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Commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan Pegringsingan Village, Bali

I Wayan Suharta

Institut Seni Indonesia Denpasar, Indonesia

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Abstract

Gamelan Selonding is a form of traditional music found in Tenganan Pegringsingan village, with a *pelog tujuh nada* in *barungan alit* classification that is sacred, unique, and deeply rooted in the community. The traditional way of life and productive religious activities with their numerous manifestations ensure *Gamelan Selonding*'s continuity and authenticity. According to historical dynamics, the influence of external culture and its various modernization styles disrupted *Gamelan Selonding*'s existence, resulting in its commodification. The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* is a process that encompasses three stages, namely production, distribution, and consumption. In production, *Gamelan Selonding* is duplicated into a commodity by imitating its original form; distribution is an attempt to spread *Gamelan Selonding* production, which increases development consequences; and consumption *Gamelan Selonding* is used as a ritual compliment and an artistic medium. The *Gamelan Selonding*'s commodification occurs due to its adaptable nature; it can accept, absorb, and adapt to changing circumstances, resulting in a diversity of functions, not limited to ritual contexts, but a broader social context. The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* is an artistic dynamic that empowers the potential of traditional arts in the formulation of contemporary performing arts expressions, accepted as a local spectacle capable of competing in a global culture.

Keywords: *Selonding*, commodification, globalization, modern

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INTRODUCTION

Gamelan Selonding is a form of local wisdom for the people of Tenganan Village, believed to be critical in preserving the people's traditions and culture. *Gamelan Selonding* can serve as a source of social identity and a conduit for social meaning in society, capable of generating and sustaining cultural assumptions and beliefs. The *Gamelan Selonding* helps make this belief a reality by influencing the activities of community life in Tenganan Village. *Selon-*

ding, as a form of art and a component of culture, is inextricably linked to the context of the community's life, which includes a system of knowledge, beliefs, values, and norms. According to Sedyawati (1984, p. 21), art will always convey cultural messages that implicitly imply the aesthetic, creative, and appreciative requirements that constitute cultural needs. These requirements arise due to a person's inherent desire to reflect on their existence as a civilized being.

Humans carry out the fulfillment of

Corresponding author:
 E-mail: wynsuharta@gmail.com

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aesthetic needs and other needs through culture. Therefore, art is an inseparable part of the culture. Art is not just a fulfillment of a sense of beauty but rather an integrative need. By viewing art as an element in culture referring to Rohidi's opinion (2000, p. 164), it can be seen its function in human life, that art can be a process of forming a culture that values newness, diversity, creation, imagination, sensibility, and freedom of self-expression.

Cultural formation in the renewal process is a form of commodification that requires effort, imagination, and the creative ability to realize the supporters' freedom of expression.

The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* is a form of artistic representation through offerings that employ the deconstruction concept and method. Born out of the desire and need to develop new musical languages and nuances in keeping with the spirit of the times while maintaining a firm foundation in traditional music. This does not mean abandoning tradition but instead expanding its meaning. Commodification is a beautiful and harmonious dialectic integration for *Gamelan Selonding's* growth and development in satisfying people's preferences.

Several previous studies, especially with the theme of commodification, have been conducted in the Balinese art and culture. First is a doctoral thesis of I Wayan Subrata entitled "Commodification of *Baron* Performing Arts in Banjar Denjalan Batur, Batubulan Village, Gianyar" (2012), in which incorporating the theory of hegemony, deconstruction, the theory of change, and the theory of aesthetics. Second is another doctoral thesis by Anak Agung Gede Raka entitled "Commodification of Cultural Heritage as a Tourist Attraction at Penataran Sasih Pejeng Temple, Gianyar" (2015), with the commodification theory, hegemony theory, theory of power and knowledge. Third is also another doctoral thesis by I Ketut Sariada entitled, "The Commodification of the *Calonarang Tektakan* in Baturiti Village, Kerambitan, Tabanan" (2016), with the theory of deconstruc-

tion, theory of social practice, theory of aesthetics, and theory of the power of knowledge. Ontologically, all three sources carry the theme of commodification. However, the focus of the study, the object of research, and the location of the research are different compare to this research. In addition, several selected theories used in this research are also different from those three sources: the theory of commodification, power of knowledge theory, postmodern aesthetic theory, and semiotic theory.

The analysis of this research is using a cultural studies approach-trying to view the *Selonding* not only on aesthetic principles, but also regarding its relationship with the current global local dialectic. Many researchers in the Balinese arts have not explored the use of local-global subjects in this research. *Selonding* commodification is a form of adaptation based on the supporting community's conditions, dispositions, and cultural representation. The renewal process that occurs is marked by the entry of new ideas to achieve conditions in accordance with the demands of the development of today's society.

METHODS

As a material object, *Gamelan Selonding* becomes a source of information about how *Gamelan Selonding* is embedded in the lives of the people of Tenganan Village and serves as a medium for artistic creativity in Bali. Global developments directly impact Tenganan Village's culture, including the *Gamelan Selonding* as a cultural heritage. In Tenganan Village, *Gamelan Selonding* spread to be owned by the Balinese and then developed significantly in response to the audience's aesthetic preferences.

The purpose of this study, which employs qualitative interpretive methods, is to comprehend and interpret empirical phenomena in conjunction with logic systems and truth values pertaining to the commodification of the *Gamelan Selonding* in Bali. It included the following stages: preparation, location determination, data collection, data analysis, and presenta-

tion of data analysis results. The data is collected from participant-observation method, interviews, and literature study. These data are then systematically reduced, presented, and summarized in order to equally present the native voices and academic voices. The writing mechanism analyzed the text described as a starting point for comprehending the evolution of *Gamelan Selonding's* function and presentation. *Selonding's* function is not limited to a socio-religious context but as a musical medium packaged and utilized in a secular space with the sole purpose of artistic presentation. The analysis demonstrated *Gamelan Selonding's* numerous unique characteristics and phenomena in a comprehensive manner that is scientifically justified. Qualitative methods have been extended using interpretive techniques, which are typically textual in nature, referred to as qualitative interpretive methods.

