

## **Karandu (Gong): History, Functions, and Symbols in the Life of the Tolaki People in 17th -20th Century Southeast Sulawesi**

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### **Abstract**

By applying the historical method, this study aims to explain the history of the development of the gong (*karandu*) in Southeast Sulawesi and how the gong changes its function and symbol. The *karandu* entry into Tolaki estimated about the 13th century AD, originated from Java (Majapahit) and then experienced development during the Wolio kingdom. Furthermore, the acquisition of *karandu* occurred between the 16th and 20th centuries from outside traders as well as through shipping and trade with the natives. Gongs at that time were used as royal and confidential treasures of high value, art, ceremonies, social status, and many more. The gong evolved to communicate in particular situations, such as codes or signs of danger, meetings, grief, etc. The function of *adat* as a customary object in the *moruhu owuku/ mooli anakia* custom (buying nobility). The traditional object in marriage was called *tawa-tawa sara* (traditional gong), then replaced with money (*nililima/ nilungga*). The religious function was used when the *Mokowea* death ceremony was beaten when death occurs until the body was delivered to the cemetery. This function remained limited to the descendants of the nobility, the rich, or those with positions. In the past, gongs had an economic role with high prices and values as a criterion of prosperity. Several symbols were contained in the gong: social status, classic, unity, religious, and communication. Nowadays, they are no longer considered valuable objects.

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### **Introduction**

In the past, the Tolaki people, who inhabit the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi, settled the former kingdoms of Konawe and Mekongga, which consist of Konawe, South Konawe, North Konawe, Kendari City, Konawe Islands, Kolaka, North Kolaka and East Kolaka. They recognized various kinds of heirlooms, including *ta'arwu* (traditional machetes), *karandu* (gong), *oleko* (keris), *karada* (spear), *taniromu*, and so on. Gong was a cultural heritage object in the Archipelago, known not only in Java but also to the people of Southeast Sulawesi, especially the Tolaki ethnic group. Gong was full of functions, values, meanings and symbols.

From the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the gong was essential for the Tolaki community in Konawe and Mekongga. The existence of the gong was still considered a central function in daily life. Even though this gong or *karandu* tradition was not the original creation of Tolaki, it remains used and maintained in the present time. The use of gongs in various aspects of Tolaki life has shifted and changed. For instance, in marriage, the gong was not present like a gong but was replaced with an amount of money which was considered to have the same value as the original gong (called *karandu sara* or *gong adat*). In addition, in the arts, the *lulo* dance accompaniment used in the past has shifted or transformed using *orjen* accompaniment or modern music.

The importance of the *karandu* or gong for the Tolaki people can be seen from the function of this *karandu* as a traditional object or *pu'uno osara* (Al Ashur, 2003; Pingak, 1978; Suud, 2006; Tarimana, 1993) even in marriage or *sara perapua* gong or *karandu* was considered as one of the *pu'uno osara* or customary core as *karandu sara* or commonly called *tawa-tawa sara*.

For the Tolaki people, gong has a specificity or uniqueness regarding history, use, function, and symbol (Syahrin and Melamba, 2022). *Karandu* or gong was not only seen as a traditional dance instrument, but for the Tolaki people, it was more than that. For example, *lulo*, *lariangi*, *umoara*, *mondotambe*, and so on were known to the public. The use of gongs has experienced a shift along with the development of technological systems. Even so, some gong uses are still maintained in Tolaki society. As a result of the absence of gongs, some uses of gongs are changed according to society's consensus; even their partial use is only an introduction. For example, the *lulo* dance, in reality in the past, the use and function of the gong were significant and massively used by all levels of Tolaki society.

The discourse on the existence of *karandu* or gong in the spectrum of Tolaki people still needs to be enhanced. Prominent scholars were investigating the gong, which includes Djohan Mekuo et al. (Mekuo & Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah, 1979), describes the gong (*karandu*) as an accompaniment to several types of dance for the Tolaki ethnic group, including the *molulo* dance, *lariangi*, *umoara*, *umahu*, *osara*, and so on. Furthermore, Sulaiman ((Sulaiman, 1990) explains that the *lulo* dance is a gong, one of the accompaniment tools. According to the name of the accompaniment instrument, it consists of: *lulo ganda* (*lulo* using a drum), *lulo dimba* (using a drum), *lulo ore-ore* (traditional wind instrument), *lulo tawa-tawa* (accompanisting a gong), and *lulo gambusu* (*lulo* accompanying a gong, traditional plucked harp).

Tarimana (1993) explains the gong as a means of accompaniment for various types of Tolaki dance, such as *lulo*, *lariangi*, *umoara*, and so on. Likewise, the gong is used during Tolaki ceremonies. Third, the gong is used at Tolaki people's weddings. However, a more comprehensive explanation regarding these cultural aspects of gong is limited. A technological object has a function and a symbol for the Tolaki people, who have experienced a process of shifting. (Melamba et al., 2015) explains several aspects of the *lulo* dance. Regarding the gong, he stated that the gong or *karandu* is a

tool or instrument to accompany the *lulo* dance; the gong instrument consists of several types of sounds.

The studies of *karandu* or gong as a problem for the Tolaki people have not been discovered at all, even though their position and function are very central to the Tolaki people's life in Konawe and Mekongga. Therefore, this study explains the critical role of *karandu* in the life of the Tolaki people from the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-1990s. There are several research questions. First, what is the history of introducing *karandu* to the Tolaki people? Second, what is the function of the gong for the Tolaki people? Third, what symbols are contained in the gong according to the Tolaki people?

## Method

The method used in this study is the historical method, which includes the heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Garraghan, 1957). This study used primary sources in the form of archives and documents such as *Memorie van Overgave* (MvO), Dutch magazines, archive sources and documents researchers are looking for sources at National Archives of Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, the National Library of Indonesia, the Archives Service and Libraries of South Sulawesi Province in Makassar, Archives and Libraries Office of Southeast Sulawesi Province. The secondary sources used are books related to Tolaki, especially *mongae*, research reports and correspondence. Moreover, the authors also conducted interviews with informants to explore the collective memory of the Tolaki community regarding *karandu*.

## History of Gong in Tanah Tolaki, Southeast Sulawesi

Before explaining the development and changes in the use of gong or *karandu* among the Tolaki people, the etymological origins of the word *karandu* consists of two vocabularies, namely *kara* and *ndu*. The word *kara* means to stir or resonate. In addition, *kara* can also be interpreted as fast or warm. For example, *bawo mokara* means hot news or *mokara* means hot and actual. The sound of a *karandu* or gong can stir the heart and echo the information about an incident or event. The sound of *karandu* makes people stir their hearts. When the sound of the gong is struck, it is called *kumokarandu*, so people will gather. In addition, there is the meaning of the word *kara*, which means essential or fast, and the word *mokara* is a critical situation. In *molulo*, a quick movement is needed in swinging the arms (*moese*) and legs (*molakoako* and *tinuka tuka*) to the rhythm of the gong. In addition, there is also a version in which the two words have different meanings.

