

Tradition, *Kreasi Baru* and Ethnotainment: Three Representational *Kakula* Spheres Among the To Kaili of Central Sulawesi

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Abstract

After Indonesia's proclamation of independence in 1945, the government has had a continuous role in the construction of a national cultural identity. Following nationalistic cultural policies during the authoritarian Orde Baru (New Order) period (1966-1998), composers throughout the nation began creating new works developing traditional instruments and ensembles. After 1998, a new national era known as Reformasi (reformation) ended over three decades of National oriented cultural policies. This paper analyzes the use and development of the kakula (gong-row instrument and ensemble) among the Kaili of Central Sulawesi within national cultural policies. Divided into three main sections, the first part looks at the practice and continuity of the kakula ensemble traditionalised (Santaella, 2014) within the new national Indonesian framework. The second part analyzes the post-independence developmental works of the composer Hasan Bahasyuan and the expansion of the kakula ensemble within the new national genre of kreasi baru (new creation), as an approach through which Central Sulawesi asserts its presence as part of Indonesia's development of a national cultural identity with a Javanese-dominated hegemonic culture (Sutton, 2002). The third section looks at the compositions of the prominent group "Ensamble Modero Palu" active mostly during the reformasi era and conceived as a post-nationalist kakula within a new post-colonial framework. Conceptualised by the music director Amin Abdullah as 'ethnotainment', the ensemble presents and represents a contemporary expression of Kaili-ness through the performing arts.

Keywords *Kakula, Kaili, Central Sulawesi, nationalism, ethnotainment*

Introduction

The archipelago of Indonesia consisting of over 17,000 islands is a nation-state that encompasses varied and vibrant cultures, both dominant and marginalised. After the proclamation of independence in 1945 and following the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (roughly translated "diverse, yet united"), the government has had a continuous role in the construction of a national cultural identity. Following nationalistic cultural policies, composers throughout the country began creating new works that included traditional instruments from their region. In Palu, Central Sulawesi, the works of the composer Hasan Bahasyuan have represented the province

and initiated the recognition of the new genre of *kreasi baru* (new creation) in the region. This paper analyses the use of traditional instruments in the works of Hasan Bahasyuan, and through them the manner in which Central Sulawesi became part of Indonesia's national cultural identity.

The development of the *kreasi baru* genre and the nationalisation of the musical traditions of Central Sulawesi is a useful case study for understanding nationalism and the performing arts in Indonesia. Rather than conceptualising the newer form as an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm, 1983), it is conceived in this case as the process and temporal result of developing the traditional ensemble into the new Indonesian genre of *kreasi baru* as will be later explained. Such development is also present with similar conditions in the neighbouring province of South Sulawesi which as presented by Sutton (2002) with varying circumstances and contexts, cultural presentations have developed under Dutch colonial rule and later under Indonesian rule with a Javanese-dominated hegemonic culture.

This paper consists of three sections. The first provides an introduction to the tradition of *kakula* in the region. The second section analyses the nationalisation process of *kakula* in the new nation, which was intensified during the new order era in Indonesia. The third section looks at the compositions of the prominent musical group "Ensamble Modero Palu" active mostly after the end of the Orde Baru regime in 1998, and conceived in this presentation as post-nationalist *kakula*. Although these traditions are presented in chronological order of development, it is important to understand that all three are still practiced and are part of the present musical and cultural identity of the region.

The *Kakula* Tradition in Kaili Society

Central Sulawesi is connected historically and culturally to other neighbouring islands. During the reign of numerous *kerajaan* (kingdoms), there began the formation of cultural entities now sometimes described as districts or ethnicities. The gong-row tradition known as *kakula* in this area represents a connection in the historical fluidity of this ensemble extending from West Sumatra to the Southern Philippines. Through the presence of this ensemble as well as other cultural elements we understand the connection of Central Sulawesi to the extended Nusantara region. However, external influences including colonial rule and nation-state building have developed new regionalisms for cultural development of the performing arts.

Conceptually, the term *kakula* denotes four entities: the instrument, ensemble, repertoire and performance of the Kaili ethnic group in Central Sulawesi. The term *kakula* as an instrument refers to a horizontally laid row of seven kettle gongs. As an ensemble, it features the horizontally laid gong row ensemble accompanied by gongs and drums. It is part of the larger gong row tradition which extends from the southern Philippines to West Sumatra. In Kaili culture, the *kakula* as the melodic instrument is accompanied by two hanging gongs referred to as *tawa-tawa* and one or a pair of double headed drums known as *gimba*.

According to the Kaili, the instrument is believed to have first arrived in the region at the beginning of the 17th century along with the Islamic faith brought by two

religious teachers from Minangkabau. One of them was Datuk Karama, worshipped as the first Islamic teacher in the region of Palu. As narrated in *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Tengah* (1984) the ship arrived with his family and followers to Karampe in the gulf of Palu. Oral accounts describe the contingent from West Sumatra as bringing various regalia to Central Sulawesi such as ceremonial yellow flags (Kaili *ula-ula*) and kettle gongs eventually handed over to the king after the marriage of the daughter of Datuk Karama with a Kaili citizen.



