

Cultural Reproduction of Javanese *Gamelan* Creation

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ABSTRACT

This research aimed to find out the cultural reproduction of Javanese *gamelan* creation. *Gamelan* is an Indonesian orchestra composed mainly of tuned percussion instruments such as bamboo xylophones, wooden or metal chimes, and gongs. This research consisting of life attitude, work ethos, and skill of craftspeople in creation of Javanese *gamelan*. Cultural reproduction practice occurs in family, school/art institute/home industry environment and *gamelan* industry center community. This study employed naturalistic inquiry, describing the cultural reproduction of Javanese *gamelan* Creation naturally; the informants of research consisted of *Empu* (master craftsman) who produces *gamelan*, *gamelan* craftspeople, Javanese *gamelan* art figure, and Javanese *gamelan* users. The result of research revealed that life attitudes the *Empu* and the *gamelan* craftspeople had were: awareness of giving service to God, faith in God, being loyal to their job, submitting to the fate with gratitude, never being desperate, and having noble character. The work ethos of *Empu* and craftspeople included: hard work, high togetherness, carefulness, tolerance, high sense of belonging to the job, and mutual help. Meanwhile, *gamelan* creation skill included: *membesot*, *menyingi*, *menempa*, *membabar*, and *melaras*. Life attitude, work ethos, and skill of *gamelan* creation occurred through parents' socialization from one generation to the next or from *Empu* to craftspeople in home industry. In industrial center community, *gamelan* gave Wirun villagers an identity as tough and reliable *Empu* and craftspeople.

Keywords: Cultural Reproduction, Life Attitude, Work Ethos, *Gamelan*.

INTRODUCTION

In this era of globalization, there's need for every culture to preserve their identity. Every culture have to prepare theirselves in the face of global culture that bring characteristic of modernity and evaluative (Widayat, 2001). This is along the line with Kartodidjo (1997 pg 4-6), he argued that to face the social change, there's must be preservation of cultural aspect, because most chances the 'old' culture will meet the new culture, to define their means in the communities life.

In Java, the expression of culture also being represented by its art. Art in Java contain such rich values of Java's way of life. It's also represent the connection of Javanese people and their God. One of most prominent art in Java is *gamelan*. Koentjaraningrat (1984) says that Javanese *gamelan* is one of cultural art bequeathed by predecessors/ancestors and still preferred and preoccupied with by many people until today. Javanese *gamelan* is a set traditional music instruments consisting of *saron*, *peking*, *dhemung*, *bonang*, *kempul*, *gender*, *slenthem*, *kenong*, *ketok kempyang*, *gong* and etc. Basic materials used to produce *gamelan* are mixed iron, brass, and bronze.

Philosophically, Javanese *gamelan* is an integral part of Javanese people's life attitude and work ethos. Pranoto (2013) reveals the relationship between Javanese gamelan and social, moral, and spiritual values. Many Javanese, national and even international people have had Javanese gamelan today. Goldworthy (1997) suggests that Australian international education institution in addition to having a set of complete Javanese gamelan also organizes Javanese gamelan music art education.

Herusatoto (2005) mentions that the Javanese people's life attitude suggested in *gamelan* music includes maintaining the harmony of physical and spiritual lives, and the harmony of speaking and acting. Therefore, they always avoid displaying explosive emotion and keep tolerance between their fellows. Its real form in gamelan music is rebab string pulling combined harmoniously with the sound of *kenong*, *saron*, *kendang* and *gambang*, as well as *gong* in the closing of each rhythm.

Although being the representation of culture and way of life in Java, the creation and appreciation of gamelan were decreasing in this present globalization era. There's several region in Java that produce gamelan, but specially for Javanese gamelan creation one of the most popular and active place were in Sukoharjo, Central Java. Sukoharjo is a Javanese culture and art-based creative industry area. One of art-based industries that have gone international is gamelan production art. Gamelan creation has been marketed in both Indonesian domestic and export markets. *Empu* and craftspeople of Javanese gamelan provide image and identity of Javanese art and culture. One of area of Sukoharjo regions to gamelan creation is Wirun Village in which gamelan production business has been sent down from one generation to the next. According to Good News From Indonesia GNFI (25/8/2016), Gamelan Craft in the Wirun Village started at 1956. This research furthermore will explore the gamelan creation in Wirun Village to study the cultural reproduction through Javanese gamelan creation.

