

Actualization And Inheritance Of Pabitte Passapu Art In Tanah Towa Village, South Sulawesi

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The preservation of the traditional art of Pabitte Passapu faces challenges when there are changes in the community supporting the art, so the inheritance of art to the younger generation is hampered. This condition disrupts the stability of the arts in the Kajang indigenous community. Therefore, the problem in this article is the efforts made by the Kajang indigenous community to maintain the art of Pabitte Passapu so that the value and meaning of the art remain a source of learning. The objectives of this article are first, to explain that the Kajang indigenous people maintain local values amid societal changes; second, to analyze the performance and meaning of the Pabitte Passapu dance as a source of learning local values; and third, to analyze the ability of the indigenous people to pass on the intellectual property contained in the Pabitte Passapu art. This research uses qualitative research methods. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, oral history interviews, and documentation. Qualitative data analysis uses historical and socio-cultural approaches, especially dance sociology. The results showed that the preservation of the art of Pabitte Passapu can be done by strengthening the space for the actualization of art and innovating the inheritance of art through learning and training.

Keywords: *actualization; inheritance; preservation; the traditional arts of Pabitte Passapu; the indigenous people of Kajang*

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INTRODUCTION

The emergence of traditional performing arts can be linked to the events that inspired the creation of the art. This is also the case with the art of Pabitte Passapu in the Kajang indigenous community in Tanah Towa village, Kajang sub-district, Bulukumba district. Pabitte Passapu art refers to an event in the past, but the creator is unknown. The Kajang people only know that this art has been integrated into the community's daily life. This reality confirms that traditional performing arts are local cultural works that are usually produced collectively to meet the needs of local communities and then transmitted continuously from generation to generation (Stoianoff & Wright, 2018).

Pabitte Passapu art is a type of dance and singing art that tells a story in one performance episode in various activities of the Kajang indigenous community. Indigenous community activities are spaces for the actualization of art, namely places commonly used to perform art (Sweeney, 2002), such as rituals and ceremonies of indigenous peoples. The more often this art is performed in various ritual activities, the more it indicates the Kajang community's support and preservation of art. However, the stability of the art began to be disrupted along with the development and changes that occurred in the Kajang community. This led to the tendency to detraditionalize art. Detraditionalization is the process of detaching tradition from its context, resulting in a change of purpose (Harnish, 2007: 73). The art of Pabitte Passapu was initially present at various traditional ritual events. However, current conditions show that Pabitte Passapu is focused on weddings.

This condition shows that the art of Pabitte Passapu has changed from participatory to presentative dance. Participatory dance can be identified from the characteristics of straightforward and spontaneous movements (Nahachewsky, 1993). Dunin (1989) stated that anyone can participate in dance spontaneously without prior planning or practice. Presentative dance is categorized as a product rather than a process. In addition, the quality of the performance is assessed through rehearsal planning. Participatory dance takes place at socio-cultural activities organized by the community. They gather in public spaces and in people's homes to celebrate traditions. In contrast, presentative dance is often performed on formal stages or in other locations with only sometimes the same physical and cultural distance between performers and audience (Nahachewsky, 1995).

Based on the concept of participatory dance and presentative dance, the art of Pabitte Passapu does not show extreme changes. This art still impresses the simplicity of dance, which appears prominent in the form, structure, and meaning and tends to remain occasionally. Most Kajang indigenous people think the Pabitte Passapu dance is simple and easy to practice, resulting in less planned art inheritance. The community's attitude to ignore traditional art training can disrupt natural continuity. The main element of cultural continuity lies in the consistency of cultural practices. In traditional arts, the continuity of the arts depends on the successor role of the performers and the audience (Yampolsky, 2001).

The organizers and audience of the Pabitte Passapu art performance are the Kajang indigenous people. The Pabitte Passapu performers consist of adult men, but it turns out that not many members of the Kajang indigenous community can master dance skills spontaneously. This phenomenon is related to the inheritance of artistic skills, the intensity of performances, and the space for actualizing the art of Pabitte Passapu. So, the main discussion of this article is the efforts of the Kajang indigenous people to pass on the art of Pabitte Passapu through the space of actualization of art and the efforts of the Kajang indigenous people to face the challenges of reducing obstacles to the inheritance of art.

The basic assumption of this article is that the space for actualization and inheritance of art is the main element in maintaining traditional arts. This article focuses on the socio-cultural perspective of the existence of Pabitte Passapu art in the Kajang indigenous community, the actualization of art in cultural activities (wedding traditions), performance patterns and art meanings, and the challenges of inheriting Pabitte Passapu dance. Meanwhile, the detailed objectives of this article are to explain the efforts of the Kajang indigenous people in maintaining local values, analyze the performance and meaning of the Pabitte Passapu dance as a source of learning local values, and discuss the ability of indigenous people to maintain intellectual property in the traditional art of Pabitte Passapu.