Figure 1 Central Sulawesi - Google Maps - ©2014 Google

Sacred connections to the instrument and its repertoire reflect a Kailinese spiritual worldview linked to ancestor worship. The *kakula* tradition is maintained and passed on among family circles following *kekerabatan* (kinship) practices, often without formal pedagogical training. The presence of seven kettle gongs in the *kakula* and four instruments or parts in the ensemble reference indigenous organisational structures of Kaili kingdoms in the region. The Kaili *patanggota* is a traditional socio-political system of organisation administered through four main wards. Similarly the *pitunggota* is a traditional socio-political system of organisation administered through seven main wards.

As an ensemble, the *kakula* represents both a sense of locality and a connection to other regions locally conceived as pertaining to *budaya melayu* or Malay culture. While the kettle-gongs reflect external provenance, their organisation in position, number and scale reflects a Kaili construct. The presence of a *gimba* played by men, as a Kaili approach to the instrument, reflects a sense of locality both in practice and in construction. The *tawa-tawa* follows and accentuates melodic phrases of the *kakula*. The ensemble is culturally connected to the region of Toli-Toli in Central Sulawesi as well as other regions in Malaysia and the Southern Philippines with coastal proximity to the Celebes Sea (Santaella, 2013).

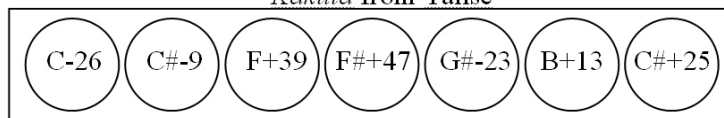


Figure 2 Kakula Ensemble.

Pak Darmin Sause (gimba), the late Ibu Marida (tawa-tawa), Ibu Hatimi (kakula)

The *kakula* was originally played by women and accompanies traditional ceremonies such as weddings, circumcisions or to farewell someone leaving to perform the *haj*, among other events. In the past, the *kakula* was restricted to *bangsawan* (nobility) circles due to the sacred and religious connections related to the arrival of the instrument in the region. However, nowadays *kakula* is played for traditional ceremonies in Kaili society, a shift of practice and function from a signifier of status to a signifier of ethnicity. The repertoire is played as a medley, and, during a wedding ceremony, each piece corresponds to specific times of the event. “Ndua-ndua” is played to welcome the groom to the bride’s place. “Anadara Botito” is heard at the time the groom is next to the bride. Pieces such as “Gambusu”, “Palanga”, and “Sarandayo” are played after customary pieces as entertainment.

Kakula from Talise



Kakula from Tavanjuka

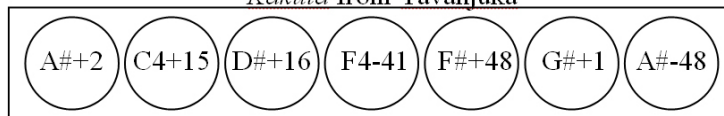


Figure 3 Kakula’s tuning system (including cent figures)

Although the tuning system of the instrument varies according to location, there is close correspondence. Generally the third pitch of each instrument acts as a central tone. Regarding interval relationships between the *kakula* from Talise and Tavanjuka (two regions from Palu), the first pitch and the third pitch are close to a fourth. The intervals between the third and fourth pitches and the fourth and fifth pitches are each around 50 cents. The relationship between the lowest and the highest pitch approximate an octave (in Talise being slightly larger than in Tavanjuka). The tuning of the *kakula* provided below should be approached as a general overview. Kettles often vary slightly

in tuning over time. Some of the latter are locally manufactured from iron, allowing the player to retune the kettles when possible. Other kettles made of bronze are often ordered from abroad following kaili tuning systems, yet giving the player less control over the tuning, with slight changes in pitch overtime. The tuning in Talise resembles a Central Javanese *pelog pathet lima* scale with a stress on Javanese pitch ‘1’ (F in *Kakula* Talise) and avoiding pitch ‘7’ (not present in this *kakula* scale). The *kakula* in Tavanjuka resembles *slendro pathet nem* scale with a stress on Javanese pitch ‘2’ (D# in *Kakula* Tavanjuka).