Furthermore, the word *ndu* means sound because if a *karandu* is hit, it will emit a *karandu* whirring sound in the form of a whirring and booming sound. For example, *peia karandu ndu-ndu* means the sound of a gong ringing. To distinguish between *karandu* and *tawa-tawa* can be seen from the round size, diameter, thickness and function. Several ethnic groups in Southeast Sulawesi know the gong by different names. For instance, in Muna, it is called *mbololo*, while the *Moronene* people call it *randu*, which has another function and usage.

The tradition of the Tolaki people regarding the introduction of gongs in the past was found in the oral tradition and *taenango* oral literature, namely the heroic epic of the Tolaki people. In this epic, it was told that the use of gongs during the departure of the Tebaunggu figure explored the land and sea areas. In some Tolaki people's folklore, gongs were used or played when there was a war between groups between kingdoms. In addition, the gong can be played if the situation was in a dangerous condition such as natural disasters (floods, landslides), epidemics (*oropu*), fires (*oapi/mohai*), situations of the danger of enemy attack, conditions of death, theft, meetings and so on.

The distribution of gongs on the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi correlates with the Majapahit kingdom, the Sultanate of Buton, and the Chinese. According to oral tradition, Arimatisima's marriage to the native Tolaki people occurred. At the same time, the descendants of the Mekongga nobility, especially in Rahambuu, have a tradition of kinship with Sangia Majanpai (Baden, 1925) According to local tradition, the first King or Mokole in the Konawe and Mekongga Kingdoms, named Wekoila and Larumbalagi were descended from Tolaki, Java, Luwu, Ternate, Bone, and Wolio (Vonk, 1928). Santoso and Bandem explains that the gamelan gong in Renon village is a relic from the Majapahit kingdom and is still being used today. Based on ancient texts, gamelan gong functions as a war gamelan; today's function is related to ritual and dance. Changes occurred during the reign of Dalem Watu Renggong; at that time, the roots of Hindu religious beliefs were firmly entrenched. In addition, there was a period of artistic aspects during his time (Santosa & Bandem, 2002)

Before being known as the gong or *karandu*, the *lulo* dance accompaniment was the *kanda-wuta* (a drum made of earth perforated on it, equipped with a lid and string). According to oral tradition, *karandu* objects or gongs were purchased by royalty and individuals in the land of Java (*wuta i'Dawa*) through traders (folklore of Tepolepo i'Dawa). Along with the development of technology, *karandu* already existed in the Sultanate of Buton and was produced in Kadie or Lamangga village. Thus, ordered and purchases shifted to Kadie or Lamangga village of the Buton Sultanate (Djaruju & Sirajudin, 1990). The skills to make brass materials were obtained from the arrival of four Javanese people who each had exceptional skills, namely blacksmiths in Baadia, wood and iron craftsmen living in Melai and brass craftsmen living in Lamangga (Djaruju & Sirajudin, 1990, p. 127). This reinforces the Tolaki people's tradition of recognizing gongs from ancient times, contemporaries with the Majapahit kingdom. During the traditional Konawe kingdom, it was estimated that gongs in the 17th and 18th century were obtained through shipping and trade routes in the coastal areas of Konawe, Lasolo, Sampara, Tinanggea, and the ancient port areas of the Tolaki people. As there was trade contact between Konawe or Laiwoi and the Sultanate of Buton, mainly trading in brass instruments in the form of gongs (can be seen in Figure 1). Gongs were used to accompany the *lulo* dance so that *lulo nggarandu* appeared, meaning *lulo* accompanied by a gong.

With the entry of Bugis, Buton traders in the Kendari area brought wares such as ceramics, bronze, gongs, textiles, and jewellery. Then they exchanged them for forest

products such as rice, rattan, and *agel* leaves. Thus, it also influenced the *lulo* accompaniment in the form of a drum made of deer skin (*donga*), anoa (*kadue*) and buffalo (*kiniku*), in the following period, they used a gong (*karandu*). As a result, *molulo dimba* (*lulo* accompanied by a drum) and *molulo nggarandu* (*lulo* accompanied by a gong) appear (Melamba, 2016, p. 34). As trade contacts took place between Konawe or Laiwoi and the Sultanate of Buton, mainly trading in brass tools in the form of gongs, the *lulo* dance was accompanied by using gongs (Melamba, 2016, p. 36).



Figure 1 Gong or *Karandu* type does not have a Center (*Karandu Mbuiki Puheno*) Royal Heritage of Konawe

Source: Collection of Sultrawan Liambo

It was alleged that the Tolaki people had already known the gong for a long time. It can be known through folklore in the form of oral traditions about *karandu* in the Konawe east coast community whose area is close to the sea, namely folklore from the people of Watunggarandu Village, Soropia District, Konawe Regency. The name of this village means stone gong (*watu nggarandu*). The naming has correlated with a story about the toponym of a village, such as about a rock; why is it called *watu nggarandu* or *batu gong*? However, the strong tradition of using the gong became known to the Tolaki people around the 16th and 17th centuries, along with shipping and trade relations between several kingdoms in Java and the Sultanate of Buton (Mekuo and Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah 1979).

One of the oldest *karandu* in the Konawe Kingdom is in Lambuia, an inheritance from Inowa Asaki Lambuya's descendants. Sultrawan Liambo keeps the gong. Type of *karandu* is to gong from Java. However, this type of *karandu* is rarely found among the Tolaki people. According to the genealogy of the *karandu* ownership line, the *karandu* was kept by Wehaleka, the daughter of Marahadi, who is a descendant of royal officials, namely Inea Sinumo Wuta Mbinotiso Towu Tinorai in Abuki who is a descendant of the crown prince of the Konawe Kingdom. From Marahadi, then kept by Wehaleka. Furthermore, it was kept by his son, Jaba Hasjid Liambo; then, it was passed on to his son Sultrawan Liambo.

The Chinese also brought gong. The Chinese migration in *Onderafdeeling* Kendari dates long before the 19th century. It is the discovery of the remains of items

exchanged, such as; bronze, porcelain (ceramics), gongs, gold, textiles, and jewellery (beads) brought by traders from China, which the people of the Konawe Kingdom very much needed. This opinion is conceivable because in many places in the former kingdoms of Konawe and Mekongga many kinds of porcelain (ceramics), beads, gongs (*karandu*), bronze and various other findings were found. Both are used for burial provisions, valuables, decorations, or as merchandise (Melamba, 2022). Even in the Kendari area, Chinese money is known as Chinese sen (*pipisi* or paste) (Vonk, 1928).