METHODOLOGY

The field research location was Tanah Towa Village, Kajang Sub-district, Bulukumba District, South Sulawesi Province. The first field research data collection was conducted in August 2021. Data updates after the COVID-19 pandemic through telephone interviews. Data collection in the field experienced obstacles, namely social restrictions

due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Researchers must follow health prerequisites, such as showing health examination documents, wearing masks, and following government recommendations to implement social restriction rules. Several types of data were collected through observations in the field, interviews with resource persons, following community activities, participating in Pabitte Passapu art performances and collecting documents from the village government.

Field observations focused on the village's topography and community activities at home, in the fields, and at the market. From this observation, data was obtained in the form of daily life practices of the Tanah Towa village community, such as clothing, house shapes, social interactions, livelihoods, and ritual ceremonies. In addition, the researcher also observed and participated in the Pabitte Passapu art performance at a wedding party at the Thamrin and Puto Ruddin family residence. The wedding party is an art actualization space or performance space. From this data collection technique, a description of the preparation, implementation, instruments, properties, and structure of the Pabitte Passapu dance performance was obtained.

Interviews were conducted with many resource persons, including traditional leaders, village government leaders, youth, residents, and artists. The types of questions were differentiated based on general questions and specific questions. General questions were used for all informants, and specific questions differed for certain informants. The results of the interviews were classified based on the similarity of information, differences in information, and essential information related to the art of Pabitte Passapu. Important information from informants was mainly about the values and meanings of the art. Data collection was assisted by village youth with a higher education background. The aim was to facilitate the approach to the Kajang indigenous people in Tanah Towa village.

The research data focused on explaining (1) the condition of the community in Tanah Towa village, (2) the performance space of Pabitte Passapu art, (3) the performance pattern and meaning of Pabitte Passapu art, (4) art inheritance as a strategy to maintain Pabitte Passapu art. Qualitative data analysis uses a socio-cultural approach, especially a dance sociology approach. Brinson (1983) mentions the realm of dance sociology, including the social and cultural origins of dance; dance in mediation and cultural transmission; the role and status of dancers; the nature of dance affiliation about expression and social hierarchy; dance and intergenerational

identity; dance institutionalization; dance as a medium; and dance as a social and community action.

The operational analysis of research data includes a historical approach with the characteristics of document analysis and oral history interviews to find out about the Kajang community. In addition, the historical approach is to find out the historical context of dance. This section specializes in analyzing the social and cultural context of the emergence and existence of dance in society (Brinson, 1983). Second, the dance sociology approach focuses on analyzing dance as a social fact that shows the existence of messages and nonverbal communication (Blacking, 1983). Third, the study of human movement systems from the perspective of the local community. Structured movement systems are systems of knowledge regarding products, action processes, and interactions. Structured movement systems are usually part of a more extensive activity system. Fourth is movement and meaning, namely dance as a structured movement that has meaning (Kaepler, 2000).

The approach directs the results of this research toward the content and context of Pabitte Passapu's art. The content analysis of traditional art focuses on explaining the practice of Pabitte Passapu art in terms of function and meaning for the local community. The content analysis is based on interview data, texts (documents), and photos to get the meaning and message of the dance. Traditional art context analysis focuses on performance activities related to cultural and community events (Soedarsono, 2001).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kajang Indigenous People in Tanah Towa Village

The term indigenous people refers to groups of people who have had ancestral origins for generations, live in a particular geographical area, and have a system of values, ideology, economy, politics, culture, and society practiced in their own territory (Acciaoli, 2001). The use of Makassar as a medium of communication consists of five dialects, namely Lakiung, Turatea, Bantaeng, Selayar, and Konjo, which are considered proto-Makassar languages. The similarity of language families confirms the intersection of cultural elements, although some consider Konjo a distinct language from Makassar (Nugraha, 2022).

The Kajang indigenous people have local knowledge that they come from an ancestor who

gave birth to descendants who spread in some areas in Bulukumba district. According to oral stories, the Kajang community's ancestor is Ammatowa, a term of honor for the first customary leader, and later, it became a personal name (interview, Ammatowa, 2021). This knowledge is also related to the stories of *tau manurung* and *sawerigading* in pre-Islamic Makassar. The indigenous people of Kajang have been under the political influence of the Gowa kingdom since the 16th century and are genealogically considered part of the Makassar ethnic group. The connection between Makassar and Kajang can be traced from the similarities in cultural and historical elements.