The piece “Ndua ndua” is widely recognised as it begins traditional *kakula* performances either during customary ceremonies or for entertainment purposes. The piece begins with a two-measure phrase that is repeated with some variation the second time beginning on measure 3 (see transcription below). The phrase is considered to be the same, not only because the rhythm is similar but also the “cadential notes” are the same. In this case, the stronger notes are on beats 2, 4, 6, and 8 of each measure. This first phrase focuses on the upper five notes of the *kakula* scale. The second two-measure phrase begins on measure 5 and is repeated with an extended variation of an extra measure. This phrase focuses on the middle five pitches of the scale. The extended variation does strike the highest pitch, A# in this piece, but only as an escape tone within a faster melodic passage. The third passage begins on measure 10. This phrase is not repeated completely. Yet, the second measure of the phrase is repeated. We may consider each two-measure phrase to be composed by a type of “question & answer”. Each first measure has the same rhythm but focuses on different pitches as seen below. The last phrase of this section is in the same form beginning on measure 13 and its response on measure 14. Measure 15 may be seen as a melodic transition to the next section. The tables below shows each unit of this section of the piece.







	“Question”	“Answer”
First Phrase (A)		
Pattern	a	b
Measure	1	2
Second Phrase (B)		
Pattern	c	d
Measure	5	6
Third Phrase (C)		
Pattern	e	f
Measure	10	11

Figure 4 Melodic phrases in the form of “question” and “answer”

Register	Upper 5 pitches				Middle 5 pitches				Lower 5 pitches				Transition		
	A		A'		B		B'		C		D				
Phrase	a	b	a'	b'	c	d	c	d'	e	f	f	g	h	I	
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Figure 5 “Ndua ndua” – Its five tone registers and their melodic phrases composed by two on-measure patterns

A “Kabalina” or “Bali Nu Ndua-Ndua” which functions as a “response” to the piece follows the performance of “Ndua-Ndua”, as it is also done also for other pieces. This response is unique to each piece. In this performance from Tavanjuka, the “Kabalina” begins on measure 16 and is repeated once again beginning on measure 29. This is a response to the first section of the material provided in measures 1-15. If we take into consideration these larger structures, the piece in this case follows an ABB outline, in which A is considered “Ndua Ndua” and B its corresponding “Kabalina” which may be repeated.

The “Kabalina” for this piece begins on the last quarter of measure 15. In this section each one-measure unit referenced with a letter begins on the last beat of the previous measure and ends on the third beat of the measure. Following this concept, measure 15 is considered a melodic transition, after which the new section begins. In this section each small melodic pattern is one measure long and repeated with some variation. The small melodic pattern of measure 22 is not repeated, yet it acts as a melodic transition to the lower register. In the lower register there is one melodic pattern and its variation as seen in measures 23-24, followed by another melodic pattern with three variations in measures 25-28. After this the section is repeated and ends two measures earlier. The table below shows the different sections of the “Kabalina” as performed in Tavanjuka.

	Higher Register						Trans.	Lower Register						
Phrase	A		B		C		D	E		F				
Pattern	a	a'	b	b'	c	c'	d	e	e'	f	f'	f''	f'''	
Measure	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	

Figure 6 “Kabalina” or “Bali Nu Ndua-Ndua”

	Higher Register						Trans.	Lower Register						
Phrase	A		B		C		D	E		F				
Pattern	a	a'	b	b'	c	c'	d	e	e'	f	f'	f''	f'''	
Measure	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		

Figure 7 “Kabalina” or “Bali Nu Ndua-Ndua” (repeated)

The *Kakula* tradition among the Kaili is part of a coastal cultural complex of Central Sulawesi. The instrument acts as the present link to other coastal ethnic groups in the province and beyond, as mentioned above. While maintaining a customary and procedural function during wedding ceremonies, pieces played for entertainment purposes are also part of the repertoire. Among the latter we find *kakula* pieces as well as melodies from other instruments in the region such as the *gambus* (plucked lute) and the *lalove* (bamboo flute). After independence in 1945, some players also included newly composed songs from the region and abroad that “fit” the tuning of their instrument. Such songs are adapted to the melodic and rhythmic accompaniment of the *kakula*, resembling the case of the piece “Gambusu” (adapted from the *gambus* and often played as part of the *kakula* repertoire). The *kakula* tradition in this sense is not a stagnant practice preserved from the past, but rather one that maintains an organic flow culturally and characteristically kaili.

Ndua Ndua - Kakula Tawanjuka

100-106 bpm

Transcribed by Mayco A. Santaella

Kakula

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). It begins with a repeat sign and a first ending. Above the first few notes, the following ornaments are indicated: C4 +15, F4 -41, G#4 +1, A#3 +2, D#4 +16, F#4 +48, and A#4 -48. The score consists of ten staves of music. Measure numbers are placed above the staves: 4, 15", 9, 30", 14, 19, 45", 24, 1', 29, 1'15", 34, and 39. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Figure 8 Kakula