METHODS

This research was taken place in Gamelan Craft Industrial Center located in Wirun Village of Sukoharjo region. The gamelan creation which has been marketed to both domestic and international markets. This research employed naturalistic inquiry type, describing cultural reproduction of Javanese gamelan creation naturally (Lincoln, Yvonna S and Guba, Egon G, 1985). Techniques of collecting data employed were direct field observation, in-depth interview using interview guide to get in-depth information by interviewing and questioning the informant directly and freely, and documentation to obtain data through recording, book, as well as secondary data, monograph and photograph data (Miles, Matthew B and Huberman A Michael, 1992; and Sugiyono, 2011). The informants of research consisted of *empu* (master craftsman) who produces gamelan, gamelan craftspeople, Javanese gamelan art figure, and Javanese gamelan users. Data validation was carried out using source triangulation to obtain higher reliability level by comparing and rechecking the reliability of information obtained from different informants. Technique of analyzing data used in this study was an interactive model of analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1992). The analysis activity mainly included: data collection, data reduction, data display, and draw conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies on Javanese gamelan have been conducted previously. This study is different from the previous ones. Compared with previous studies conducted by Pranoto, David, and Elin, this study is different in the term of theory and method used. Despite its differences, this research becomes reference related to cultural reproduction in Javanese *gamelan* creation because the process of producing Javanese gamelan is inseparable from the culture existing in Javanese people. The result of research shows that life attitudes the *empu* and the gamelan

craftspeople had were: awareness of giving service to God, trusting in God and themselves, being loyal to their job, submitting to the fate with gratitude, never being desperate, and having noble character. The work ethos of empu and craftspeople included: hard work, high togetherness, carefulness, tolerance, high sense of belonging to the job, and mutual help.

Another study on *gamelan* conducted by Pranoto David, and Elin is different in the terms of theory and method used. The study used qualitative method concerning the sacredness element of Javanese Gamelan in the past and in the future, and gamelan teaching approach in Australia. The author tries to confirm the cultural reproduction in Javanese Gamelan production. The novelty of current study is that it studies life attitude, work ethos, and *gamelan* production skill. Life attitude, work ethos, and skill of *gamelan* production occurred through parents' socialization from one generation to the next. This study employs naturalistic inquiry, describing the cultural reproduction of Javanese gamelan production naturally.

Understanding Cultural Reproduction

This study is analyzed using cultural reproduction concept, in the sense of the preservation of cultural values from one generation to another. Bourdieu Pierre, and Claude (1970/1990) divide cultural capital into three: cultural capital of mind disposition and physical/embodied disposition (knowledge/life attitude, expertise/skill, taste), objectification form of cultural capital (prescription, formula, artistic object), and institutionalized cultural capital (certificate, diploma).

Cultural reproduction can occur in family environment, formal education, and community through interacting with competent people. Tzanakis (2011), and Isstianto, Sunarto, et al., (2016) suggest that family environment keeps affecting and creating family members to have knowledge on life attitude, speaking, skill and intercourse. Formal education can create social norm values delivered by teacher to students. Hanindraputri and Eufrasia Kartika (2017) reveal that in the community, the interaction with competent people can affect knowledge on social norm values, social norms, and skill that has been implemented and create social identity in the members of community.