The cultural element easily recognized today is the Konjo language, used as a medium of daily communication. Konjo language is similar to Makassar language, meaning communication practices are understood (interview, Thamrin, 2021). Based on language identification by Pelenkahu et al. (1971: 8), the use of Makassar as a medium of communication consists of five dialects, namely Lakiung, Turatea, Bantaeng, Selayar, and Konjo, which are considered proto-Makassar languages. The similarity of language families confirms the intersection of cultural elements, although some consider Konjo a distinct language from Makassar (Rössler, 1990; Sutton, 1995).

The historical perspective of the Kajang community can be viewed in terms of political hegemony during the expansion of the Gowa kingdom in the 16th century. The Kingdom of Gowa, during the time of King Tumaparissi Kalonna (1511-1547), had expanded its power over the surrounding kingdoms and indigenous peoples. This expansion continued during the period of King Karaeng Tunipalangga (1547-1565), who conquered several small kingdoms, such as Bajeng, Lengese, Kacci, Bulo-Bulo, Lamatti, Suppa, Sawitto, Bulukumba and Kajang. Some of these small kingdoms were under the influence of the Bone kingdom before being conquered by the Gowa kingdom. Every conquest of kingdoms was tied to a political agreement. In those days, the element of the treaty that signaled compliance was *makkanama'numammio*, the general meaning of which was I command and you confirm. The consequences of this statement were evident when the king of Gowa I, Manngaranggi Daeng Manraabi, converted to Islam in 1605. The small kingdoms conquered by the Gowa kingdom inevitably had to embrace Islam, which had been established as the kingdom's religion (Mattulada, 1976; Pelras 1993).

The introduction and spread of Islam on the peninsula in the early 17th century impacted religious development and changes in the socio-political structure of the kingdom (Rössler, 1990). The people of Kajang did not have the option to reject Islam because other kingdoms considered powerful, such as the kingdoms of Bone and Luwu, had converted their old religion to the new one. From then on, Kajang community leaders also agreed on Islam as the shared identity that has prevailed since the early 17th century. The willingness of the Kajang community to embrace Islam was proven by the sending of three people, namely Janggo Towa, Janggo Tojarra, and Tu Asarra Daeng Malippa, who went alternately to the kingdom of Luwu to study with Khatib Sulung (known as Dato' Patimang). The results of Janggo Towa's studies prioritized the teaching of the oneness of God with the approach of the old belief in *Sawerigading* or *Dewatasseune*. This belief has spread widely in the Kajang community. Meanwhile, the learning outcomes of Janggo Tojarra and Tu Asarra Daeng Malippa were allowed to be taught only in certain areas, namely communities outside the customary territory (Mattulada, 1976: 20; Usop, 1985: 101).

Glimpses of the history of the past three centuries can each be felt today. Islam is the formal religion of the Kajang indigenous community, but the ritual practices need to demonstrate the purity of Islam lawfully. The retention of the syncretic practice of religious rituals of the Kajang indigenous people is due to the process of delivering and receiving Islamic teachings that still need to be fully integrated. Currently, the geographical boundaries of the Kajang indigenous community are known through efforts to maintain customs. The territory of the Kajang community in Tanah Towa village is divided into two parts, namely Kajang Dalam (*ilalang embayya* area) and Kajang Luar (*ipantarang embayya* area), which is thought to be associated with the entry of Islam taught by Janggo Towa and Janggo Tojarra (or Tu Asarra Daeng Malippa).

Most people who live in the Kajang sub-district are ethnic Kajang who inhabit the *ipantarang embayya* area. The *ilalang embayya* area is only found in Tanah Towa village, which consists of several hamlets, namely Sobbu, Benteng, Pangi, Bongkina, Tombolo, Luraya, and Balambina, around which there are customary forests, fields, rice fields, and gardens. Only the hamlets of Balagana and Jannaya are in the *ipantarang embayya* areas. The practice of Islam by the indigenous people living in the *ipantarang embayya* area is no different from that of

other Muslims. In contrast, the indigenous people living in the *ilalang embayya* area claim to follow Islam with syncretic practices (interview, Thamrin, 2021). The hamlets, which geographically and

administratively constitute Tanah Towa Village, can be seen in Figure 1 (Tanah Towa Village Profile 2019).



Figure 1. Map of South Sulawesi and sub-districts in Bulukumba district (left) and Tanah Towa Village (right) in Kajang sub-district

Source : https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-South-Sulawesi-and-Bulukumba-Regency_fig1_357838879 and Tanah Towa village profile 2019

The hilly topography of Tanah Towa village shows that the economic support of the majority of villagers is predominantly sourced from land utilization for farming, gardening and livestock activities. The total area of Tanah Towa village is 729 hectares, consisting of settlements, public facilities (village office, cemetery, school building, market, and road), rice fields, fields, and gardens. The land use division can be seen from the level of land productivity. Rice paddies and fields are used for food crops. The yards around houses and gardens are planted with various perennials, such as coconut, pepper and cloves. These various types of plants show that the main livelihoods of the Tanah Towa villagers are agriculture and plantations.