Figure 2 Gong or *Karandu* type with Dragon and Sun decorations  
Source: Collection of Museum and Cultural Park of Southeast Sulawesi Province.

*Karandu* was produced in various types and sizes, ranging from large to small, with a central variation (*puhe manggandu*). Within a few generations, there was a significant change in material culture in Southeast Sulawesi. Around 1900, imported goods began to enter the peninsula, which was the most isolated and remote, causing many of the old objects that had been used to be replaced (Jong, 2010). In addition, there was information from a Dutch official, as explained in a source, that when Grubauer visited the old tomb complex in Wiwirano in 1911, he found stoneware and ceramics of various types and sizes, also known in Central Sulawesi, symbols of death which rich in ornaments, old paintings, finely made drums and gongs, *fuya* clothing, objects such as knives, trays and plates as well as many other objects which according to him belong to the *tulatambatu* culture which has long disappeared and almost been forgotten. The inhabitants then did not know its origins or meaning because their world had since changed (Jong 2010).

In history, the gong or *karandu* was used as a traditional object in every Tolaki marriage, such as wooing marriage (*momboko ndetoro obita*) which is considered an honourable type of marriage as well as in *molasu* or *silariang* marriages and other abnormal marriages. *Karandu sara* was present during the *mowindadhako* ceremony or customary settlement. *Karandu*, which means gong is a very popular musical instrument in the Tolaki Konawe and Mekongga (Kolaka) areas. There is also a tiny gong called the *tawa-tawa*. The material is brass and is shaped like a tube with a height of 10 to 20 cm. The shape is terraced, and at the top is a head called *puhe karandu* (the

centre is the gong). The midline of the tube circle is approximately 30-40 cm, with a head circumference of 10 cm. On the head of this *karandu*, the musical instrument of *karandu* is beaten. This instrument accompanies the *lulo* (*molulo*) dance, *lariangi* dance, at *tumotabua* death, the announcement of important information, invitations to gather, and warning of dangers in the past.

In further developments in the 1990s, the *lulo* dance was accompanied by a tape recorder (radio), then replaced by a band; now, the accompaniment uses *orjen* music. This is caused by the limited number of people who have a gong. Even though there are efforts to preserve *lulo* by the government providing a gong as a driving tool, where each sub-district gets a gong, it still needs to meet these demands. Apart from the psychic constraints of the young Tolaki generation, obedience when using the gong is considered old-fashioned, backward or out of date. In 2007 the Konawe Regency government, through the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget, purchased gongs which were distributed to each sub-district. This attempts to revive the original *lulo* dance (Melamba 2016, 36)/

There are several reasons why the use of *karandu* or gongs has shifted or is rarely used, namely first, the centre of manufacture and materials have been complicated to find. However, the types of quality and materials are not the same or are much different from past gong products. Second, few people are skilled at ordering or making *karandu* traditionally, and the centre for making brass material for making *karandu* from the village or village of Lamangga is no longer producing it. Third, the system of knowledge and appreciation of the values and symbols contained in the gong has shifted. Fourth, the level of knowledge regarding the function and position of the gong among the Tolaki people could be much higher. Fifth, some people consider using the gong (*karandu*) as old-fashioned or left behind, mainly if it is used as a *lulo* dance instrument. Even so, some people still keep a collection of gongs as family pride, which is considered something valuable. Sixth, around the 1970-1990s, their owners massively traded heirlooms, including gongs. Nowadays, the charm of *karandu* or gong has faded. For example, in terms of art, the Tolaki people rarely use the gong during *molulo* and *tumotabua* due to the increasing scarcity of these objects. Seventh, in the past *karandu* was considered a valuable object, but now it is no longer considered valuable and is only used as a display at home. Eighth, special skills are needed in forming or making a *karandu*-type model. At present, *karandu* makers are no longer found.

The reasons for the reduced population of gongs in the Konawe and Kolaka areas are that this area was threatened by Darul Islam/ Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia (DI/TII) movement from the 1950s to the 1960s, one of which was massive displacement. This causes valuable items such as gongs to be hidden by their owners. Second, the availability of gongs or *karandu* in Southeast Sulawesi was still abundant until the 1990s but decreased or faded after this period. This was due to the purchases and trade carried out by collectors who hunted for valuable objects and were traded by the Tolaki people. Third, some Tolaki people lack awareness of the functions, values, and symbols, so they pay less attention to the use of the gong. Fourth, there



was an agreement/ consensus in traditional institutions that *karandu* or tawa-tawa sara or *adat* gongs can be replaced with an amount of money or a monetary value equivalent to a gong. This opens up opportunities to ignore the existence of the gong as a traditional symbol. As a traditional symbol, *karandu* is included in the core of Tolaki marriage customs called *karandu sara* or *tawa-tawa sara*. It is infrequent to find marriages among the Tolaki family by presenting a gong or *karandu* as a traditional subject (*karandu sara* or *sara tawa-tawa*). Fifth, in the 1990s the *orjen* or band began to enter as musical accompaniment, shifting the function of the gong as *lulo* accompaniment.

At every Tolaki funeral ceremony, the gong is always present, especially at the *tumotabua* ceremony (consoling the family and giving sad news to Tolaki companions). Hearing the striking of the gong, one can understand that an event has taken place, especially the *mokole* (King), *anakia* (nobles), royal officials, respected people in the past and government officials in the present. In the past, many people were found who were skilled or proficient at hitting the gong, both for hitting the gong for *molulo* and during death ceremonies called *tabua nggowea* or *tumotabua mateaha*. Gong beaters were not limited to men but could also be performed by women as long as they knew the types of gong strokes and their purpose. The timing of hitting the gong is not limited to when but according to the activity. For example, if the *lulo* dance is performed, then when it is completed, the *lulo* dance usually at night and some are held during the day. In addition, at the time of death, the gong is struck from the moment the body dies to the funeral procession. When summoning a large number of people, the gong is struck according to the delivery time.