Commodification as an object described in this paper is a process associated with capitalists, namely objects, signs, and qualities turned into commodities. Objects, signs, and qualities, are implied to have a use-value and exchange-value for getting more profit. Capitalism in accordance with its habitat is an effort to collect profits or surplus value in the form of money obtained by selling products, both those containing use values and exchange values as commodities.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Sacredness of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan Village

The *Gamelan Selonding's* existence in Tenganan village is connected to a legend passed down through generations about discovering "three iron plates" that are said to be the blades of the *Gamelan Selonding*. The people of Tenganan Pegringsingan believe that these three blades of the *Gamelan Selonding* are a *piturun*, and have given them the title 'Bhatara Bagus Salonding,' which is extremely sacred and sanctified by the Tenganan Village residents. The three blades that have not been instal-

led and have never been struck are stored in *Patemu Kelod* (see Figure 1) and are carried and brought in a ceremony on specific days and times.



Figure 1. One of the Bale Patemu in Tenganan Village (Photo is taken by the author)

According to I Wayan Mudita Adnyana, a musician, traditional script writer from Tenganan village, along with the three blades believed to be a *piturun*, the people of Tenganan Village inherited three *barung* of *Gamelan Selonding* that are also considered sacred and are placed in each *Patemu* (see Figure 1), namely *Patemu Kelod*, *Patemu Tengah*, and *Patemu Kaja* (p.c. January 22, 2019). Each *barungan* is made up of eight *gamelan tungguh*. Six *tungguh* have four blades, while two *tungguh* have eight blades. The instruments that composed the *Gamelan Selonding* are shown in Figure 2.

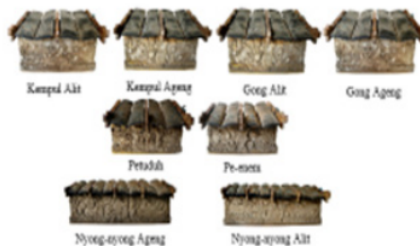


Figure 2. The instrument compositions of *Gamelan Selonding* (Source: Sudiarsa 2013)

The residents of Tenganan Village uphold the gamelan's sacred status by adhering to the concepts of *desa* (place), *kala* (time), and *patra* (state). The purpose of its sacredness is to preserve it by enforcing several ethics; it should not be touched by anyone other than a group of seven people known as *juru gambel*. According to I Ketut

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Sudiastika (Interview in Tenganan Village, August 1st, 2017), the following described the *juru gambel* of *Gamelan Selonding duwe* in Tenganan Village.

Yan dados juru gambel, duk inguni sampun mamargi wantah saking keturunan, sane kajudi krama desa adat malarapan pasikian pikayun, yan kadi ring Tenganan ketah kabaos uneh. Juru gambel madue swadarma ring katengetang lan kesucian Gamelan Selonding, ten dados kagenahang ring genahe sane nenten manut lan katabuh ring galahe sane sampun kasumanggemin.

The traditional village chose juru Gambel based on the heredity and an agreement called uneh. Juru Gambel is responsible for the Gamelan Selonding's sacredness and sanctity, which cannot be placed in random locations and can only be played at the appointed time.

According to Durkheim's statement in Sutrisno (2005, p. 89), the concept of sacredness can be used to demonstrate that there are always sacred or sanctified values in society, which he refers to as the sacred. The sacred can be translated as morality or religion in a broad sense that refers to something sacred, and that something sacred can take the form of primary symbols, values, and beliefs that form the foundation of a society.

Each person's religious emotions are expressed humanely and naturally, and each person has their method of stabilizing their religious emotions. Religious emotions expressed through sacred art are an artist's expression of an offering, beginning with adoration for whom they can offer their best, for their exquisite taste to connect them to God, nature, humans, and other creatures. Logic dictates that one of how religious rituals can express their sincere feelings is through art.

According to Lurry (1998, p. 17), religious ceremonies give form and substance to social relationships, restore or perpetuate social relationships, and confirm the occurrence of events with a flow of meaning. As a fundamental component

of all societies, ceremony acts as a sort of anchor against the flow of culture. When the ceremony is conducted verbally and is associated with art objects, it becomes a visible part of the culture. From this vantage point, the use of art objects is critical to the success of a ceremony.

Not only *Gamelan Selonding* is highly respected, sacred, and sanctified in Tenganan Village, but it also embodies all of the Tenganan Village community's vibrations in appropriate space, time, and circumstances. As a sacred object, the *gamelan's* nature can be understood because it reveals the element of taste's beauty. On the other hand, it can serve as the total of religious feelings experienced in the depths of human intuition. Each community always maintains this natural balance of beauty and religious morals through the use of various forms of media and the conduct of religious ceremonies in a solemn atmosphere. The essence of the *Gamelan Selonding's* sacred value is the totality of its thoughts, speech, behavior, and feelings. A desirable balance can be maintained in the inner peace that is holy, pure, and pure love.

Commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan Village

Global hegemony, which is pervasive in all spheres of life, is also dynamic in the arts. According to Gramsci's hegemony theory (Soekanto, 1982, p. 287), a dominant way of thinking and life view is a concept that is disseminated throughout society, both institutionally and personally, where ideology dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious principles, and politics, as well as all social relations, particularly intellectual and moral. This prevalent mode of thought has a sizable influence on commodification in artistic life.