Nationalism and *Kakula kreasi baru* - The Works of Hasan Bahasyuan

After Indonesian independence in 1945, a number of cultural policies began to shape the nature of performing arts in Central Sulawesi. The term “performing arts” (Ind. *Seni pertunjukan*) refers in the region to performances now executed on stage and often involving newer compositions. In the case of *kakula* these are referred as *kakula kreasi baru* (new creation *kakula*) as opposed to the traditional *kakula* also referred to as *kakula nuada* or *kakula adat* to differentiate it from the newly created one. Unlike the participatory nature of *kakula nuada*, new compositions for *kakula kreasi baru* are more presentational. One of the significant developments that became iconic in the region was the expansion of the *kakula* through a process of diatonisation and the addition of instruments which allowed for new compositional possibilities of music as well as dance. The newly composed pieces were presented at national festivals throughout the country and became part of the repertoire of Central Sulawesi still performed nowadays. Differences in *kakula kreasi baru* regarding repertoire, style, and function began with the works of Hasan Bahasyuan in the region.

Nationalist approaches to cultural presentations began during the *orde lama* or older period in Indonesia under the direction of Indonesia’s first president Sukarno (roughly 1945-1965). During this time, cultural policies were directed towards traditional music and dance and the development of new ones with a focus on social and communal activities representing a sense of *kebersamaan* (togetherness) while cleaning cultural colonial remains. After the rise of communist tendencies in Indonesia, and through a series of terminal events, the *orde baru* regime (new order) was established under the direction of President Suharto (roughly 1966-1998). With oppression of socialist movements rooted in the *orde lama*, the new order continued to develop the performing arts towards the construction of national music and dance, highlighting traditional cultural features from each region in Indonesia. Nationalism in this period was associated with modernist values of *perkembangan* (development, from *kembang* or flower, ‘to blossom’) among others that had an impact on the development of regional performing arts. Rather than presenting a chronology of nationalist cultural policies (see Hellman, 2003), this article focuses on modernist values as a new aesthetic approach to composing and choreographing new works utilising the *kakula* as an emblematic icon of Central Sulawesi. The latter process was led by Hasan Bahasyuan who instigated the legacy of *kreasi baru* (new creation) in the province.

This musician, composer, and choreographer was born in the city of Parigi in 1930. His musical training began during elementary school in 1939 during the Japanese era. He was a *suling* (flute) player and lead member of a *musik bambu* group. After his elementary education he joined a social organisation to fight for Indonesian independence, taking a break from music. In 1946 after independence, Hasan Bahasyuan played in a group called “Hawaiian Band” as the singer and ukulele player. The following year he formed a *keroncong* group in Parigi called Irama Seni as the lead singer and violinist. During this time he also began exploring local traditions and began composing and choreographing pieces for schools, competitions, and government events. In 1965 he moved to Palu, now capital of the Province of Central Sulawesi, where he worked and trained students to perform his works of music, dance, songs, and eventually drama. Here, I will focus on the changes he made in the use of *kakula*.



Figure 9 Hasan Bahasyuan as an 'ukulele player – “Hawaiian Band”, Parigi, 1946
(Courtesy of Hasan Bahasyuan Institute)

Initially only two kettle gongs of the *kakula* were used to perform the dance *Pajoge Maradika* accompanied by a gong and a drum. Hassan created the dance inspired by an original, culturally structured movement system from Parigi presented at the marriage of the king's son. This new arrangement was taught in some schools and followed various competitions and provincial presentations in North and South Sulawesi, as well as various cities in Java including Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta. During these visits outside Sulawesi, the composer was able to observe other dance performances and learn more about choreography.

Although new composed songs and dances were originally accompanied by flute and drum or the two-kettle gong *kakula*, the composer decided to expand the ensemble to explore further music and dance possibilities. Inspired by the *kakula* tradition, the composer retuned the kettles diatonically to match *do* until *si* and incorporated them into his music. In order to further expand musical possibilities, the composer decided to create a new rack with three levels of seven pitches each, which eventually became eight pitches per row. Later expansion of the general ensemble included adding three to six hanging gongs with tones C, F, G, D, and A. He added a *gamba-gamba*, traditionally a smaller size *kakula* now in diatonic tuning to the ensemble. He also replaced the *gimba* with a Javanese *kendhang*.

The expansion of the ensemble and new music and dance pieces took place mostly during the *Orde Baru* regime (1966–1998) at various national and international festivals. The choreographies followed certain Javanese aesthetics as did the music. Among musical changes were the incorporation of male and female singing, percussive dance accompaniment, tempo changes, and different dynamic levels, all features not present in the traditional *kakula nuada*. Aside from his performance creativity, aesthetic changes also took place in the sonic qualities of new melodies. The gongs and kettle gongs were now imported from Java (Bogor specifically), which had a longer lasting sound vibration without “damping” the notes as often takes place when playing the Central Javanese *bonang* (two rows of horizontally laid kettles) and at times with the *kempul* (hanging knobbed gong). The use of a Central Javanese *kendhang* (double headed drum) was favoured in the *kakula kreasi baru* due to new and wide-ranging

sound possibilities. Aside from the introduced Javanese timbre of the instruments, new sound possibilities were favoured for staged performances both in Central Sulawesi and abroad.