Wright (1958) says that family environment, formal education, and community create an individual's life attitude. Social, cultural, and religious aspects can create work ethos. Life attitude is a main element of social-cultural aspect of community creating work ethos. Life attitude prioritizing the physical-spiritual balance and the world-hereafter balance will create a tough and reliable work ethos. Max Weber (1905), Hagen (1962), Sinamo, Jansen (2005), and Sudrajat, Ajat (1994) suggest that work ethos is the work spirit becoming an individual's or a group's typical characteristics and belief. In protestant ethics and capitalism spirit, Weber found mainly: (1) an assumption that any type of job and its level are God's calling, (2) job success signs that God has given them an opportunity of exalting His name, (3) ethic grows work ethos, discipline, hard work, parsimony or profit not for wasting money, but for saving it. Thus, the implications of protestant ethic are the job success improving within community, high rate of production, and accumulating profit.

Javanese Gamelan

When we discuss about the *gamelan*, we cant take out the Javenesse culture and it's way of life out of discussio. Java in general were rich of values, rules and way of life. Pranoto, and Tjaroko HP Teguh (2007) mention that Javanese people's life perspective on Javanese mysticism is still adhered to widely by some Javanese people in the form of *aliran kebatinan* (syncretism). Nearly all of Javanese mysticism and ancient Javanese letters are anthropocentric in nature,

with human beings as the center or the starting point of everything. Human being has genuine soul that is spiritual, everlasting in nature, and so on.

Jong (1976) and Mumfangati and Titi (1998) suggest that Javanese people's life attitude is included in *Tri - Sila* constituting the principles that should be implemented by human beings everyday and the three things to which human beings' mind and work should point in paying homage to God, including *eling* or being aware (conscious), *pracaya* or trust, and *mituhu* or doing the instruction loyally. *Eling* means always giving service to the One and Only God. *Pracaya* means trusting in the self and Allah, and *mituhu* means being loyal and always doing His instruction.

Javanese gamelan creation process is a cultural product inseparable from its cultural proponents, the community itself. Cultural product in gamelan form is the manifestation of expression of community idea, thought, or behavior poured into one of cultural elements. Therefore, the existence of gamelan is inseparable from artists' existence and behavior. Javanese gamelan orchestra contains at least 23 instruments: 13 percussions, 4 large drums, a set of gongs, two strings, a *clempung*, a rebab (two-stringed musical instrument), and a bamboo-made flute (*suling*) (Koentjaraningrat, 1984:294). Basic tune (*balungan*) of a composition for *gamelan* orchestra (*gendhing*) is performed repeatedly with three to 14 *sarons*. The gamelan instruments have varying sound outputs. Some release hard sound and some other release soft sound. The soft-sounding gamelan instrument includes a set of metal percussions such as: bonang, gender panembung, gender panerus, and true panembung, and wood percussion called *gambang*. *Clempung*, *rebab* and *suling* are soft instruments as well. Javanese gamelan producing process uses lead and copper in the following stages: *membesot* (melting the mixed metals), *menyingi* (casting), *menempa* (shaping by hitting or forging), *membabar* (finishing), and *melaras* (harmonizing the tone).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Sukoharjo Regency is the one adjacent to Surakarta in the north, Karanganyar Regency in the east, Wonogiri Regency, and Gunung Kidul Regency in the south, and Klaten and Boyolali Regencies in the west. Sukoharjo Regency has some famous names, one of which is Gamelan City. Therefore, in Sukoharjo Regency many gamelan craftspeople are found, particularly in Wirun Village of Mojolaban Sub District. Those gamelan craftspeople have contributed some values to archipelago music history and its development. There are 19 gamelan *Empus* today, having company name in Sukoharjo Regency area and about 110 craftspeople.

Javanese People's Life Attitude

To asses their work and work ethos, Javanese people have distinctive criteria of assessment. To make assessment on an individual's work, some symbols re used as paradigm: *trapsila*, *ukara*, *sastra*, *susila*, and *karya* (work). *Trapsila* is an action in respecting others, and *ukara* is the assessment on chronological, clear, and honest words. *Sastra* means measuring an individual's communicating abilty. *Susila* is related to an individual's morality.