Commodification in art is an indisputable fact that commodification is a phenomenon that always colors the process and journey of art which has the impact of bringing change and renewal in the art. According to Fairlough (1995, p. 207), Commodification is a process that refers to the organization and conceptu-

alization of the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities. Referring to Fairlough's opinion, the factors that influence the commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan Village are as follows: (a) shifting attitudes and behavior of the community; (b) cultural heritage becoming a tourist attraction, and (c) the wave of globalization.

Shifting Attitudes and Behavior of The Community

Changes in the attitudes and behavior of people accustomed to western cultural norms can easily create space and time for commodification. Changes in attitudes and behavior in society are not always a result of external factors; they can also occur due to community encouragement. Thus, the causes of change originate both internally and externally. According to Barnett in Hoed (2011, p. 122), changes in attitudes and behavior that originate within the community (internal) typically occur as a result of community desire. Three principles must be considered: (1) creative considerations that include practicality, efficiency, and economy, (2) avoiding monotony, and (3) earning a more significant role and income.

Reflecting on Barnett's concepts can help identify the internal factors that influence the attitudes and behaviors of the people in Tenganan Village. External changes (external) that occur due to the introduction of external cultural elements significantly impact the occurrence of cultural changes in society. According to Ralph Linton in Hoed (2011, p. 155), external changes can occur as a result of cultural 'diffusion.' Diffusion can help advance culture as a whole and enrich the content of individual cultures, thereby propelling the people who support them forward. This occurrence appears to have occurred in Tenganan Village, a popular tourist destination. Tenganan Village's uniqueness and diversity of traditions make it an attractive tourist destination. As a result, it is difficult to escape the global culture's influence.

Global tourism can blur the sociocultural boundaries of traditional areas (Salazar, 2006, p. 188). Tourism has the ability to bring countries closer together as if there were no distances between them, including Bali's relationship with the rest of the world as Indonesia's primary tourist destination. This existence facilitates the process of cultural diffusion on a global scale. According to Hoed (2011, p. 199), there are at least four channels through which international culture is brought to rural communities: television, tourism, industry, trade, and, most recently, the internet.

A global society with a capitalist culture leverages space, time, and money as social assets (Piliang, 2010, p. 162). Capitalism has developed into a force that can persuade segments of society to use various resources to improve their lot in life. People's perceptions of the world have shifted, particularly toward religion. According to Abdullah (2006, p. 113), religion is not a source of value when shaping a lifestyle but rather a tool for doing so. The desire to influence society's attitudes and behavior is materialist. Naturally, this principle runs counter to Indonesian culture, particularly in Bali, which values and respects religious values.

Capitalist culture with a materialistic bent has the potential to influence the attitudes and behaviors of local communities toward modernity, defined by Hoed (2011, p. 210) as the attitudes and behaviors of people who tend to abandon things that have traditionally been part of a society's culture in favor of giving space and time for modernization. A modern impression was created when electronic and motorized vehicles entered Tenganan Village. Tenganan Village residents have made extensive use of the internet, television, and computer networks; even the average Tenganan resident has facilitated their lives through the use of cell phones.

The Utilization of Cultural Heritages as Tourist Attractions

Global tourism in its contemporary manifestations, both cultural and natural,

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has unexpectedly become a source of contention for the international community. Csapo (2012, p. 2012) stated that the cultural tourism industry's role and position as a subset of global tourism are changing and evolving rapidly, both theoretically and practically. In order to satisfy the various desires of tourists, such as recreational purposes, personal development, or learning about the uniqueness of a tourist attraction, cultural heritage is one of the primary commodities used as a tourist attraction.

Greg Ricards and Wil Musters in Lee (2006, p. vi) revealed that the 1990s saw an explosion of research on the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage, owing to the discovery of cultural heritage as a general motor of postmodern economics. On the other hand, some argue that the 1980s marked the beginning of the post-capitalist era. At that time, the leisure hunter society began to form. This decade has seen the birth of theme parks, industries dedicated to cultural preservation, and increasingly exotic forms of tourism and travel entertainment.

When dealing with global cultural currents and sacred and revered cultural heritages, it is unavoidable that clashes in the fields of culture, tradition, and religion will occur. Global culture, which blurs the line between sacred and profane, presents a challenge for traditional villages seeking to maintain their existence as a repository of indigenous wisdom. Durkheim warns us in Pals (2001, p. 168) not to fall into the trap of believing that the distinction between sacred and profane is a moral one, that the sacred is good and the profane is evil. However, the distinction between sacred and profane values must be preserved without fusing them. Both sacred and profane are necessary and cannot be eliminated.

According to Ardika (2007, p. 35) cultural heritage is a commodity product that can be used as an object or tourist attraction, in addition to natural beauty, beaches, mountains, lakes, customs, religious ceremonies, and so on (see Figure 3). Tenganan

Village's inheritance of *Gamelan Selonding*, with its uniqueness, has the potential to attract tourists. *Selonding* was initially a non-commodity product that evolved into one. According to Barker's (2014, p. 41) definition, a commodity is an item whose primary function is to be sold, in which objects, qualities, and signs are transformed into commodities. Commodities are all things that seek market legitimacy through the process of commodification, transforming into an image world packaged as a commodity.



Figure 3. Tenganan Village as tourist destination, 2019 (Photo is taken by the author)

In general, tourists seek unique and original experiences, including traditional ones. This is what motivates the local community to preserve the unique and original for a display to tourists, even if it means manipulating events presented as traditional. According to Burns in Sariada (2016, p. 18), commodification is causing changes in the way elements of indigenous culture are used for tourism purposes, which are primarily born out of the need to fulfill new functions. *Gamelan Selonding*, as a religious cultural heritage, is manipulated into a tourist attraction commodity through duplication.