In subsequent developments in the 1990s, the *lulo* dance was accompanied by a tape recorder (radio), then it was replaced by a band, now the accompaniment uses *orjen* music. This was caused by the increasing steps of people who have a gong. Even though there were efforts to preserve *lulo* by the government providing a gong as a driving tool, where each sub-district gets a gong, it still has not met these demands. Apart from the psychic constraints of the young Tolaki generation, obedience when using the gong is considered old-fashioned, backward or out of date. In 2007 the Konawe Regency government, through the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget, purchased gongs which were distributed to each sub-district. This is an attempt to revive the original *lulo* dance. At present, gongs are used in official occasions, such as opening activities, inauguration ceremonies, and other events. The striking of the gong is a sign or symbol of the start of an event or activity or as a sign of inauguration.

### Structure of Gong (*Karandu*)

*Karandu*, also known as *tawa-tawa*, is the name for a gong in the Tolaki language. For this reason, in terms of marriage customs, it is called *tawa-tawa sara* or *karandu sara*, both of which comprise the same meaning, namely as a traditional object in the form of a traditional gong. The material is made of brass with a decoration of two dragons fighting over food. Its social function is to be used or played during ceremonies or



weddings, especially among the nobility. In addition, this gong has a symbolic meaning as a status symbol for its owner. Gongs or *karandu* are usually made of brass (*kuninga*) and are shaped round to a specific size. In the *karandu* element there is a gong head or *uluno karandu* called *puheno* or the center of the gong (Figure 3), which has a prominent shape. The body of the gong is tubular, with two holes for attaching the string to the hanger. Finally, the rope as a hanger is made of specially made rope, but nowadays, it uses nylon rope.



Figure 3 Model Gong or *Karandu* Tolaki

As for the type of *karandu*, the material is made of brass as a tube with a height of 25 to 30 cm. The shape is terraced, and at the top is a head called *puheno karandu* (the center is the gong). The diameter of the circular tube is approximately 30-40 cm. Head circumference of 10 cm. At the head or *ulu ngarandu*, the musical instrument *karandu* is beaten, including percussion instruments, a kind of gong music. The material for hitting the gong is made of nileu wood or dried wood. The wood is cut into pieces approximately 30 to 35 cm long, with a large size of 5-7 cm wood, and the number of tools consists of two.

There are also models of *karandu* or gongs made of brass, which are round and have a diameter of between 30 cm and 15 cm. In addition, there is a prominent type of *karandu* called *tawa-tawa*, while the medium-sized ones are called *karandu*. Finally, there is a small *karandu* or gong as well as a medium-sized *karandu* that does not have a centre which is used to accompany dance (*molulo*), *lariangi* dance, *umoara* dance (war dance), *umahu* dance, *mondotambe* dance, *tumotabua* death, information announcements momentous events, as well as assembly invitations and warnings of past dangers. **Figure 4** is a sketch of the gong structure's shape according to the Tolaki people's knowledge.

To use this gong or *karandu*, a hanging place is usually made by providing two poles and longitudinal wood as a place to hang the gong. To hit the gong or *karandu*, a wooden bat is provided. For example, resin, *maja* or *obila* wood, and several types of wood suitable for striking a gong. It is endeavored that the gong beater is made of wood which does not damage the center of the gong or the *karandu puheno*. This is to maintain the thickness of the cardboard.

The collective memory of gongs or *karandu* in everyday life is commonly known by the phrase "*puhe ngarandu*", which means "a person has a centre in the stomach that resembles the centre of a gong *karandu* or head of a gong," the centre protrudes like the centre of a gong or *karandu*.

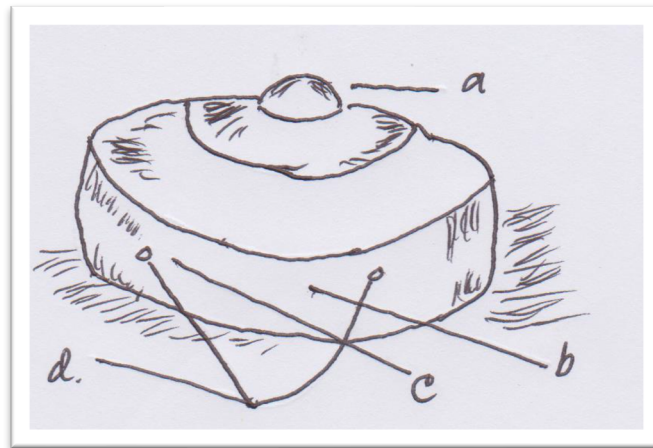


Figure 4 Gong or *Karandu* Sketch

Description of the illustration of the *karandu* or gong element: (a) Head (*Puheno*); (b) Tube (*tabung*); (c) Hanging hole (*lombano karandu*); (d) Rope (*orongo*)

Source: Mekuo, 1978/1979.

Besides being distinguished by differences in the size of their diameter, centre or stomach, and their use, *karandu* and *tawa-tawa* can also be distinguished through their usage habits. *Tawa-tawa* is often used to accompany various Tolaki dances such as *umoara* (war dance), *lariangi*, *mondotambe* (welcoming guests), *lulo*, and so on. Among the Tolaki people, it is known that someone skilled (*mandara mondoni karandu*) can beat a gong or *karandu*. Each type of wasp will produce a sound according to the conditions and needs of striking *karandu*.

### The Function of the *Karandu* (Gong) for the Life of the Tolaki People

Kojaing (2017) explains several things that gong *waning* is present during sacred and profane rituals. In addition, as a dance accompaniment, nuanced joy and in death. *Karandu* has not only a function as an object but also a non-object function in the form of a religious function, a customary function, an artistic function, a social function, and a communication function that has been valid from the past to the present. The following is a description of the function of the gong according to the Tolaki people.

#### *Communication Function*

The communication function is no longer used to call for meetings, to report or provide news about situations or conditions in a village or village area as was the case in the past. The function of the gong or *karandu* was used to call the people or *to'ono dadio*. In the past period, both the Konawe and Mekongga Kingdoms, in gathering the people or *to'ono* why always used a gong as a means of communication. According to several informants, the gong was fading in the mid of 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the entry of the

communication technology system and the abolition of the villages, which was marked by the dissolution of the self-governing. The function of the gong as a means of communication in the past was when ships and boats departed or arrived, so the gong was sounded as a sign of the departure and arrival of a ship or boat (Baden, 1925)

Suppose there are issues on government, development, and other social affairs that require the participation of many community members. In that case, the village head beats a wooden "gong" or "bucket", then in a few moments, all the leaders of the family or the head of the household will be gathered except for those who are sick or temporarily absent. They are all present voluntarily without coercion to hear what things need to be done by them. A sign or signal about the purpose of the call is through the sound of a gong or drums *tasi* can only be heard from the sequence of sounds, the provisions of which are as follows; If the sound is a long string, then it indicates that there is a sudden call because something dangerous or an accident has occurred that requires immediate help; If the sound is twice in a long row, then it indicates that there is distress or death that has occurred; If the sound is made three times in a long row, then it indicates a call to complete a particular work together, and the head of each family must be present bringing work tools; If it sounds like four times in a long row, it indicates a call to gather because government guests need to meet face-to-face with the community or hold important deliberations (Su'ud 2010).