Gamelan has been recognized as Javanese traditional instrument by the world. International world has responded greatly to gamelan. It can be seen from gamelan craftspeople who have received order from foreign countries. The result of interview with an informant shows that he has ever gone abroad (Japan) to harmonize the tone of *gamelan*. Many people order gamelan including delivery and harmonization of gamelan tone in the location of ordering. Many gamelan businesses are run from one generation to the next; gamelan business in Wirun Village has been established from 1958 until today. Family environment highly affects an individual's skill and attitude. Although the skill is sent down to the next generation, it is not

always as same as that of the old generation. The skill is acquired not only in the family but also in community and art institute. An informant studies and working in the location where gamelan Empu and craftspeople stay in Wirun Village until finally he established his own business in 2010. From the interview with gamelan producing Empus, it can be found that they have plunged into gamelan producing activity since 1998 along with previous Empus. Art institute environment provides gamelan producing-cultural values. In producing gamelan, some rites should be done, but as time progress these rites are done more rarely, and they are done when the customers request it. This rite is called *gongso* for the safety of gamelan, conducted during the first *gamelan* forging during the reservation by being patient, fasting on Monday and Thursday, and submitting the feeling to the Owner of life.

Gamelan craftspeople also hold on Javanese thought to work and to behave in daily life. The life attitude they hold on is Tri Sila, by which they are always aware of giving service to God, believing in God and their personal soul that any knowledge and skill derive from Him, and *Mituhu* or doing His instruction loyally and keeping themselves far away from His prohibition. They treat *gamelan* as their life value sources as Javanese people and as the media of praying. During working, they always make time for worshipping and making praying rite, but this praying rite has been done rarely, and they try to work honestly. In addition, *rila* (willingness), *narimo* (submitted), *temen* (persistence), *not desperate*, and noble characters are inherent to gamelan Empu and craftspeople. In producing *gamelan gong*, craftspeople should be sincere, patient, and have world-hereafter balance, as it is related to the *gong* producing process requiring the feeling (sense).

Table 1. Matrix of Craftspeople Life Attitude, Work Ethos, and Behavior

No	Cultural Reproduction	Note
1	Life attitude	Awareness of giving service to God, trusting in God and themselves, being loyal to their job, submitting to the fate with gratitude, never being desperate, and having noble character.
2	Work Ethos	Hard work, high togetherness, carefulness, tolerance, high sense of belonging to the job, and mutual help.
3	Craftspeople behavior in producing Gamelan	Gamelan production needs high cooperation to get a perfect gamelan. Gamelan producing process starts with <i>membesot</i> , <i>menyingi</i> , <i>menempa</i> , <i>membabar</i> , and <i>melaras</i> .

Source: Report of Primary Data Analysis, 2017

Work Ethos of Gamelan Craftspeople

Empu and craftspeople have Javanese people attitude including: *rila* (willingness), consciousness, believing in God and the self, loyalty, optimism, and noble character. Those life attitudes create work ethos of gamelan empu and craftspeople. Pedro (2016), Mentari (2017), and Ahmad (2004) Malik, M Luthfi (2013), Rosmiani (1996), Tasmara, Toto, KH (2002), and Wijaya, Mahendra (2008) suggest that work ethos are composed of social values, working habit the craftspeople have for many years. Work ethos of gamelan business performers or empus and craftspeople are hard work, high togetherness, carefulness, tolerance, high sense of belonging to job, and mutual help. The craftspeople work hard to support their family's life, to enroll their children in school and to meet their daily needs. Most *gamelan* craftspeople come from relatives or neighbor. The craftspeople have high togetherness, composed of attitude of supporting each other. There is no competition between gamelan business performers. Empu and craftspeople have high tolerance. When the child of a craftspeople is sick, he will be allowed to go home and accompany his child, and when the child need some treatment in hospital, Empu will contribute some fund for medication fee. The gamelan producing skill is not acquired easily, so that craftspeople need many years to master it.