Globalization Wave

Globalization as a process manifests itself as an event that affects the world on a cross-cultural (trans-cultural) level. According to Lubis (2004, p. 25), a cross-cultural movement occurs when various cultural encounters occur, resulting in the process of inter-cultural interaction with the possibility that one party has a greater influence than the other. While cultural encounters

are symptomatic of one party's exposure to another, their influences do not constantly occur in a two-way or balanced reciprocal process, but also as a process of cultural opposition, that is, cultural exposure that has a dominant effect on other cultures.

Cultural globalization has impacted numerous local manifestations of the global community. Art, as a component of culture, is not immune to globalization. According to Piliang (2010, p. 111), the development of globalization and mass culture in the third millennium altered the existence of various indigenous art forms, including traditional performing arts. Globalization's currents present a range of both optimistic and pessimistic future scenarios. Globalization-induced optimism is believed to be capable of broadening the horizons of art in a global association, creating more opportunities for the creation of diverse forms, ideas, and artistic ideas that are richer and more valuable to life itself. Meanwhile, pessimism believes that globalization does not automatically result in equality in all areas of development, including the arts.

The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* to the dynamics of Balinese musical development is an optimistic and pessimistic existence as a result of cultural globalization. As a *karawitan* (musical) art that has captured the Balinese people's attention, the optimism that pervades the *Gamelan Selonding* is the spirit of creation, creativity, innovation, and improvisation with new values and breath that elicits applause from connoisseurs. On the other hand, as *Selonding* develops into a public art form, pessimism appears to color the journey in which cultural globalization has resulted in the commodification of *Gamelan Selonding*, resulting in cultural discontinuity.

According to Piliang in Suartaya (2016, p. 236) there is an extensive process of mental, inner, and cognitive discontinuity experienced by various forms of culture as a result of the influence of globalization, namely: (1) philosophical, epistemological discontinuity; (2) socio-economic discontinuity; and (3) conceptual aesthetic discontinuity.

The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* in the dynamics of Balinese musical development shows the philosophical, epistemological discontinuity, and the conceptual aesthetic discontinuity.

In the Balinese performing arts, the philosophical, epistemological discontinuity positions the *Gamelan Selonding* as a separate entity from the psycho-religious integrality of the rituals. In the case of Balinese performing arts, philosophical, and epistemological discontinuity positions the *Gamelan Selonding* as a separate entity from the psycho-religious integrality of the rituals. On the one hand, its disengagement from the entirety of religious rituals creates space for expression, but on the other hand, it becomes trapped in the secularity of cultural industrialization, even as a means of imaging power politics. Meanwhile, conceptual aesthetic discontinuity situates the *Gamelan Selonding* in a mode of creative expression that emphasizes surface elements that seek a momentary appeal. Globalization's two major waves aided in the commodification of the *Gamelan Selonding* to the dynamics of Balinese *karawitan* development.

Gamelan Selonding Production in Tenganan Village

Commodification is facilitated in several ways. Tenganan Village's production of *Gamelan Selonding* attempts to transform cultural heritage through 'imitating' the original form of *Selonding duwe*. Due to the creativity of *gamelan* craftsmen, better known as *pande gamelan*, duplication production is packaged in such a way that it looks attractive and provides satisfaction to the audience or users.

I Nyoman Partha Gunawan (see Figure 4), one of the Tenganan Traditional Village's heirs and *juru gambel* of the *Selonding*, began to think modernly, distorting his mindset and behavior, believing that the *Gamelan Selonding* was adaptable; capable of accepting, absorbing, and adapting. The result significantly impacted *Gamelan Selonding's* rapid development and spread. Sudiarsa (2013, p. 5) states that

1 since 1980, Partha Gunawan has replicated the original *Gamelan Selonding* given to the Tenganan Village residents.



1 **Figure 4.** I Nyoman Partha Gunawan (Late), Selonding craftsman and teacher, 2009 (Photo is taken by the author)

The *Gamelan Selonding* was commissioned by a Japanese woman named Fobiko Tamura. It was not taken after the *gamelan* was completed, but it was fully paid for and given to him. Partha Gunawan founded a *sanggar* (studio) called Guna Winangun to develop the *Gamelan Selonding* with the capital of a set of *Gamelan Selonding* gifts from the Japanese.

According to I Made Bandem's statement, the *Gamelan Selonding* is produced in Tenganan Village. It was explained that in early 1982, I Nyoman Partha Gunawan created the *Gamelan Selonding* on Max Serell's request. The gamelan is still preserved and neatly stored at the California Museum in Los Angeles. Partha Gunawan was the first to create 'the best' *Selonding* in the style of Tenganan *Selonding*; the blades were artistically crafted and always gleaming with steel (Interview at ISI Denpasar, July 28th, 2018).

After Partha Gunawan deceased in 2015, his role as a teacher and craftsman in *Selonding* was assumed by his son I Putu Suardana, also known as Putu Koblos, the heir of *Selonding* (see Figure 5).



1 **Figure 5.** Putu Koblos Activity center, as a *Gamelan Selonding* craftsmen in Tenganan Village, 2019 (Photo is taken by the author)

1 Putu Koblos' workshop is located at the *Pondok Gamelan Selonding, Petemu Kelod*, specifically in front of the house yard called *awangan*, a public road that serves as a work area along the house yard's north-south boundary. The 'semi-permanent' *Gamelan Selonding* hut serves as the *Gamelan Selonding*'s production site. It measures 4 x 3 meters in size. Apart from its use as a production site for *Selonding*, it is frequently used by other members of the community for social or religious activities. Putu Koblos, a *Selonding* craftsman who began practicing in 2000, did not work alone; he enlisted the assistance of people from outside Tenganan Village. I Kadek Kembar from Seked Village, Karangasem and I Wayan Dipa from Tanah Aron, Karangasem are the *tukang plawah*. The blade craftsman collaborated with I Ketut Jati, a *pande gamelan* player from Ngis Village, Manggis, Karangasem, and Putu Arsa, a carver from Tenganan Village. The *Selonding plawah* carving is designed in the form of gods and *pepatraan* motifs and is carved using classical carving techniques.