The non-agricultural economic activity is animal husbandry. The number of livestock varies on a household scale. The types of livestock kept are horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, chickens and dogs. According to Zainudin (2021), the people of Tanah Towa village prefer to keep horses rather than cows. The main reason is that horses are more commonly slaughtered when community members hold big parties. Horses are also used to help transport agricultural products from rice fields and fields to the house. Some villagers also keep dogs to guard the house and accompany the owner when farming and gardening (interview, Zainudin, 2021).

The division of Tanah Towa village, as mentioned earlier, *ilalang embayya* and *ipantarang embayya*, is an effort to maintain the purity of customs and the practice of loyalty to the rules. People living in the *ilalang embayya* area must adhere to the customary

values and norms that have been agreed upon. Customary regulations can be easily identified through the prohibition of the use of a set of modern technology. The categories of modern technology are tractors, motorcycles, cars, and electrical installations or all devices that require electrical power (interview, Thamrin, 2021). The prohibition only refers to the use, not the prohibition of owning modern technology devices. This can be seen in Figure 2, which clearly shows a motorcycle parked at the entrance gate of the *ilalang embayya* area.



Figure 2. Kajang House as the Gate Enter the Customary Territory

Source: Photo documentation by researchers

The motorbikes shown in Figure 2, parked on the empty sides around the stilt houses, belong to people living in the customary area. This means of transportation can only be used outside the *ilalang embayya* area. The stilt house in Sobbu hamlet (figure 2) provides access to the customary hamlets, which can only be reached on foot and barefoot. Approximately 500 meters away, a bridge is across

a small, clear river to fulfil water needs—the river and small bridge separate *Sobbu and Benteng* hamlets. Access in and out of the hamlets is in the form of dirt roads and macadam stones. On the left and right sides of the road are houses lined up with the same house design. The houses stretch from west to east. Each house points to the west in a grouped pattern. This pattern characterizes the orientation of the *Patuntung* belief, which is the original belief of the people living around Mount Bawakaraeng (Rössler, 1990). This proves that Tanah Towa villagers do adhere to customary agreements.

Territorial restrictions and the application of customary rules are not intended to isolate themselves from relations with surrounding communities but as an effort to maintain customary areas and the daily practices of the population (interview, Thamrin, 2021). The Kajang indigenous community in Tanah Towa village also seeks to protect traditional arts heritage, namely the Basing and Pabitte Passapu arts. These two arts are performed for different social events. Basing is an art for death prayer rituals performed at night to represent a sad atmosphere, while Pabitte Passapu is a complementary art for wedding parties to represent a happy atmosphere (interview, Puto' Ruddin; Mansur, 2021). Basing art performances for death rituals are still intensely practised in the *ilalang embayya* area, but Pabitte Passapu art is not always performed at wedding parties. The performance or actualization space at weddings is discussed in the following section.

Actualization Space of Pabitte Passapu art

The actualization space of Pabitte Passapu art is related to communal events of indigenous peoples' parties that represent an atmosphere of joy. Along with the development of the Kajang community, the realm of Pabitte Passapu dance performances narrowed down to several activities within the family, including weddings (*pabonttingan*), circumcisions (*assunat*), akikah (*akkatere*), and repelling bad luck (*akkalomba*). Currently, the art of Pabitte Passapu is more often performed at weddings (interview, Mansur; Thamrin, 2021). Therefore, the values contained in the Pabitte Passapu art can only be communicated nonverbally to indigenous people through the wedding arena.

Marriage is part of the transitional phase from a celibate individual to a couple. The ritual procession of marriage involves the ritual and profane validation of the relationship as a marker of forming a new family. Therefore, the wedding party is always announced to all residents living in Tanah Towa village. The wedding rituals between the

people living in *ilalang embayya* and *ipantarang embayya* are not substantively different. The difference between the two areas appears in the nuances of the wedding party because the people living in the *ilalang embayya* area do not use lighting sources from electrical installation devices. The wedding venue in the stilt house is only decorated with a few torch lights. The difference in the nuances of torchlight (residents of the *ilalang embayya* area) and electric light (residents of the *ipantarang embayya* area) at weddings is shown in Figure 3.



Figure 3. The different nuances of the wedding in the *ilalang embayya* area (left and center photos) and in the *ipantarang embayya* area (right photo).