Until the 1950s, the traditional provisions mentioned above were still practised and obeyed in all rural areas of the Tolaki people. This gong culture has disappeared in almost all Tolaki people's villages except for a few remote villages. In the past, when this gong culture was still being practiced, residents would have obeyed it because if not, then the person concerned would have regretted being ostracized in the daily social order of society.

As a function of communication, *karandu* in the past was a cultural communication tool to convey information or news known as *momboko ndunggu obawo*. Information is conveyed by hitting the gong in a certain number of strokes and rhythm. To distinguish the type of news and its contents, it can be heard from the sound of the gong being struck. When there is news of grief, news of danger, news of gathering or *teporombu*, the *karandu* will beat with wasps containing information about an *abala* (disaster), *oropu* (deadly epidemic), fire, or an enemy threat. *Karandu* is also used as a universal calling medium for all people in a village or *onapo (okambo)*, for *teporombu* (deliberation), and *metasere* (population census for *obe/osima* or tax data collection). Using a carousel is also a means of communication and information regarding urgent issues.

### **Custom Functions**

Gong or *karandu* in the past was used as an object in the *moruhu* custom or *mo'oli obeli* (buying nobility). In the past, the position status was very concerning, especially a person's origin; they maintained their authenticity. Mainly in conducting marriages between royal and government elites, both those who rule and those who do not rule, there is a prohibition or taboo on marriages between nobles and non-nobility,

traditional elites and non-elite. If a person marries a lower status or social structure or is outside the position of his status, he will be subject to customary punishment. In the past, there was a prohibition on marriage between one group and another. Still, marrying married to a woman from the *anakia* aristocratic class meant the man had to pay a certain amount of goods to the woman. This is called *moruhu owuku*, meaning that with this payment, the man's rank is raised so that he is equal to the woman.

There was an *osara* or custom that developed in the Tolaki community at that time that a noble girl could not marry "*Okino perahino*" means "can't eat together", means not being able to sit together or eat together in one place. In fact, according to belief, you should not mix *medulus* before carrying out the *moruhu owuku* custom, because this is considered a family disgrace and causes shame. This *moruhu owuku* custom is the custom of buying and measuring blood or measuring bones as a position of high status with someone of middle status or from the lower class. According to the Tolaki people, blood is a symbol of life, and bones are a symbol of human strength. Both elements are needed for the human body to be a driving force and support in human life.

As a customary function, *karandu* was present at the wedding ceremony (*perapua*). In the wedding ceremony, *karandu* was present as one of the traditional objects or customary requirements. The function of the gong is included in the *adat* principal or *pu'uno osara*, which consists of four *pu'uno*, which are included in the *sara niwondahako puuno* category. The four *pu'uno* consist of the first, *aso mata okasa* or one *fis kaci*. *Aso mata kiriku sara* in the form of one buffalo (worth IDR 250,000), *aso mata eno sara* in the form of a circle of gold necklace *eno wulaa* (worth IDR 250,000) and *aso mata karandu sara* which is also called *tawa-tawa sara* in the form of one gong fruit (worth IDR 50,000). The position of *karandu sara* or *tawa sara* in implementing the *mowindaho* ceremony is at the bottom of the traditional apparatus. A gong has a meaning; if a parent/father dies, relatives, neighbours and acquaintances, both near and far away, will be informed about it. There is a knowledge of the Tolaki people as a message to their children that *karandu nggo ieto tinoni keno nio tumotabua* means the gong that will be used or beaten when notification of death. A gong that is struck with a certain rhythm is a means of notification that someone has died. By the consensus of the Tolaki traditional leaders, through the Tolaki Traditional Institute (LAT), traditional objects (*karandu/gong*) are replaced by means of *nililima* or *nilungga* means to be replaced with something. However, in the past, the existence of *karandu* and *tawa-tawa* as offerings or offerings according to the *osara* custom according to the object type.

*Popolo* as dowry included buffalo, sago groves, gongs, white cloth in the form of *pis*, sarongs, gold coins, household tools and other gold jewellery. In the past, the shape of *popolo* was; sago groves or *puu ndawaro*, gong (*karandu/ tawa-tawa*), *gauze wila* white cloth (in *pis* form), *osawu* or *toloa sarongs*, gold coins, household tools, gold jewelry and others. As well as *popolo*, there are other payments called *sara peana*, *sara = adat*, *peana = having children, raising babies*. *Sara peana*, namely a payment based on the reason that the woman who is proposed to has been cared for with great difficulty by the mother until she was small until she was an adult.

The function of the traditional gong has shifted in the past. The gong is used as a traditional object in marriage (*sara perapua*) of the Tolaki people in the particular content section of the traditional subject called *tawa-tawa sara*. The form of *tawa-tawa* and *sara* was carried out physically; this can be understood at that time, the acquisition and trade network for gong objects was still easy to obtain and was still being produced. However, since the mid-20th Century, the existence of a traditional gong (*tawa-tawa sara*) can be replaced with some money. The amount of money as a substitute is IDR 250,000 - as a replacement and is considered equivalent to the value of the gong; this is by the agreement of the traditional leaders, traditional stakeholders and the Tolaki Traditional Institution (LAT) at each customary meeting or during training.

### **Religious Function**

The function of the gong in the death ceremony of the Tolaki people was explained by Tarimana that after *To'onomotuo* or the local government received the *Pabitara* notification, then at the funeral home, the gong was immediately hammered with 2 (two) long sounds.

After the gong is sounded, it is a sign that mourning/people are dying in the house. If the person who died was a nobleman, then after the gong was sounded, a buffalo was immediately slaughtered, which had been prepared before the person concerned died. as a sign of respect, referred to as *kotu mbenao*. Afterwards, only the women who are present and who come to the funeral home are allowed to cry over the corpse, which is called *meorumate* or *mombokosalangomate*. To the relatives of the corpse who are far away, someone or several people are immediately sent to convey this grief according to custom. Bringing it with the traditional Kalosara accompanied by a piece of white cloth is called *Mekowea* (Tarimana, 1993).

In front of the funeral home, it is also customary to stake a white cloth as a sign of mourning. If the person who died was a nobleman, then at the funeral home, the people hammered a gong called "*tumotabua*" sequentially and continuously until the body was placed at the grave's edge. If the deceased person is a person of fame (nobility), then in addition to the bier, it must be shaped in such a way as to resemble an ornamental boat, wearing a white conical flag at the four corners. In front of the bier, several people are performing *umoara* (war dance) and *tumotabua* (striking a gong to accompany the corpse) after being lifted to the place of burial.