Figure 10 Hasan Bahasyuan playing kakula (far left) and the new kakula kreasi baru (Courtesy of Hasan Bahasyuan Institute)

This new form of *kakula* became iconic and representative of the Province of Central Sulawesi today. There are a number reasons why *kakula*, rather than other genres, has become a cultural icon. First, it belongs to a gong culture shared with the hegemonic Javanese group in Indonesia. Second is its association with Islam in the region. During the Dutch colonial period, *musik bamboo* was at times associated with Christianity brought by missionaries. Thus *kakula* serves as a representative reaction of coastal Muslims; Islam constitutes the main religion among Kaili and other ethnic groups in the Province. Finally, *kakula* represents the largest ethnic group in Central Sulawesi and constitutes an ethnic signifier, for example when *kreasi baru* is performed in other regions.

Hasan's compositions and choreographies allowed for Central Sulawesi to be part of national events, festivals and competitions. While developing presentational aspects characteristic of the *kreasi baru* genre under the rubric umbrella of *seni pertunjukan* (performing arts), his pieces developed from reflecting upon existing Kaili traditions in the region. His iconic piece and choreography "Peulu Cinde" is an example of a *kreasi baru* that maintains sonic traits found in traditional *kakula* performances. Aside from using a diatonic *kakula*, the melodic segments maintain a pentatonic scale. The piece consists of two larger sections, the main melody (here classified in the lower register) and its repetition a third above its original pitch (here classified in the higher register). The transcription below represents the basic melody of the piece, performed with numerous variations depending on the *kakula* player. The first section in the lower register consists of two main phrases repeated with slight variations. Each phrase consists of two patterns in the form of "question" and "answer" as it takes place in traditional *kakula* performances. Each patterns begins at the third beat of the indicated measure. The use of two patterned phrase, two repeated phrases in one register and two registers for the piece resembles numerous dualities also present in traditional *kakula* pieces as seen in "Ndua ndua" above.

	Lower Register								Higher Register							
Phrase	A		B		A'		B'		A		B		A'		B'	
Pattern	a	b	c	d	a'	b'	c'	d'	a	b	c	d	a'	b'	c'	d'
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

Figure 11 “Peulu Cinde” Structure

Peulu Cinde - Hasan Bahasyuan

Transcribed by Mayco A. Santaella

Kakula

Figure 12 “Peulu Cinde” transcription

Composer and choreographer Hasan Bahasyuan left a significant legacy of works for Central Sulawesi. Developing and establishing forms and styles for the genre of *kreasi baru* in the region, his compositions served as influential material towards the development of new works by other new groups in Central Sulawesi. After his death and the end of the *orde baru* period in 1998, groups began to look for new compositional influences utilising new presentational approaches. The *era reformasi* (reformation era) in 1998, sprouted a national decentralisation process that included the performing arts, especially those outside of Java and Bali. In Central Sulawesi, groups with foundations on the *kreasi baru* legacy looked for new approaches to staging identity and representing the province when performing abroad. Ensemble Modero Palu, one of the most prominent groups during the *era reformasi*, acts as a representative pillar of performances from this current era in Central Sulawesi.

Post-Nationalism and *Kakula* as “Ethnotainment”

This final section presents an alternative and contrasting category—the compositions and performance of the group Ensemble Modero Palu, directed by Amin Abdullah. Conceptualising the works of Hasan Bahasyuan as belonging to a nationalist era in nature, the Amin Abdullah project is characterised as post-nationalist, exhibiting

differences in origin, function, and style of performance. It also reflects a change of focus opposing the adaptation of local culture to the larger nation-state, the dominant strategy during the *Orde Baru* period. Rather, Ensemble Modero Palu manifests an approach shift by focusing on local traditions and upon a contemporary life specifically and culturally Kaili.

Traditions played during ceremonies and rituals are still carried out in Central Sulawesi, such as traditional *kakula* performances as seen in the first section of this article. After independence, waves of nationalism have expanded traditional ensembles to fit nationalised forms at various festivals, such as *kakula kreasi baru* as discussed above. Presently, groups like Ensemble Modero Palu have reconsidered this chronological progression of the performing arts to find new forms of staging identity. Such conceptualisation follows Lathief's (2012) notion of "lokalisme" or "localism" of theoretical construction and reconstruction with regards to traditions and consecutively to the performing arts. Similar to Lathief's performances in South Sulawesi reflecting a break from *orde baru* presentational approaches through the process of staging cultural contexts, Ensemble Modero Palu is representative of both new regional approaches of staged identity as well as new compositional processes in Central Sulawesi.