Source: Photo documentation by the researcher

Rituals and wedding parties are held at night. The evening is the right time, considering many people have returned from the rice fields, fields and gardens (interview, Puto' Ruddin, 2021). Guests, most of whom are neighbours, arrive in the evening until 7 pm. Some people present, such as the *ammatoa*, customary leaders, and village government officials, are honoured guests sitting in a row. Meanwhile, other guests sit in front of them. When the guests and customary leaders are complete, the host or the person representing the host faces the *Ammatoa* by sitting cross-legged as a form of respect (figure 3 left). In the context of this wedding, the ritual procession is *a'ba'ra*, a ritual of cleansing the bride and groom, followed by another procession.

The art performance that completes the wedding party is the Pabitte Passapu dance, a type of ceremonial art of the indigenous people who live in the *ilalang embayya* area. Two drummers (*pallingoro*) prepare to start beating the drum. The duration of the Pabitte Passapu art performance is relatively short, at approximately 15 minutes. The performance is performed in a house on stilts. The guests spontaneously move to sit near the wall of the house. The space in the middle of the room is used for dancing. Like a cockfighting scene, the guests are the audience who surround the cockfighting arena. The venue is not specially designed and decorated like a commercial performance. As with performances in the countryside, even the art performed at weddings has a stronger sense of intimacy. The audience is everyone in the stilt house where the party is held, including the host, relatives

and guests, who all know each other (interview, Thamrin, 2021). This confirms that everyone present is not anonymous. The high level of familiarity among all those present directly relates to the ongoing ceremony. After the Pabitte Passapu dance performance, a meal is served on a tray to all guests.

The Pabitte Passapu dance is generally presented to the entire audience, but the unique message in this wedding event is addressed to the bridegroom. The groom must be responsible for the bride and adhere to the values of the Kajang traditional community (interview, Thamrin, 2021). The position of Pabitte Passapu art must be distinct from the history of the Kajang community. Cultural elements are stored as a local cultural treasury for learning sources of socio-cultural values. Performing dance art at weddings proves that Pabitte Passapu art is a social fact of the Kajang indigenous people. The social facts of traditional performing arts function for nonverbal communication whose message effectiveness can be known together (Blacking, 1983).

The series of wedding activities in the *ilalang embayya* area run smoothly from time to time, so the art of Pabitte Passapu has become a part of the wedding tradition that flows without obstacles. However, this condition occurred when the Kajang indigenous people had not yet experienced changes and few alternative entertainment. Beyond the context of the wedding performances, the problems faced by the art of Pabitte Passapu relate to family choice. Each family organizing a wedding party may or may not invite the Pabitte Passapu art group (interview, Puto' Ruddin; Thamrin, 2021). Therefore, the performance of Pabitte Passapu art depends on the family organizing the wedding party. This situation results in many people being unable to dance the Pabitte Passapu dance spontaneously, even though they consider the dance movements simple.

The condition of Pabitte Passapu dance art used to imply participatory dance, but recently, it has shifted to presentative dance. Pabitte Passapu art was originally a participatory art, meaning dance that could be performed by anyone present. Along with the development and changes in society, people's willingness and ability to dance are increasingly limited. Thus, Pabitte Passapu dance became a presentative art; the dance presentation is only done by people who usually perform dancing; the rest of the Tanah Towa village residents only watch and interpret macro-formations and dance messages. Participatory dance has communicative material in the elements of motion that are microcospheric in

nature, while presentative dance is relatively standardized and organized, which is macrocospheric in nature (Nahachewsky, 1995).

The survival of Pabitte Passapu art ultimately depends on the artists who have established themselves as part of preserving intangible cultural heritage. The existence of changes in traditional arts with a decrease in the intensity of performances or a decrease in actors and enthusiasts does not indicate that the artistic tradition is dead. Change does not always mean that something that has been shared will perish (Murgianto, 1993). The existence of Pabitte Passapu art can continue with the prerequisite that the community still functions as traditional arts as ceremonial events and indigenous peoples have made efforts to inherit art. However, the Pabitte Passapu dance is not a mandatory performance at weddings.

Performance pattern and meaning of Pabitte Passapu art

The Pabitte Passapu dance performance pattern focuses on analyzing time, properties, dancers, and instruments. The meaning of the performance is related to the values contained in the art for the Kajang indigenous people. Pabitte Passapu dance performance time is at night. This only applies to residents in the *ilalang embayya* area. The choice of time is related to the meaning of the Kajang indigenous people. Nighttime shows dark conditions commensurate with the black colour as a symbol of identity. For residents who live in the *ipantarang embayya* area, the time of the Pabitte Passapu art performance adjusts the invitation of the family to organize the wedding party. Pabitte Passapu dance performances can be performed indoors or outdoors as entertainment. Pabitte Passapu dance performances are illustrated based on data from observations and interviews with several resource persons, including Puto' Ruddin, Thamrin, and Rahman, with the following results.