Judging from the religious function, especially at the death ceremony of the Tolaki people, the rhythm of the striking of the *karandu* or gong *tumotabua* is divided into several types of sounds of the *tumotabua karandu*, namely: (1) *tabua nggowea*, (2) *tabua mbekado*, (3) *tabua mboretina-mepate pate sapembita*, and (4) *tabua mborekapu*. When in mourning, funeral processions, and announcing the dead, *tumotabua* will be held using a gong. In *tumotabua* activities, the maximum number of gongs used is 7 (seven) and a minimum of 2 (two) gongs, and there are rules and procedures for hitting *tumotabua* (funeral ceremonies). In the *tumotabua* event, three types of gong blows are known, one of which is the *tumotabua* punch, where the people (in the past) understood

that this strike indicated that a *mokole* (king), royal official, *anakia*, or an important person had died. Nowadays, the striking of the gong or *karandu* suggests that an official, influential person, traditional leader, community leader or descendant of the traditional elite from the past has died.

### **Arts Function**

*Karandu* or gong accompanies the Tolaki people's dances, including the *lulo* (*molulo*) dances, *lariangi*, *umahu*, *mondau*, *osara*, and so on. Mainly to accompany the *lulo* dance which is usually held regularly. There are several sounds of blows when accompanying the *lulo* dance, this is explained by the fact that there are several sounds and blows of the gong *karandu*, namely: *mude-mude salaka*, *tolongi dongi-dongi*, *tundu watu nggere kere*, *tunduh watu ngganeko*, *pundi madi telopo*. *Pukulan saat kematian disebut tumotabua terbagi pukulan kowea dan tina mopate pate* (see also Mekuo, 1978; Melamba, 2016). The reduced function of the gong, such as the function of *lulo* accompaniment, is less functional and is rarely used in every *lulo* dance event. Until the 1980s, local residents still used these accompaniment tools to accompany *lulo*.

Art has a close relationship with worship or accompaniment in calling spirits. *Sangia* (ancestral spirits) as a form of original belief, is considered a source of strength, worship as a form of religious expression can be seen in several kinds of art, such as the poetic verses in mythological songs called *Tebaununggu* songs and *isara* songs (names of heroes that symbolize the gods of the earth and the gods of the sky); a cult dance called the *lariangi* dance (dance worshipping a king who is treated as a god on earth); the *lulo sangia* dance (a dance to pray to the spirits of the ancestors or the gods for healing of a king's illness); and the *umoara* dance (a war dance that expresses magical power and social power in a hero who is ready to enter the battlefield) (Tarimana, 1993). Apart from that, *karandu* is also used to accompany the funeral of a king or *bokeo* or *mokole*, royal officials, and the nobility or *anakia*. The gong is always beaten non-stop while delivering the corpse to the burial place.

The function of the gong as an art is to accompany the Tolaki traditional dance. *Karandu* or gongs are used to accompany *lulo* dances and *umoara* dances (dance of war), *mondotambe* dance (welcoming dance), *lariangi* dance (offering dance), *umahu* dance (dance taking water), and so on. Previously, the *lulo* dance accompaniment was made of *kanda-wuta*, a hole made of soil to which a rope and material made of animal skin or sago fronds are attached. The rhythm of hitting the gong in the *lulo* dance has variations, such as the *telopo madi* pulse, *tundu watu ganganeko*. *Karandu* is a percussion instrument. The musical instruments that are played are *karandu* (gong), drum (*tamburu*), and *o'dimba* (a type of drum). In the Tolaki folk song, there is a piece that reads "*peia tawa-tawa, molulo sambe gaa*" which means the sound of the rhythm of the gong, carrying out the *lulo* dance until morning. There is also a verse in the song that reads "*Nopeia karandu tinoni tawa-tawa luwuako toono meambo penaono*" meaning that with the sound of the gong and the striking of the gong, everyone has a happy heart. It is a collective memory that gong *karandu*, or *tawa-tawa*, is a tool to accompany the *lulo* dance.

The function of accompanying dances such as the *molulo* dance is dance performed by all elements of society; men and women, young and old, adults and children, community leaders and commoners, the rich and the poor. Usually, this dance is performed at weddings and on the last anniversary of death. The sound of a gong accompanies this dance. The middle room of the party house where the dance is held is decorated with decorative tents and decorative cloth curtains. This dance is more satisfying for performers and spectators when performed at night rather than during the day. The way to do this is to hold hands with fellow dancers, where the male's hand is in a position below the female's hand, around the gong that is sounded, which forms a circle, the joined hands are moved up and down, while the legs are swung twice to the left. Then step back three times to the right, followed by moving the feet forward and backwards, and so on; the face and gaze are directed forward to the centre of the circle where the gong is hung on the centre pillar of the house, which from time to time glances to the left and the right; all movements of both hands and feet are always adjusted to the rhythm of the sound of the gong.

### **Functions as Economic or Valuable and High-value Assets**

Function as a valuable and high-value treasure. In some cases, *karandu* is used as an inheritance for someone to their child as the heir, so we find many types of *karandu* or gongs that are hundreds of years old. After being traced is the *tiari* of their ancestors during the royal period, where *karandu* became a royal inheritance called *hanu manuru*. One proof of the root of the *karandu* culture among the Tolaki people is that they made it one of the images in the regional symbols of Konawe Regency (formerly Kendari, 1962-2004).

*Karandu*, as an economic and social function, is a symbol of the nobles' wealth. *Karandu* is also a confirmation of position in the social structure. As an inheritance, *karandu* is considered a symbol of high-value property. There is an expression that reads *hapo-hapo tengga rongga tewali tiara*, which means that the price is valuable and becomes an inheritance. Having a *karandu* or *tawa-tawa* is a matter of pride for the family. *Karandu* is a symbol of economic maturity and wealth of social status for some Tolaki people and is even used as one of the legacies of *hapo-hapo tiari*. As objects of economic value, *karandu* are considered valuable objects. In the past, someone who owned property, such as buffalo (*kiniku*), *walaka* (area keeping buffalo and cows), porcelain (*obenggi*, *darawata*, *jars*, *pingga mongulo*), gold (*wulaa*), silver (*salaka*), jewelry gold (*wulaa*) such as earrings (*andi-andi*), including gongs or *karandu* are considered rich people because in the past not everyone could afford gong objects. In the past, gongs had high selling prices and were difficult to obtain. Gong ownership in the past was limited to the upper social structure or elite class, such as *mokole* or kings, royal officials, nobles (*anakia*), rich people (*to'ono ngawasa*), and so on.