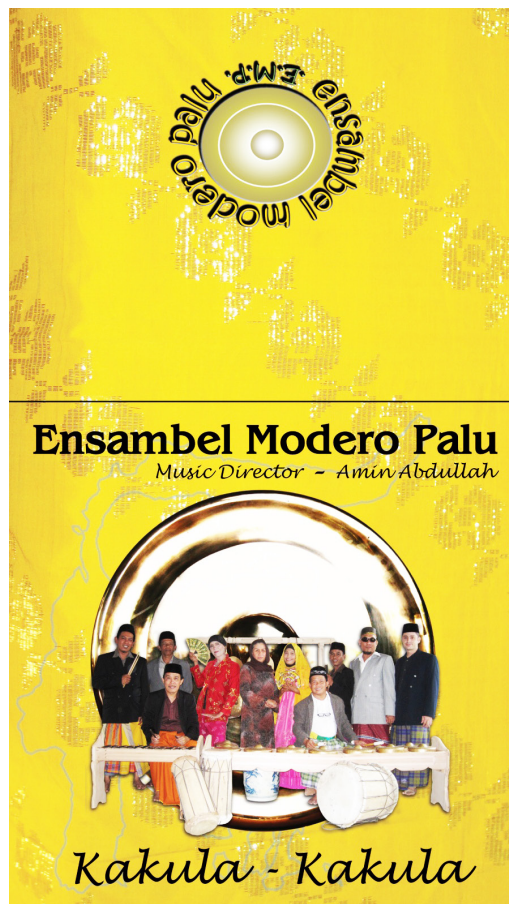


Figure 13 First album CD cover – Ensemble Modero Palu

Ensamble Modero Palu was established in 1997 by its director Dr. Mohammad Amin, M.Sn, MA. (Amin Abdullah). Born in Palu, Central Sulawesi, the director grew up in a musical environment, his mother a traditional *kakula* player, was influential from an early age. His musically inclined family including extended members were versatile in piano, guitar, and singing with performing groups in the city and abroad. Keen on both traditional music and Western instruments, he completed his Bachelor's degree in music composition at ISI Yogyakarta (Indonesian Arts Institute in Yogyakarta) 1994. He continued his education receiving a masters degree from ISI Yogyakarta in 2004 and a masters degree from the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 2005 with a concentration on Cultural Policy. In 2013 he completed his doctoral studies at University of Indonesia in Jakarta focusing on Cultural Policy in Central Sulawesi.

With experiences in traditional *kakula*, the Hasan Bahasyuan repertoire, Western music, composition, and an academic background, Ensamble Modero Palu grew out of the presence of the *Kakula Kreasi Baru* ensemble, yet it has differentiated itself significantly from the genre. While the *kreasi baru* form followed a process of nationalisation of music and dance, the ensemble directed by Amin Abdullah takes an introspective rather than outward looking approach to compositions. That is, as *kreasi baru* followed certain examples of other cultural forms of music and dance, Ensamble Modero Palu switched directions by looking at traditional idioms for their compositions. The latter reflects a contestation of modernist approaches of the *orde baru* period in the region, and intends to perform contemporary life as it happens culturally in Kailinese society.

As one element of this approach the director employs the *Sintuvu* method of composition, which is collaborative in nature. The term may be understood from the Kaili verb *nosintuvu*, literally “working together.” It is a communal or group method of composition in which each member contributes to aspects of form, style, or particular musical patterns. Such a process does not involve a composer in the strict sense of the word, but rather denotes a process of collective collaboration in the development of a new work. A communal orientation is also reflected in the performance, where the group portrays social interaction during a wedding ceremony, an event considered to be the peak of Kailinese interaction and identity construction.

Rather than using stage costumes typical of presentational values of the *Orde Baru* era, the performers wear the sarong, shirt, suit and *kopiah* (Malay cap) traditionally worn during wedding ceremonies. From a traditional perspective it becomes odd to see musicians and dancers wearing customary costume, as they are mostly worn by the groom and the bride during a wedding ceremony. Simultaneously, the presentational approach of the *sarung-suit-kopiah* worn by those attending a wedding ceremony, on stage symbolically and simultaneously represents tradition, modernity, and nationalism/Islam respectively (pers. comm. Amin Abdullah, Palu, Central Sulawesi, May, 2012). The *sarung donggala* or *buya sabe* as referred among the To Kaili is manufactured and representative of the Donggala district and is worn during ceremonies such as weddings. The suit is symbolic of a Kaili modernity that became a common attire during weddings including the *kopiah*, worn mostly by Muslim Indonesians. Through performances, this group tries to reenact the atmosphere of a wedding ceremony and include both participatory and presentational aspects of tradition and new creation on the stage.