Pabitte Passapu art players consist of 4 dancers and two drum beaters, so the performance emphasizes the aesthetics of dance movements rather than the sound of musical instruments. Dancers prepare themselves by wearing all-black dance clothes, namely men's black clothes (*baju le'leng*), black sarong/sheath (*tope le'leng*), and headbands (*destar, passapu le'leng*). These costumes are not unique clothing for dancing but the daily clothing of the population. The headband (or Destar), as a symbol of adult male identity, is used as a head covering, especially in formal activities, but is also used as a substitute property for roosters in the Pabitte Passapu dance.

Dance preparation begins when four dancers stand in a row from front to back, waiting for the drum sound signal (*gendang*). When the *gendang* is beaten at the beginning of the performance, the dancers walk into the stage space. Then, the dancers jump measuredly, alternately, and continuously, centred on the soles of the feet and bent knees. The dance movements are simple. Four dancers facing each other form a forward-backward movement pattern with clockwise rotating steps. In the local language, this movement is called *hille* or turning as an introduction to cockfighting is taking place.

Both palms hold the tip and centre of the *Destar*, which is swung forward and to the side like a rooster preparing to fight. *Destar* is a clue that directs the dance movement to symbolize cockfighting. Four dancers move around like two chickens, ready to hit each other at specific beats. This part is called the opening dance, characterized by circular motion. The next dance scene is pecking and bumping each other with ever-changing positions. After several fights, the dance seems to stop for a moment. This indicates that both chickens are equally strong and no one has lost.

The cockfighting pause is still part of the dance scenario. This scene shows a demonstration of two dancers (cockfighters) sitting squatting. They seem to be bathing the chicken and attaching a sharp object (*badik* or pointed iron) tied to the chicken spur (*abbulang taji*). Meanwhile, two other dancers hold the chicken as a symbol of the cockfight continuing. After installing sharp objects on the chicken spurs, the dancers begin a circular motion several times as a sign that the chicken is fighting. In this scene, only two dancers perform the cockfighting dance while the other two sit squatting, watching the fight.

The last dance scene is shown when one of the chickens loses. The sign that the chicken loses is that one of the *Destar* is dropped to the ground. In the last part, dance movements no longer symbolize cockfighting but dance movements that show the quarrel between the two chicken owners. The owner of the losing chicken alleges cheating; then, the two chicken owners fight physically. The owner of the winning chicken lies on the ground, signalling the end of the Pabitte Passapu dance performance.

Based on that illustration, there are four forms of Pabitte Passapu dance movements: circular, cockfighting, chicken bathing, and fighting or killing. The dance movements as a whole convey explicit meaning in one episode in the cockfighting arena. First, the art of Pabitte Passapu impresses

simplicity, which is evident from the dance clothes, dance movements, musical instruments (2 *gendang*), poetry (singing), and the short duration of the performance. Secondly, the simplicity of this art display is in line with the principle of simple living (*kamase-masea*) applied by the Kajang indigenous people. Third, the art of Pabitte Passapu is considered simple and brief, but it has a meaningful moral message about the prohibition of cockfighting in the Kajang community. Fourth, the instructions about gambling in the cockfighting arena are not explicitly displayed in the dance, but there are consequences that the owner of the losing chicken must pay. Cockfighting is only a means of gambling (Interview, Puto Ruddin, Thamrin, Rahman, 2021).

Pabitte Passapu art's performance shows authenticity without modifying both musical instruments and standardized dance performances (dancers, costumes, and movements). The *gendang* beater chants a poem that is sung repeatedly during the performance. These poems are folk songs that have been passed down orally. According to Puto' Ruddin (2021), the poems are not of his creation, but the rhymes are taught by parents who are also not poet-creators. The poem accompanying the Pabitte Passapu dance has yet to be a known creator.

Poetry in the Pabitte Passapu Dance

Pabitte Passapu art is functionally an entertainment for the Kajang indigenous people. The moral message conveyed to the audience is that cockfighting is considered bad behaviour, namely gambling and eating the carcasses of chickens that die as a result of fighting (stanza 3, Table 1: verses in the Pabitte Passapu dance). In the past, the habit of cockfighting became part of the daily life of the community. To eliminate this habit, the ancestors of the Kajang indigenous people created the art of Pabitte Passapu instead of cockfighting (interview, Puto' Ruddin; Thamrin, 2021). The creation of art by the ancestors of the Kajang community proves the local wisdom of the indigenous people.