Plawah Selonding is crafted from high-quality wood that is both strong and durable, as well as easy to work with. According to Putu Koblos, the best types of wood are *tehep* and *suar*, taking into account the manufacturing quality and the buyer's capabilities. *Tehep* wood is typically reserved for high-end orders, whereas *suar* wood is reserved for mid-level bu-

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yers. The craftsmen of Tenganan's *Gamelan Selonding* offer a range of prices, starting at IDR 40,000,000 for *Selonding* with *plawah lelengisan* and rising to IDR 50,000,000 for the carved *plawah*. In general, the *Gamelan Selonding* that is ordered and sought after by the community has three distinct motives: the *Gamelan Selonding* with the *plawah lelengisan* (*pepelosan*), the *plawah* decorated with *poleng* cloth, and the *plawah maukir*.

Selonding Plawah Lelengisan

The *plawah* of *Gamelan Selonding* is generally shaped like a crate and comes in three sizes: large, medium, and small. The large size measures 65 cm in length, 35 cm in width, and 35 cm in height; the medium size measures 55 cm in length, 25 cm in width, and 25 cm in height. The small version measures 75 cm in length, 20 cm in width, and 20 cm in height.



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Figure 6. *Selonding* with *plawah lelengisan*, 2019 (Photo is taken by the author)

Lelengisan, according to Gelebet (1982, p. 420) is a decoration that displays the beauty of the composition of ornamental fields from materials that have a beautiful value of fiber, color, texture, and *lelengisan* decoration without using carvings or coloring (see Figure 6). *Lelengisan* makes use of the natural colors, uses natural materials that show the various decorative colors of the material, and is highlighted in the composition of the decorative fields.

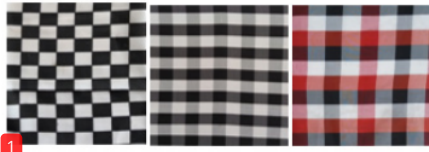
Selonding with Plawah in Poleng Cloth Decoration

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Indeed, the *plawah* decorated with *poleng* cloth is identical to the *plawah lelengisan* in shape and size; the visible portion of the *plawah* is decorated with *poleng* cloth. Supartha (2001, p. 9) defines *poleng* cloth as a 'Balinese color' with a black-and-white checkerboard pattern. *Poleng* cloth appears to have become an integral part of Hindu life in Bali. *Poleng* cloth is not only used for sacred religious purposes; it is also widely used for profane or secular purposes. *Poleng* cloth is used to decorate trees and statues, giving them a supernatural appearance, as shown in Figure 7.



Figure 7. *Poleng* cloth esused as tree and statues decoration, 2019 (Photos are taken by the author)

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According to Rupawan (2008, p. 24) *poleng* cloth has been used for a long time, and *poleng rwabhineda* cloth is believed to be the first type used by Hindus. Following that, the *poleng sudhamala* and *poleng tridatu* fabrics appeared (see Figure 8). *Poleng rwabhineda* cloth is made of white and black checkerboard patterns and symbolizes distinction in Hindu society. Philosophically, *rwabhineda* refers to two opposed characteristics or circumstances, such as good-bad, diligent-lazy, rich-poor, North-South, long-short, high-low, and so on. *Poleng sudhamala* fabric is available in three colors: white, black, and gray. As a transitional color between white and black, Gray is a reflection of *rwabhineda* mediated through intermediaries as harmony in contrasts.



1 Figure 8. *Poleng rwabhineda, poleng sudhamala, and poleng tridatu*, 2020 (Photos are taken by the author)

The same philosophy is reflected in the *poleng tridatu* cloth, a three-color *poleng* cloth composed of white, red, and black. The *tridatu*'s color represents *Triguna*'s teachings, specifically *satwam, rajah, and tamah*. When combined with *TriMurti*, the red color represents Lord Brahma as creator, the black color represents Lord Vishnu as preserver, and the white color represents Lord Shiva as fuser.



1 Figure 9. *Gamelan Selonding with Poleng and tri datu* colormotives and decorations, 2019 (Photos are taken by the author)

The *poleng* cloth decoration on the *Selonding's plawah* (see Figure 9) is a form of production carried out by gamelan craftsmen, with the following reasons: (1) it can create various innovations, (2) it gives a sacred or magical impression, (3) festive appearance at a low price, and (4) adjusting and taking the buyer's capability into account. The artistic tips in production carried out by the *pandeg amelan* are bright ideas and quality innovations in anticipating development dynamics.

1 *Selonding with Plawah Maukir*

The production of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan is primarily based on carvings inspired by the manifestations of the gods; the remainder is based on *papatraan* designs tailored to the customer's specifications. As Putu Koblos inherited and as a message from his father, who will never be forgotten, the *paenem* and *patuduh* instruments serve as *Selonding's* "teacher." It has become a belief that the gods' design motifs are chosen and placed on each instrument according to their duties and functions, such as Lord Ganesha on the *paenem* instrument, Goddess Saraswati on the *patuduh* instrument, Lord Brahma on the *nyongnyong ageng* instrument, Goddess Laksmi on the *nyongnyong alit* instrument, Acintya on the *gong ageng* instrument, and Lord Brahma on the *gong*. This means that seven distinct types of god designs must be prepared and then poured out as relief sculptures for the eight distinct types of *Selonding* instruments.