### **Symbols in *Karandu***

Every cultural object has a value and symbol, including *karandu* or gong, for the Tolaki people have perspectives and knowledge regarding issues of traditional objects. A



black gong is a symbol of stability and maturity. In addition, *karandu* symbolizes new sources of life in building and proclaiming a sense of unity (the concept of *medulu mepokoaso*) for the integrity of the *wonua* or country. *Tawa-tawa* is the name for gong in the Tolaki language. The material is made of brass with a decoration of two dragons fighting over food. Its social function is to be used or played during ceremonies or weddings, especially among the nobility. In addition, this gong has a symbolic meaning, namely, as a status symbol for its owner.

As a symbol of prosperity, they also describe the form of a prosperous society through what is called the atmosphere of *ndundu karandu tumotapa rarai* (the sound of a gong in the middle of the night, *tawa-tawa* and loud shouts at a party). Meanwhile, prosperous society is described by them through expressions: *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'undawaro* (a cold atmosphere like the cold of a banana tree and cool like a sago grove), *metotoro o loho mesuke ndaliawa* (a fertile atmosphere of life like a fruitful kedondong trees and a solid atmosphere of life like a sturdy house supported by living logs). Finally, the idea of well-being, for example, is embodied in what is called *mombekapona-pona'ako* (mutual love), *ndundu karandu* (an atmosphere of inner calm filled with the melodious strains of the sound of a gong in the middle of the night), and *tumotapa rarai* (an atmosphere of joy filled with the noisy sound, *tawa-tawa* and applause) (Tarimana, 1993). Furthermore, what Tolaki people mean by someone wealthy (*kawasa*) is if someone has: big house; antiques such as gongs, jars, plates, and the like; areas of hardwood plantations such as coconut, durian, mango, langsung, sago plantations and others; plenties of domesticated animals or livestock such as buffaloes, horses, goats, and so on; many wives (*kawasa ndile*); many followers, such as many workers employed, families, and so on, which is called (*kawasa ndoono*).

Based on the aforementioned categories of social stratification, every Tolaki person competes to maintain and improve their social status through hard work in the farming and plantation business sector as the main livelihood of the majority of the Tolaki ethnic community since ancient times (Su'ud 2010).

Tarimana reveals the religious symbol. Suppose it turns out that the sick person has breathed his last. In that case, people immediately slaughter a buffalo as what is called *kotumbenao* (a sacrifice that kills the soul, a separator between the body and the spirit). Meanwhile, people have done *tumotabua* (ringing the gong as a sign that the accompanying spirits go to their Lord). The sad and heartbreaking sound of the gong stirred the hearts of family members and close neighbours to visit the death house. In order to inform distant relatives and especially those who are elders in the village, several people were sent to deliver a *kalo* called a *kowea* (in the form of a figure) as a sign of the message of the dead. If this kind of *kowea* symbolically illustrates that the spirits of the dead come to meet their relatives to say goodbye because they have to go before God (Tarimana 1993).

The gong as a symbol of the unity of the Tolaki people can be seen from the circle of the gong, which signifies the Tolaki people's view of life regarding the unified, when they meet each other, they will become one. Gong or *karandu* is a paramount cultural object in arts and cultural activities, especially in dance activities and other ceremonies,

such as welcoming guests. Gong or *karandu* as a traditional symbol, is one of the causes of the emergence of traditional gongs, namely due to the scarcity of gongs both stored in the community and those that are traded, resulting in the main contents of *adat* (*puuno osara*) in Tolaki marriages agreed to be replaced with a certain amount of money called *nililima* or *nilungga*. The replacement was agreed in 1996, at a meeting of the administrators of the Tolaki Traditional Institute (LAT), traditional leaders and community leaders agreed that the traditional content in the form of a gong (*tawa-tawa sara* or *karandu sara*) would be replaced with an amount of money. Initially, it was replaced with an amount of IDR 50,000 and is considered equivalent to the value of the gong. The price was IDR 150,000 around 2003 and 2006 (Al Ashur, 2003 and Muslimin 2006). Furthermore, at a meeting initiated by the Central Leadership Council (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat/ DPP) of the Tolaki Traditional Institute (Lembaga Adat Tolaki/ LAT) in 2021 to ratify the Customary Regulations, it was agreed that the price of *tawa-tawa* or *karandu sara* is IDR 50,000.00 (see Customary Regulations (Peraturan Adat/ Perdat Marriage or *Sara Perapua*). In the past, one of the traditional objects presented in implementing *perapua* was the gong. At present, the role of the gong, according to the agreement is replaced with money in the amount of IDR 250,000, - this is called *nililima* or *nilungga*, meaning substitute, which is called *tawa-tawa sara* or *karandu sara*.

As a traditional symbol that the gong as a form of *popolo* in the past was in the form of sago groves or *lalo epe* or *puu ndawaro*, gong (*karandu* or *tawa-tawa*), *kasa wila* white cloth (in *pis* form), *osawu* or *toloa* sarongs, gold coins, household tools, gold jewellery and others, apart from *popolo*, there are other payments called *sara peana*, *sara* = *adat*, *peana* = having children, raising babies. Here are some traditional objects that are present in the implementation of traditional marriages such as *kalo*, *siwole uwa*, white cloth/ *balatu/ okasa*, *obite* (betel nut), areca nut (*inea*), *karandu sara* (traditional gong), *eno sara* (traditional necklace), etc. In addition, the gong, as a traditional symbol, is depicted as ceremonial tools, *karandu* (gong), *o eno* (gold necklace), *kina* (rice), *lapa-lapa* (apostle rice), *kotupa* (rhombus rice), *paedai* (glutinous rice), *pongasi* (liquor made from leavened rice), *o luwi* (oil coconut), *lowani* (headband made of white cloth), *ula-ula* (a scarecrow made of white thread), *buleka* (a bier), *o kolo*, *o tema* (a baby carrier).

Gong is also a sign or symbol of communication. According to the Tolaki people, several values are contained in the gong or *karandu*. The values contained therein are artistic, technological, religious, and religious values. As an artistic value, the strains of the gong blows are a separate beauty full of meaning. There is a relation between the gong blows and the movements of the *lulo* dance, *umoara* dance, *moreka* punching *umoara* dance, *merare*, and so on. In contrast, regarding technological value, *karandu* includes form, material, size, and model. Finally, from an educational point of view, gong strikes are an accompaniment to dance, which requires the dancer to make regular movements (gong strikes in rhythm with leg, hand, and body movements) in a unified circular form.