The prohibition of cockfighting is not in the form of a mere appeal but flexibly and persuasively socialized through art that can be a spectacle and learning. The audience of Pabitte Passapu dance performances can capture moral messages directly based on the storyline, which, as a whole, there is only one dance scene (interview, Puto' Ruddin, 2021). Understanding the meaning of the dance is more accessible for the Kajang community because individual members of the indigenous community have internalized the Pabitte Passapu dance. In addition, the Kajang indigenous people understand the meaning of the dance based on the verses

chanted repeatedly during the performance. The following is a table of the verses written when sung during the Pabitte Passapu performance. The verses

are chanted in Konjo, the language of daily communication of the Kajang indigenous people.

Table 1. Verses in the Pabitte Passapu dance

Stanza	Verses (in Konjo language)	Translation
1	<i>Bossi memangmi kulampa Solo' memangmi ku'limbang Kunjo kunaung kuhaju sampara kalengku</i>	Myself away in the rain Crossing the strong river current There, myself drifting away underneath
2	<i>Bombang bombang minni' lino Lani sessemmi munena Lani pile'i lamungang mattimboa</i>	This world is shaken The contents begin to be sorted out Start selecting buds that can grow
3	<i>Jarra jarra kopaboto' pakanre bangke manu' Natanra'ko inrang haille Pada jikucini jombena passapuna sintona simbolenna haille</i>	Give up, you're a chicken carcass-eating gambler You will incur debt Equally I saw a bun-style headband flower
4	<i>Bosia ri tala'tala' Remmanga ri bangkeng buki' Mannanro nekku mapaempo tangurangi</i>	Rain in the valley Flowing at the foot of the hill Storing longing leaves memories
5	<i>Siunggu-unggu ribolana Puto Pampe Mattuno tedong tanna sare mattoanna Bukunna mami napasappe ri ata'na Da'bungi naung naturungi asu bolong</i>	Wiggling around at Puto' Pampe's house Slaughtering a buffalo and not giving it to his in- laws It bones were tucked into the roof of his house Falling down was caught by a black dog

Source: Transcription of interview by the researcher

The poem is part of a tradition that goes back a long way. Cockfighting was a pre-Islamic custom. The religious conversion of the Kajang indigenous people since the 17th century gave birth to artistic creativity as a substitute for the cockfighting habit. The creation of poetry in Pabitte Passapu dance shows the continuity of the meaning of belief and the reality of bad habits. The poem's content uses figurative language that proves the ability of the Kajang people to master literature. The series of figurative words contain messages and warnings. A clear stanza as a warning about the consequences of cockfighting, namely "Jarra jarra kopaboto' pakanre, bangke manu', natanra'ko inrang haille. The meaning that can be known from this poem is to stop being a gambler; later, you will become an eater of dead chicken carcasses that lose fights. With this gambling, you will also get into debt (interview, Thamrin, 2021). The consequences of cockfighting are expressed in literature combined with dance movements. The art of Pabitte Passapu answers the basis of an action against cockfighting.

Art inheritance as a strategy to maintain the art of Pabitte Passapu

Pabitte Passapu art is part of the collective cultural property of the Kajang indigenous people. This art is undoubtedly collective property because it is not considered the original product of one individual or group of individuals (Young, 2007). The continuity of traditional arts between generations is a crucial word to understand indigenous people maintaining the relationship between the past and the present. Each generation has its way of practicing traditional arts. A significant opportunity to keep traditional arts current is stimulating young people in Tanah Towa village to practice and perform the Pabitte Passapu dance. Young children and youths play an essential role in the growth and development of this dance. Individuals, although few, are essential as the successors of the Pabitte Passapu art (interview, Puto' Ruddin, Thamrin, 2021). This practice is a form of cultural inheritance action. Figure 4 shows a group of Tanah Towa Village youth practising the Pabitte Passapu dance accompanied by Puto' Ruddin.



Figure 4: Pabitte Passapu dance training by village youths

Source: Photo documentation by researchers

From the Pabitte Passapu dance training by a group of Tanah Towa Village youth, essential findings related to the inheritance and preservation of traditional arts were obtained. The trainees, as potential successors or performers of Pabitte Passapu art, must know and master several things: first, participants can prepare properties (clothes, sarong, *destar*, knives/*badik*/spiky iron, which can be replaced with harmless materials). Second, participants can organize themselves and

prepare mentally to dance. Third, participants can practice techniques, sequences, neatness, integrity, and cohesiveness of movement. This is an essential part of mastering the basic techniques of dance movements and improving the aesthetic quality of dance as characteristics that show the typology of Pabitte Passapu dance. Fourth, participants can practice dance movements that appear simple on the body parts, namely footwork and hand-arm movements. Fifth, the most important inheritance of traditional arts is the willingness of community members to become performers. Sixth, the primary purpose of traditional arts training is promotion to young people, which can be considered a concrete act of preserving intangible cultural heritage. The essential parts of the inheritance of Pabitte Passapu dance skills are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Practicing and passing down the art of Pabitte Passapu