1 Figure 10. *Plawah Selonding with pepatraan* carving design, 2018 (Photo is taken by the author)

Along with the carved motif representing the gods, the *Selonding plawah* is carved in the shape of a *pepatraan* (see Figure 10). According to Gelebet (1982, p. 333) *pepatraan* is a style of ornate beauty compositions based on specific types of floral beauty. *Pepatraan* ornament is a recurring pattern that can also take the form of a growing pattern. Generally, *patra sari* is the *pepatraan* type chosen for the *Selonding plawah* decoration. Its shape is reminiscent of flora with a recurring circular trunk and a protrusion of the flower essence that ser-

ves as its identity, as indicated by the name *patra sari* (see Figure 11).



Figure 11. *Plawah Selonding* with *patra sari* design, 2019 (Photos are taken by the author)

Gamelan Selonding Distribution in Tenganan Village

According to Fairlough (1995), distribution is the process of socializing and spreading *Gamelan Selonding* using the appropriate technique and through specific events to reach and be accepted by consumers. Distribution is the process of distributing manufactured goods. Distribution is ineffective without promotion and marketing to ensure that products reach consumers. According to Daum in Moelyono (2010, p. 135), distribution and marketing constitute network capital. This means that networks or partners must be established to distribute commodity products.

Craftsmen and artists distribute and promote *Gamelan Selonding* by carefully selecting the appropriate institutions or consumers, ensuring that the distribution is precise in terms of demand and reaches the most vulnerable consumers. Meanwhile, appropriate skills, knowledge, and comprehension of the products are critical throughout the distribution process. The professional attitude and behavior demonstrated and the ability to package information about *Gamelan Selonding's* uniqueness are all efforts toward distribution to attract customers. Satisfaction with the services provided is not limited to the provider; positive experiences may be shared with other consumers.

Bali Arts Festivals as a Momentum for Gamelan Selonding Distributions

The Bali Arts Festival (*Pesta Kesenian Bali*), abbreviated as PKB, was initiated by the Governor of Bali Ida Bagus Mantra to foster a sense of cultural awareness of the Balinese people in the face of globalization. PKB has generated an appreciation of the Balinese people for the values of Balinese arts and culture and introduced Balinese arts and culture to the broader community (Mantra, 1996, p. 12). The diversity and the richness of art displayed by the artists confirm that art is indeed integral to the life of the Balinese people; hence Bali is known as the art paradise.

As Bali's largest art event began in 1979 and ran annually for one month from June to July, PKB can generate a cultural vibration supporting the Balinese people's art and culture. At the very least, the Balinese people's cultural strategy hopes to hold PKB to maintain, foster, preserve, and develop cultural arts.

In 1982, the Karangasem Regency Government appointed and trusted Tenganan Village to represent its area by bringing *Selonding* to the 3rd Bali Arts Festival. To Karangasem Regency, it is an act of empowerment that revitalizes local potential and serves as a concrete measure to fortify identity and instill pride in the people of Tenganan Village. This, however, created a quandary for the people of Tenganan. On the one hand, it is beneficial to demonstrate Tenganan Village's indigenous wisdom, but on the other hand, the original *Gamelan Selonding* (*Selonding duwe*) cannot be brought outside of Tenganan Village. Due to the community's view that this was a golden opportunity to showcase Tenganan Village's potential and uniqueness to the Balinese people, a 'duplicate' of the *Gamelan Selonding* was created by inviting *pande gamelan* I Wayan Pager from Blahbatuh Village, Gianyar, Bali. Until now, the *Selonding* was kept in a *bale desa* near the Tenganan Village parking lot (see Figure 12).



1 Figure 12. Tenganan's *Gamelan Selonding* on PKB in 1982 the work of I Wayan Pager, 2018 (Photo is taken by the author)

PKB as a cultural strategy offers solutions and contributes to developing the nation's cultural identity in the face of globalization's various negative effects (Suartaya, 2016, p. 3). Tenganan Village's *Selonding* performance at Balinese art events serves as a form of cultural repositioning by highlighting the potential of traditional arts in the development of contemporary performing arts expressions. *Selonding* strengthens traditional Balinese performing arts and has demonstrated an ability to adapt to the dynamics of Balinese society and the globalization of life. The uniqueness of the *Gamelan Selonding*, which is deeply ingrained in the Tenganan community, is recognized as a local spectacle with global cultural relevance.

The inclusion of *Selonding* in PKB 1982 was the right moment to distribute the *Gamelan Selonding*, giving significant meaning to the development of *Selonding* in Tenganan Village. Thanks to the hard work of Partha Gunawan and the "Sanggar Guna Winangun" he built, *Selonding* became known through his signature Tenganan style repertoire. This is evident in the growth of the *Gamelan Selonding* outside of Tenganan Village. The presence of a recording 'labeled' *Selonding Gamelan* in Tenganan Village back in the 1980s indicates that this gamelan has garnered support and interest from Bali's art-loving community.

Balinese Artists and *Selonding* Craftsmen

Apart from Partha Gunawan's efforts

1 at the Bali Arts Festival, Balinese artists and gamelan craftsmen have been actively involved in distributing *Gamelan Selonding* since 1982. Magnissuseno (1992, p. 12) defines artists as possessing sensitivity and intuitive acuity. These are "super sensitive" individuals who have been trained to notice objects and events occurring around them that most people miss. Due to the artist's uniqueness compared to others, the artist is considered a "genius."

The significance of artists in terms of the value of life is more nuanced. Artists have indeed devoted their lives to humanity throughout history. Lubis (1992, p. 83) asserts that human existence will devolve to economic animals or power without values. Suppose culture is defined as a manifestation of thought. In that case, the artist plays a critical role in humanizing it by introducing elements of beauty, balance, perspective, rhythm, harmony, proportion, and sublimation of human experience into the culture.