The shift regarding the function and symbol of the gong (*karandu*) was caused by the social changes that occurred among the Tolaki, where previously there was a

division of the social structure into the Tolaki aristocrats (*anakia*), the middle-class common people (*to'onoongapa*) and the lower class or slaves (*oata*) based on blood type or traditional division. This changed after independence, followed by the abolition of self-government in Indonesia, including in mainland Southeast Sulawesi, the abolition of the *Laiwoei Swapraja* and the *Neo Mekongga Swapraja*. Thus, there is a change in the social structure of a new pattern determined by the economy (wealth), education, position, etc. The orientation in *adat* has also changed in terms of deciding *adat*; for example, the *tawa-tawa sara* or the *adat gong* can be replaced with some money.

In addition, it is also caused by the Tolaki generation's need for more knowledge about the existence of the gong, especially regarding its functions and symbols and a lack of understanding of the values contained in this object. Some Tolaki people consider it not too necessary, but on the one hand, there are also Tolaki people who advocate using the actual gong both in marriage as one of the *puuno osara* (principles of custom) as the *tawa-tawa sara* (traditional gong), as well as in artistic activities such as *molulo* accompanied by using the striking of a gong.

The influence of technology with the invention and innovation of equipment helps peoples facilitate their affairs and needs. Such as orchestras, bands, radio, and the like that can accompany the dance. Besides that, it is increasingly difficult to get a gong. People must order it from Java (Yogyakarta) or Lamangga Buton. Another obstacle to owning a gong is the high price, significantly since the price varies from small to large sizes with different prices. The difficulty of obtaining and buying handicrafts in the form of *karandu* also made the traditional leaders of the Tolaki people and the Tolaki Traditional Institute (Lembaga Adat Tolaki/ LAT) agree that the traditional object in the form of *tawa-tawa sara* can be replaced with an amount of IDR 250,000 is considered a symbol of the gong object, and the value is regarded as the same. The use of gongs or *karandu* at present has transformed, used in images on symbols or logos in the form of district regional symbols, logos of traditional institutions, logos of community organizations, symbols or emblems of traditional mass organizations, in addition to being installed as images inside houses, buildings and border gates.

## Conclusions

The development of the gong (*karandu/ tawa-tawa*) culture underwent several stages, namely: the first stage was called the identification of the process of entering and developing the gong culture into the Tolaki cultural area took several stages, namely: the first stage pioneering this period took place between the 13<sup>th</sup> century to 16<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest evidence of recognition of gong culture among the Tolaki people is that there are stories about the use of gongs during wartime in the *taenango* (heroic epics) as a source of old Tolaki oral literature. Besides that, there are several ancient Tolaki folklore explaining the gong culture. The history of introducing gong culture in Tolaki land according to local traditions and elements around the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, originated in Java (Majapahit). The second stage is called intensification, where the gong culture becomes a habit for the indigenous population, having its function and symbol in their

lives. During this period, they experienced the development and intensity of its use concerning the Wolio kingdom or sultanate.

Furthermore, the acquisition of *karandu* occurred between the 16th and 20th centuries from traders from outside and through shipping and trade with the natives. At this stage, the functions and symbols of the gong as a culture of the Tolaki people experience development and growth in their life practices of the Tolaki people. Gongs at that time were used as royal and personal treasures of high value, art, ceremonies, social status, and so on. In the 19th century AD, the entry of Chinese people who carried out the trade increased the number of gong products traded because gong became one of the trade commodities at that time. During the Dutch East Indies era, shipping and trading activities developed and continued to influence the gong troops being traded in markets and in the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi. The crisis stage occurred in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century post-independence period when the DI/TII movement crisis affected the number and use of gongs in various aspects of life due to chaos, displacement and loss of property. In reviewing the development and growth of gong culture, there is continuity and change related to functions and symbols.

There are several functions of the gong: first, the function is as communication as signs of danger, the presence of attacks or particular situations. The customary function of *karandu* or gong as a traditional object in Tolaki marriages. In the past, gong as a dowry in Tolaki marriages was called *popolo*. Then in subsequent developments, the dowry (*popolo sara*) in the form of a gong was added to *popolo kinawiako* (dowry in marriage) in the form of an amount of real money or rupiah; this was due to the influence of the entry of Islam. As a traditional marriage object, namely *moruhu owuku/mooli anakia* (buying nobility), gong is used as one of the redeemers. Traditional objects in the *Perapua* marriage entered as *puusara* (principle of custom) in the form of *aso lawa karandu* (a gong) called *tawa-tawa sara/ karandu sara* (traditional gong) then shifted. Still, traditional objects were replaced with money (*nililima/ nilungga*). The religious function is used when the Mokowea death ceremony is beaten when death occurs until the body is delivered to the cemetery (Awad and Shaleh 2018). This function is still limited to the descendants of the nobility, the rich, or those who have positions/positions. The religious function of the gong is used at death ceremonies called *tumotabua*, where the gong is beaten or played continuously with the sound of *nggowea tabua*. Furthermore, the gong is also beaten to accompany the corpse to the grave. The function of art as an accompaniment to the *lulo, lariangi, mombesara, umahu, mondou* dances and so on.

In the past, the gong had an economic function where the gong was an inheritance (*hanu tiara/ hapo-hapo tiara*), as a *hanu manure* symbol of royal inheritance, and at that time the gong was considered to have a very high price and value. At present it is no longer a symbol of the economy but has shifted into a collection only as well as being a source of pride when it is needed it will be an honour to own this object. In the past, gongs with high prices and values as a measure of wealth are now no longer considered valuable objects. There are several symbols in the gong: in the past social status symbols, customary, unity, and communication. As a symbol of art,

the gong is a tool to accompany the *lulo* dance with various types of *lulo* including the kind of sound when hit; besides that, it also accompanies the *lariangi* dance (offering dance), *umahu* dance (water fetching dance), *mondotambe* dance (welcoming dance), *umoara* dance (dance war), *mombesara* dance (dance carrying traditional offerings) and so on. The gong is currently experiencing a shift; for instance, it is no longer regularly used to accompany various types of *lulo* due to technological developments to accompany *lulo* dances such as *orjen*, bands, and the like. As a religious symbol, the gong is used in death ceremonies by striking the gong. The shift regarding the function and symbol of the gong (*karandu*) was caused by the social changes that occurred among the Tolaki people, where previously there was a division of the social structure into the noble Tolaki people (*anakia*), the middle-class common people (*to'onoongapa*) and the lower class or slaves (*oata*) based on blood type or traditional division.

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