No	Activities	Competence	Objectives
1	Preparation of dance properties: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – shirt, sarong, headband/<i>destar</i> (black color) – knife/<i>badik</i>/pointed iron – mat/carpet – drum (<i>gendang</i>) 	– Participants' readiness to provide dance props	regeneration: trainees know the tools needed for dancing
2	Participant organization: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – mental preparation – foot and arm movements – palm holding headband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – have mental readiness if at any time the stage – master the basic techniques of dance movement skills 	development: mentally preparing trainees and passing on dance skills
3	Hitting the <i>gendang</i> , practicing dance steps and applying movement skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – able to play the <i>gendang</i> – know the stages and be able to practice the dance: twirling, chicken bathing, cockfighting, and fighting. – able to practice sequence, neatness, integrity, and cohesiveness of movement skills 	development: more and more young people are able to play <i>gendang</i> and dance
4	Internalization of dance stories and poetry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – knowing the storyline in Pabitte Passapu dance – able to sing verses in Pabitte Passapu dance 	dissemination: dissemination of knowledge about poetry and dance stories
5	Stage preparedness	– Ready to perform at various moments of activity	promotion, development, dissemination towards the preservation and sustainability of traditional arts

Source: Transcription of interviews with several resource persons by the researcher

Dance training is a method of passing on skills and mastering the basic principles of dance. From the context of Pabitte Passapu dance training, there are benefits to the continuity of traditional arts. First, the Pabitte Passapu dance practice functions as a dance foundation built and developed by youth as performers. Learning art with the training method aims to preserve traditional arts. According to Yampolsky (2001), the performers can only maintain the art form in cultural practice. Second, with the assistance of trainers who usually perform Pabitte Passapu dances, participants learn the dance systematically and thoroughly. Thirdly, young people have more vital movement skills and innovation than older people. Although the participants feel the benefits of the training, this activity is not well scheduled. As a result, there are still few performers in Tanah Towa village (interview, Thamrin, 2021).

Kajang indigenous leaders believe they can regulate individuals' actions and behaviour within the framework of tradition, especially in the *ilalang embayya* area. Nonetheless, they also expect educational institutions at the local level, such as primary and junior high schools, within the geographical scope of the Kajang sub-district to contribute to the development of traditional arts actively. Educational institutions have regular systems and resources for the inheritance of these arts. Pabitte Passapu dance learning can be practised in extracurricular activities. In addition, the continuity of traditional arts can be regulated through the village government's cultural policy (interview, Thamrin, 2021). Formal education institutions and village governments have the resources to maintain traditional arts.

The expectation of the involvement of educational institutions and local governments is based on the condition of the traditional art of Pabitte Passapu as a cultural system with all its peculiarities and unique essence dealing with the expansion of communication technology and information digitization. The spread of information provides easy access to entertainment, such as electronic mainstream media and internet networks, in the form of television shows, movies, pop music, and dangdut music. In addition, the number of performers played by the older generation is decreasing, so young people need stimulation to be interested and become the successors of traditional arts. With the act of inheritance, traditional arts may thrive. A relevant question for maintaining traditional arts is whether anything can be done to strengthen traditional arts (Yampolsky, 2001). This question can be used to critically examine traditional arts in various

indigenous communities in Indonesia or other countries.

CONCLUSION

Preservation of traditional art refers to the transmission of artistic knowledge and practices. In the past, Pabitte Passapu art could be passed down through oral traditions, which were carried out repeatedly. Currently, the Kajang traditional community tends to follow changing conditions, so strategies have emerged to maintain local values amidst societal changes. Pabitte Passapu's artistic inheritance is carried out through essential art learning, which is actualized through various traditional activities.

The ability of the Kajang indigenous people to pass on Pabitte Passapu art is known from the strategies implemented so that this traditional art survives. The strategy to maintain traditional arts is pursued through optimizing the involvement of other institutions.

First is the active participation of formal education in teaching traditional arts. Local content included in the primary education curriculum is adapted to local cultural characteristics. In this way, school students learn traditional art through extracurricular activities and student art studios. Second, village government-level policies. The responsibility for the traditional art of Pabitte Passapu is not only on community leaders but also on the government at the village level, which allocates the village budget to program regular training—third, the support of indigenous communities as owners of the Pabitte Passapu traditional art collective. The attitudes of indigenous peoples determine continuity and stagnation in the inheritance of traditional arts.

The preservation of traditional arts in local communities is an ongoing academic discussion. Traditional art faces competition with other popular art genres and invisible opponents, namely the inability to adapt to changes in people's tastes. At the technical implementation level, what is needed to preserve traditional arts is a traditional arts development model that is built from the context of local wisdom.

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