Javanese Gamelan Production

Gamelan production in Wirun Village is conducted in some stages. The materials used are lead and copper, while gamelan seat or support is made of wood, done out of Wirun Village. Gamelan production needs high cooperation to get a perfect gamelan. The skill the empu and the craftspeople have is not acquired easily, so that it takes a long time (many years) to arrive at *melaras* stage. The procedure of gamelan production is as follows:

1. *Membesot* consisting of an activity of preparing lead and copper bar, and cutting them, weighing and mixing lead and copper with 3:10 ratio.
2. *Menyingi* consisting of the process of melting lead and copper using charcoal burnt at high temperature. The liquid lead and copper are then poured onto the circle- or bar-shaped cast.
3. *Menempa* constituting the process of shaping gamelan starting with forging the circle-or bar-shaped bronze sheet repeatedly until producing a new shape constituting the base of gamelan instruments such as *kenong*, *kethuk*, *kempul*, *kempyang*, *saron*, and etc. Then, the basic shape of instrument is dipped into water for the cooling process.
4. *Membabar* is the process of refining the finished instrument to be furnished, adorned with batik ornament, and given seat
5. *Melaras* is the process of adjusting and acquiring the tone using tone indicator. Particularly *gong* is buried (*dipethak*) to create concavity on its edge, in order to get an appropriate tone.

Related to Bourdieu (1993), Bourdieu (1974) and Adib's (2012) theories about cultural capital concept, the cultural capital of gamelan craftspeople in Wirun Village is obtained through various socialization interaction established in family environment, community, and art institution. Gamelan craft business and craftsperson profession are run hereditarily within family, but they are also found beyond the craftspeople family. The capital distributed keeps inherent and results in cultural reproduction. Family environment is the primary socialization place for child, so that the learning and knowledge delivering processes occur most widely within the family. This knowledge includes speaking ability, life values, life attitude, gamelan producing skill, and work ethos establishment. Art institute environment also gives an individual the knowledge on how to behave as Javanese people through the gamelan itself. Meanwhile, the community teaches knowledge about gamelan producing skill. Community environment makes identity of Wirun Villagers as gamelan producing center in Indonesia and as tough and reliable empu and craftspeople.

- a) Cultural capital includes mind disposition and physical/embodied disposition, in which gamelan craftspeople have had knowledge on life attitude, work ethos, gamelan producing skill acquired from family environment, art studio, and community.
- b) Cultural capital of objectification form is that Wirun village produce artistic object in the form of *gamelan gong* art, the prescription of which has been sent down hereditarily within family using rites in producing it.
- c) Institutionalized cultural capital is that the craftspeople acquire skill from artistic studio by learning from the empu. Art institute gives knowledge on cultural values of gamelan production.

Cultural capital acquired by gamelan craftspeople is dominated more with embodied disposition coming from family environment including life attitude (consciousness, trust in God, willingness, submission, and persistence), work ethos (strong tolerance with fellow human beings and workers). The objective form of gamelan production has been implemented from one generation to the next, but there is a difference between the past and the present. That is, in production process, the materials obtained no longer as same as those obtained in the past, *gongso* rite usually held during gamelan production in the past has been abandoned,

and only done when customers request it. The present customers are different from the past ones; in the past only kingdom or court order this gamelan, but now either domestic or foreign schools and universities, and government can order it. It is done to preserve Javanese gamelan that has been the Javanese identity. Thus, Wirun Villagers as gamelan craftspeople, have created cultural reproduction through three cultural capital forms.

CONCLUSION

Cultural reproduction of Javanese gamelan production in Wirun Village is acquired through family environment, art institute, and community. Family environment is the primary socialization place for child. Thus, knowledge on life attitude values, work ethos, and gamelan-producing skill can be distributed through family. Gamelan craftspeople in Wirun Village have had cultural capital including knowledge, skill, life attitude, and work ethos through interacting with environment. The change that can reproduce the gamelan producing culture is that the customers ordering gamelan now come not only from kingdom/court but also school, university, and government. Gamelan production is conducted using rite if only the customers want to. Family environment has created identity of Wirun Village as the gamelan crafting center. This cultural reproduction arises as the preservation of Javanese gamelan.

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