube: it allows the autonomous proliferation of *kidung*'s polyphonic nature. One can see the dynamism of history in these local voices, currently activating their interpretive activities between the past and the present within the bottom-up-oriented third orality. This suggests a forthcoming academic task: How to shape a future vision, just as Prijono and his colleagues explored their future from the past. While acknowledging that the present diversity itself embodies the republic's ideal (*bhinneka tunggal ika*), reexamining the mission of today's technical/technological practices for cultural heritage from global and local perspectives is worthwhile, following A. Seeger's simple and supreme words, "new technology and new collaborations for a better future [25]."

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