As the main actors in the distribution of the *Gamelan Selonding*, Balinese artists are creative people who always want to make something newer and useful to meet their needs according to the dynamics of development. According to Sugiarta (2008, p. 59), Balinese artists are classified as human beings with competitiveness and achievement motivation. Various development efforts were made to the *Gamelan Selonding* by changing, processing, adding, and others, so that the existence of the *Gamelan Selonding* became vibrant.

1 The *Gamelan Selonding*'s existence in Bali began to "spread" due to the active role of Balinese artists and gamelan craftsmen. Gamelan craftsmen from Tenganan Village contribute significantly to the distribution of the *Gamelan Selonding*, and from outside Tenganan Village, such as Pande I Wayan Pager, owner of UD. Sidha Karya, Br. Babakan, Blahbatuh Village, Gianyar, Bali. Together with Balinese artists, gamelan craftsmen act as distributors, introducing, disseminating, nurturing, and developing the *Gamelan Selonding* to spread and become known to the Balinese and interna-

tional communities.

Gamelan Selonding Consumption in Tenganan Village

According to the concept, consumption refers to goods that meet human needs. The essence of all consumption objects is not in their function, economic value, physical appearance, or aesthetic appearance but their commodity status. The commodification of products or facts occurs when they are created to be exchanged for profit, imparting a distinctive character (Lee, 2006, p. ix). Commodities contain the essence of consumption objects; consumption is inextricably linked to the existence of the consumers who consume them. According to Suprapti (2010, p. 61) consumer perceptions and behavior toward commodity products are determined by three factors: consumer motivation, which divides the market into three segments: quality, service, and economic aspects.

The *Gamelan Selonding* is consumed in Tenganan Village by an individual, traditional organization, or community group. Apart from its ritual function, the *Gamelan Selonding* is also used as a medium for art. *Selonding* is not only placed in a sacred place but also in a secular space for entertainment, as a tourist attraction, and as a creative medium for artistic purposes.

Tenganan Village Community

The people of Tenganan Village are the main consumers of the *Gamelan Selonding*. The traditional relationships and linkages between *Selonding* and society brought up social behaviors, leading to the formation of cultural values that can be used as guidelines for the community members. *Gamelan Selonding* can morally and spiritually fulfill its citizens' needs. The repertoire presented in a series of religious rituals can provide inner and outer peace and create togetherness between the community members.

The religious ceremony for Tenganan Village is an inseparable link from the *tatwa* and *filsafat*, which are the goals of Hinduism. *Susila* is a rule that should be

implemented to achieve goals. These three elements are universal in the teachings of Hinduism. They must be understood and adhered to in an integrated and inseparable manner.

Tenganan Village and its people still preserve and stick to customs based on agreed-upon customary laws (*awig-awig*). In terms of culture, with all its elements strengthened by customary life with traditional institutions, they contribute in the form of concepts and their implementation to maintain and preserve the environment. Such conditions can be seen in the implementation of religious ceremonies and ways of living in a community, a social unit of individuals who have a relationship of mutual need.

For the Tenganan Village residents, community activities involving various religious ceremonies are carried out obediently from generation to generation, with the *Gamelan Selonding* always present. The tradition of using the *Gamelan Selonding* in all religious ceremonies in Tenganan Village has existed for a long time and is deeply ingrained in the people's souls. The combination of music and a series of ceremonies assists the people in maintaining a healthy balance of life. *Gamelan Selonding*, through its repertoire, preserves the noble values of life by supporting community activities. In a broader context, the *Gamelan Selonding's* presence is critical for the residents of Tenganan Village. Without the *Selonding*, ritual activities are incomplete; even the excitement of the ritual atmosphere becomes more stable when the *Gamelan Selonding* is always present.

Balinese, Archipelago, and International Societies

Tenganan Village's cultural products, such as the *Gamelan Selonding* and religious activities, are unique to the Balinese people, who typically receive something else. Their presence in Tenganan Village is directly gratifying due to the diverse community activities that revolve around its unique ritual activities. The variety of patterns and uniqueness of the

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gringsing cloth as a result of community crafts and the uniqueness of the mageretpandan tradition with *Gamelan Selonding* accompaniment, which has retained its originality and authenticity.

Not only can Balinese appreciate the uniqueness of *Selonding* in Tenganan Village; the people of the Archipelago (Indonesia) devote a significant portion of their leisure time to witnessing the wealth of traditions in Tenganan Village. Visitors include junior high school, high school, vocational school, madrasah, Islamic boarding school, college students, government and private sector employees from Surabaya, Malang, Yogyakarta, Solo Jakarta, Bandung, Aceh, and Lampung. The visits are primarily part of a Study Tour to Bali, and Tenganan Village is one of the destinations on their itinerary during the long summer vacation following promotion and graduation in June and July. Meanwhile, the general public opts for alternate holidays to avoid conflicting with student holidays. Some choose lengthy vacations, such as office workers (public and private), bank workers (public and private), and others.

Apart from Balinese and Indonesian people, international people can also consume *Gamelan Selonding*. The international community consumes *Selonding* by watching the presentation of *Selonding* directly during a visit to Tenganan Village. Besides that, some tourists use *Selonding* as an object of research and have *Selonding* as a collection, specifically studying *Gamelan Selonding* and *Selonding* as an artistic medium. Foreigners or the international community who uses the *Gamelan Selonding*, such as (1) Fobiko Tamura (Japan, 1980), as a collection, (2) Max Serell (California, 1982) as a museum collection, (3) Wayne Vitale (America, 1990), studied *Gamelan Selonding*, (4) Michael Tenzer (California, 2011), conducted *Selonding* research, (5) Edward Herbst (America, 2016), studied *Gamelan Selonding*, and (6) Vaughan Hatch (New Zealand, 2010), founded the *Gamelan Selonding* group called *Mekar-Buana*.