Another example of a new approach within the Kaili performing arts realm is clearly demonstrated through the performance of the piece “Poveba”. This song and dance was composed by Hasan Bahasyuan in 1970 during the nationalist *Orde Baru* period that developed the *kreasi baru* as a form. The piece which means “hand fan” in the Kaili language portrays the beauty of a Kaili lady performing movements accompanied by a hand fan. The version by Ensemble Modero Palu aside from making specific musical arrangements, features a male transvestite dancer, known in the region as *bayasa*. Traditionally *bayasa* were considered to have special inner powers and were in charge of specific healing rituals pertaining to royal descent. Performing with Ensemble Modero Palu, the dancer includes movements from the tradition while improvising others with the use of the fan. This specific piece is also part of what is here characterised as a post-national conceptualised performance in the use of specific movement, musical idioms and a form of presentation that represents Kaili culture in a contemporary manner.

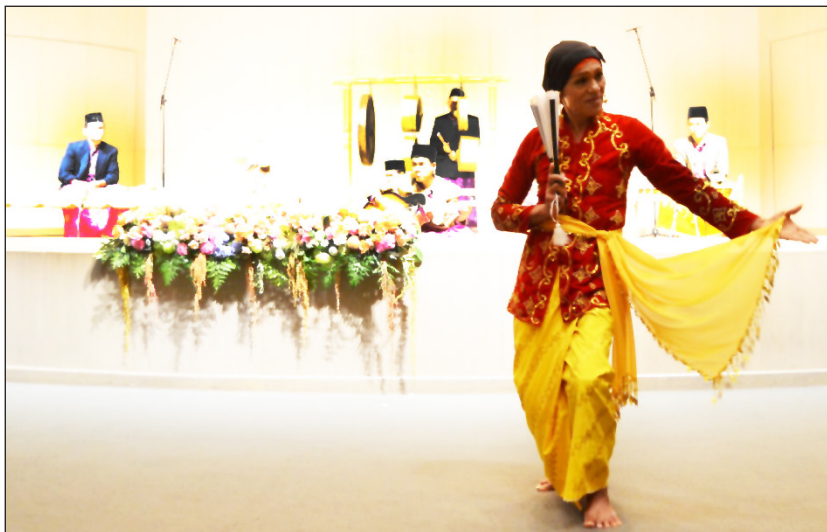


Figure 14 “Poveba” performed by Ensemble Modero Palu, Chulalongkorn University
Dancer: Madjid Kupalele

The repertoire of the group draws upon children’s songs, traditional *kakula* pieces, Kaili *lalove* or bamboo flute repertoire, arrangements of compositions by local composers, and idiomatic sounds from the local soundscape, to name a few. Recently performances include such national genres as *keroncong* and even *dangdut*, which go through a process of “kakulanisation,” reworking them into the style of the group and framing them within the celebratory setting of a wedding. For analytical purposes, Ensemble Modero Palu repertoire is analysed through three distinct categories. Pieces based on Kailinese traditional and composed folksongs, composed pieces by the ensemble, and adapted pieces from other national genres. Following is a discussion of selected pieces from each category.

Most pieces performed by the ensemble are based on Kaili folksongs, both traditional and composed. An important element of *kakula kreasi baru* was the diatonisation and the expansion of the traditional gong-row instrument to include singing. Hasan Bahasyuan left an important legacy of new Kailinese repertoire of melodic pieces to accompany dance and local songs. Ensemble Modero Palu pays homage to this legacy by performing his song “Poveba” with new instrumentation. Other songs include “Adamposalama” by Ansar Gilang, “Ngata Ntovea” by Syahril Lawide, and “Topegugu” by Ote Abadi (based on a folksong), among others. The latter are part of a post-independence identity construction through the development of a new Kaili song repertoire, mainly in the Kaili Ledo dialect. Ensemble Modero Palu presents and represents such a legacy through new presentational approaches. Pieces composed by the ensemble draw upon traditional music and singing in Kailinese society. The piece “Ndua-Ndua” is an arrangement of the traditional *kakula* piece, maintaining its melody while introducing new sections. The piece is often played first as it is done with the *kakula* repertoire as a gesture of respect to the tradition. The piece “Pompaura” is borrowed from the *lalove* repertoire played as a form of conclusion to the Kailinese *balia* ritual. The arrangement by Ensemble Modero Palu alternates between the *kakula* melody in 5/8 meter and the *lalove* performing in free meter producing both polyrhythm and bitonality throughout the piece. Lastly, the ensemble’s signature piece “Kakula Kakula” draws upon rhythm and melodies of the Kailinese *dadendate* tradition, *lalove* repertoire, as well as *kakula kreasi baru* excerpts.

The last considered repertoire category are pieces of Indonesian national genres such as *dangdut* and *keroncong* which are rearranged and adapted by the ensemble. The process of “kakulanisation” of pieces by the ensemble is one of selection and adaptation maintaining the characteristic rhythm of the national genre while utilising *kakula*, *gamba-gamba*, and *gong* patterns of pieces associated with the *kakula kreasi baru* style and that of Ensemble Modero Palu. While some scholars have viewed such process as the “*dangdutisasi kakula*” (Dangdutisation of *kakula*), a post-colonial conceptualisation positing *dangdut* as the larger entity producing changes in other non-Javanese peripheral musical forms, this paper rather posits a process of *kakulanisasi dangdut* (Kakulanisation of *dangdut*) where there is a Kaili process of selection, revision, and adaptation of an initially non-Kaili song or genre into the style, technique, and repertoire of the ensemble.

The repertoire performed by Ensemble Modero Palu on stage (included in the first recorded album) commonly begins with the piece “Ndua ndua”, paying homage to the tradition while presenting an arrangement representative of the group. The piece begins with the traditional melody of “Ndua ndua”, a version carried on from the family of the ensemble’s director. The arrangement by Ensemble Modero Palu begins and ends with the main melody of the traditional “Ndua ndua” without playing the “Kabalina”. This is followed by rhythmic accompaniment, variations, and interlocking patterns played with *rebana* (frame drum), and includes *marwas* (hand held double-headed tube shaped drums) and *kudode* (bamboo slit-drum). After the percussion section, a “bridge” played by the *gamba-gamba* (smaller version of the *kakula*) provides a melodic transition back to the melody of “Ndua ndua” as performed at the beginning of the piece. The use of *rebana* and *marwas* is representative of traditional performances

during Kaili wedding ceremonies. Thus the use of instrumentation, arrangement and the presentation of Ensemble Modero Palu’s repertoire, considers traditional cultural contexts among the To Kaili.

Ndua Ndua - Arr. Ensemble Modero Palu

Transcribed by Mayco A. Santaella

Kakula

Marwas Section (3 Measures) Kudode Section (3 Measures)

Rebana Section (3 Measures) Rebana + Kudode (3 Measures) Rebana/Kudode/Marwas

3 Measures Gamba-Gamba - Bridge 3 Measures

Figure 15 Transcription of “Ndua ndua” as performed by Ensemble Modero Palu

The performance ideology of the group follows Ensemble Modero Palu’s director Amin Abdullah and his concept of “Ethnotainment,” presented by the ensemble as a contemporary and enhanced form of entertainment as it happens traditionally in Kailinese

society. The concept of entertainment pieces present in the *kakula* tradition follows the Kailinese notion of *katoratana* or hospitality/entertaining of guests. Furthermore, songs and the practice of singing during events such as wedding ceremonies, and many others, hold culturally a prominent position as social practices in Central Sulawesi. Thus, Ensemble Modero Palu departs from this cultural context towards the staging of a Kailinese articulation of Kaili customs, practices, and values. During the *reformasi* and a post-national era for the performing arts in Central Sulawesi, “Ethnotainment” allows for a cultural reflection, inward-looking to traditional forms and outward-looking towards a contemporary presentation and representation of Kaili culture.

Conclusion

Traditional *kakula* maintained its presence after Indonesian independence as an ethnic signifier and a source for the creation of new compositions in all its forms as an instrument, ensemble, repertoire and performance representative of the To Kaili. As an instrument, it maintains a leading melodic role in new compositions. As an ensemble, new groups have diversified the instrumentation used, maintaining the accompanying rhythmic section by the *gimba* as well as the punctuation of the *tawatawa*. Aside from performing the traditional *kakula* repertoire, new compositions have maintained dualities of patterns and sections, pentatonic phrases, and a differentiation of registers among other elements. Lastly, performative approaches utilising the *kakula* for governmental ceremonies or as entertainment among the To Kaili recontextualised traditional functions in the new national setting. While new compositions are representative of the composers and their performing groups, they strive to maintain a sense of Kaili identity through the *kakula* and its signifiers.

As shown above, there has been a process of nationalisation of the *kakula* tradition through the genre of *kreasi baru* which followed waves of modernism during the *Orde Baru* period including a strong influence from Javanese music and dance. After the reformation era there have been new tendencies and approaches in Central Sulawesi’s performing arts under a post-national cultural context. All three practices — the traditional, the nationalist, and the post-nationalist — are part of the maintained present day identity signifiers representative of contemporary Kaili life. Rather than analysing and theorising each of them as a final product, they are viewed as a temporary result of an ongoing cultural process. The latter reflects the life-long artistic process of musical development and representation by the composers, which is also the case in other parts of Indonesia.

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Biography

Mayco A. Santaella completed his BA and MA at the University of Hawai'i as a teaching assistant, East-West Center fellow, and FLAS recipient. His focus of study is the gong-row tradition of Central and North Sulawesi as part of the gong culture of the extended Nusantara region. The author recently conducted research in the region of Central Sulawesi as a Fulbright recipient. He is currently a lecturer at Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris (UPSI) while completing his doctoral studies at University Putra Malaysia (UPM).

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