The *Gamelan Selonding*'s uniqueness

as a form of cultural heritage in Tenganan Village is not exclusive to the Tenganan community. The society of Bali, the archipelago (Indonesia), and the international community can all benefit from *Selonding*'s accompaniment because their arrival brings something unique and different. His presence in Tenganan Village provides him with a greater sense of fulfillment than purchasing various other commodity products, which provide him with valuable knowledge and experience to take back to his region or country. It benefits tourists, as it allows them to learn about the uniqueness of Tenganan Village, such as the 'scissor principle,' which states that once a hole is punctured, two more holes can be penetrated. Come to Tenganan Village and experience one-of-a-kind traditions such as mageretpandan while also enjoying *Selonding*.

Gamelan Selonding as a Tourism Performing Art

Since Bali became a part of the global tourism network, Balinese artists have begun to develop art forms that are specifically "peddled" or even "sold" to tourists. Art is created by repurposing forms or elements from pre-existing traditional arts, including elements of Balinese ritual art. As a result of this effort, significant elements of the arts in question have to be altered or even removed because they are deemed out of step with tourist tastes and needs. Not only are there components that must be removed from the art's content and form, but also from its appearance and presentation system (Dibia, 1997, p. 31). Tenganan Village's popularity as a tourist destination has a subtle effect on the artists. By utilizing the *Gamelan Selonding*, artists have the foresight to seize existing opportunities. This circumstance benefits the development of *Selonding* with a variety of functions. Initially, *Selonding* was restricted to sacred ritual functions, but it evolved into an aesthetic presentation after being influenced by tourism. A noteworthy artistic dynamic is the development of the Tenganan Village's *Gamelan Selonding*

as a tourism performance art since 1992 (see Figure 13). *Selonding* is a significant part of the dinner event at the Amankila Hotel in Manggis, Karangasem, Bali, under Sanggar Guna Winangun.

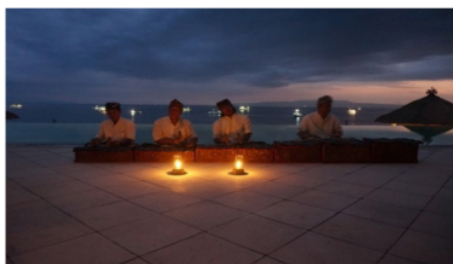


Figure 13. *Selonding* presentation as a tourism art performance by Sanggar Guna Winangun at Hotel Amankila, Karangasem, Bali, 2018. (Photo is taken by the author)

Presentation in the context of tourism does not experience changes in form and principal musicality, but *Selonding* has increased its function and presentation system. The repertoire is presented in the processing and development of pre-existing forms. Some of which were even explicitly created for tourism purposes. Soedarsono (1998, p. 121) describes the characteristics of the art of tourism as follows: (1) imitation of the original, (2) its short or concise version, (3) its sacred, magical, and symbolic values that have been eliminated, (4) full of variety, (5) presented attractively, and (6) low prices for tourists. *Selonding* as a form of performing arts already has the characteristics of tourism art as described above.

As a tourism performance art, *Selonding* does not prioritize the importance of magical values but rather the value of the beauty of sound and excitement in welcoming guests or as an instrumental in accompanying the dinner. The repertoire that is usually played are *Sekar Gadung*, *Rejang Ileh*, *Rejang Lente*, *Rejang Gucek*, dan *gending Kelompok Guna*. *Kelompok Guna* is a special piece made for tourist offerings, which collaborated the *Gong Kebyar* repertoire (*Gambang Suling*) with the *Rindik* technique and the gamelan *Angklung*.

CONCLUSIONS

Commodification is how commodities' production, distribution, and consumption are organized and conceptualized. The commodification of *Gamelan Selonding* in Tenganan Village emphasizes the production aspect, specifically efforts to transform cultural heritage through 'imitating' the original form of *Selonding duwe*. Duplication production is packaged in an attractive manner that satisfies the audience due to the *pande gamelan's* creativity. Commodification, which has been attributed to globalization's influence, contributes to the erosion and degradation of traditional values. On the contrary, *Selonding* can survive, stimulate, and develop through duplication. According to this definition, duplication is used as a teaching tool and is updated in the form of a new creation. Commodification enables people to become acquainted with, enjoy, and educate themselves about *Selonding*. Nothing diminishes the original values of *Selonding*; in fact, the sacredness of *Selonding* in Tenganan Village is preserved.

Tenganan Village's residents are able to strike a balance between religious and productive issues, including for *Gamelan Selonding*. *Gamelan Selonding* is still revered and preserved by the people of Tenganan Village, and nothing diminishes the original *Selonding* values; indeed, the very existence of *Selonding* is preserved in its current form. On the other hand, the residents of Tenganan Village can use *Selonding* as an opportunity to expand their business and improve their welfare.

In the context of *Selonding*, the community upholds the sacredness and authenticity of the *Gamelan Selonding* while also becoming a productive society, specifically by producing *Gamelan Selonding* through duplication. Commodification has altered the dynamics of the *Selonding* gamelan's aesthetic principles, which were previously based on *satyam*, *siwam*, and *sundaram*; adjustments have been made to accommodate the concept of modern aesthetics. *Selonding*, as a cultural object, is not

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only a purified and revered ancestral legacy but also an aesthetic object. Using the Gamelan Selonding as a medium, each generation continues to innovate creatively and selectively to provide new ideas based on indigenous wisdom known as *desa, kala, and patra* to bring art closer to the context of people's lives.

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