

LAREH BODICANIAGO: POWER SYSTEMS AND THE CONCEPT OF BAGURAU SALUANG IN A STUDY OF MUSICAL AESTHETICS IN LUHAK NAN TIGO MINANGKABAU - INDONESIA

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Abstract

The goal of this article is to discuss *lareh bodicaniago*: power systems and the concept of *bagurausaluang* in a study of musical aesthetics in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. *Lareh bodicaniago* is a form of representation of a power system – a democracy – initiated by the legendary figure Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. *Bagurau* (joking or jesting) describes the banter that takes place amongst a group of people as they chat and discuss various topics, interspersed with humour, packaged in the form of a poetic text known as *pantun*. The *saluang* is a musical instrument which falls into the classification of aerophones. It is a type of end-blown flute with four finger holes (*giriak*) that can produce 5 different pitches in a pentatonic scale and is played using a technique of circular breathing. Therefore, *bagurausaluang* means to joke around through a text of *pantun* that is packaged in an aesthetical manner in a traditional performance which is also often referred to as *saluang-dendang*. A traditional performance of *saluang-dendang* music is in strophic form, in which a particular melody is sung (*didendangkan*) over and over again by the *dendang* artist (*tukang dendang*) using different *pantun* texts. The musical aesthetics are concerned with the aesthetical principles that make up an important part of both the *saluang* and *dendang* parts in a *bagurausaluang* performance. A qualitative method was used as the basis for this research. The data was collected through participant observation, interviews, discussions, and analysis. The analysis was carried out descriptively using theoretical reasoning based on knowledge of aesthetics and art. The results of the research show that conceptually, *bagurausaluang* is a musical reality which represents *lareh bodicaniago* in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau.

Keywords: *Lareh Bodicaniago*, power, *bagurausaluang*, musical aesthetics, Luhak Nan Tigo, Minangkabau.

1. Introduction

Lareh Bodicaniago is the representation of a symbol of power or a system of leadership – initiated by Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang—which promotes the concept of democracy in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. Yasraf Amir Piliang defines representation as “an action which presents or re-presents something through another entity outside itself, usually in the form of a sign or symbol” (Piliang, 2003: 21). The act of representing can be discerned in the concept *duduak samo randah-tagak samo tinggi* (seated at the same level, standing at the same height) and the concept *bagurau* (joking). Jhon J.O.I. Ihalaw states that a concept is a symbol that is given meaning (conception) about a particular event (object) (Ihalaw, 2004: 27). *Duduak samo randah-tagak samo tinggi* and *bagurau* are both symbols that are given a particular meaning for a particular event as defined by Ihalaw.

Duduak samo randah-tagak samo tinggi and *bagurau* imply an action which presents or re-presents something else outside itself as defined by Piliang. *Duduak samo randah-tagak samo tinggi* is the representation of a system of democracy – politics and law – under the influence of the authority of the legendary figure Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang in Minangkabau. A political-legal system is related to a government system that is oriented towards a system known as *kalarasan* (a customary government system). Christine Dobbin writes that ...this legendary figure developed a government [political-legal] system that was followed by every ‘*nagari*’ (village) in Minangkabau, known as *Lareh Bodicaniago* ... and decision making was implemented through a democratic process of deliberation and discussion (Dobbin, 1992: 72).

This democratic characteristic is reflected in the concept of *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang-dendang* – a representation of the concept of democracy. The concept of democracy in the performance of *saluang-dendang* can be viewed in the way a performance is managed, in that everyone present in the performance arena has an equal position and the same right to convey his or her opinions and wishes – through the mediator or referee (*janang*) for the performance. *Bagurau* represents an act of jesting or joking when a group of people discuss

various topics, interspersed with humour.

Bagurau may appear when a group of people are playing dominos, drinking coffee at a roadside stall, or in other events that allow humour to be present as a form of entertainment – and this includes performances of *saluang* (a kind of Minangkabau wind instrument). Andar Indra Sastra writes that *bagurau* in a performance of *saluang-dendang* is also used as a medium for jesting by playing around with the *irama* (melodic tempo and rhythms) of the vocal music (*dendang*). Aesthetically, the *irama* of the *dendang* that is accompanied by the *saluang* player is used as a medium for creating humour in the *saluang-dendang* performance – within a democratic atmosphere (Sastra, 2010: 2).

Etymologically, Martin Suryajaya states that the term aesthetics comes from the Greek adjective *aistheticos*, which means ‘concerned with perception’. The noun form of the word is *aesthesis*, which means ‘sensory perception’ (Suryajaya, 2016: 1). Sensory perception covers sight, hearing, and feeling. In his Music Dictionary (*KamusMusik*), PonoBanu defines the word ‘musical’ as ‘anything that is related to music’ (Banoe, 2003: 287). Hence, musical aesthetics in this concept is concerned with the alignment between sight, hearing, and feeling related to *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang* music.

The *saluang* is a flute which belongs to the classification of aerophones and more specifically can be described as a kind of end-blown flute. It is made from a single segment of *talang* (a type of bamboo), which is cut from between two notches to form a pipe-shaped instrument without any joints. The lower part of the instrument has four finger holes (*giriak*) which can produce five different pitches. The music played on the *saluang* is pentatonic. The length of the *saluang* is approximately 6 x the outer circumference of the body of the *talang*, or between 60 and 70 centimetres, while the inner diameter is between 2.5 and 3 centimetres.

The positioning of the finger holes is based on particular measurements. The mouth hole, known as the *suai*, is cut at a slant with the function of ‘splitting’ the air. The *suai* is blown at an angle to produce a sound. Thus, the sound of the *saluang* is not produced by the vibration of a reed since this instrument is not fitted with a reed of any kind. The construction of the instrument makes the *saluang* one of the most difficult wind instruments to play, and particularly to produce the correct type of tone. Not everyone who learns to play the *saluang* will succeed in becoming a skilled *saluang* player. The musical function of the *saluang* in a performance is to provide an accompanying melody for the *dendang* melody, which is also known as *dendangdarek* (inland *dendang*). The *saluang* is played using a technique of circular breathing.

In addition to providing a melodic accompaniment, the *saluang* player must also have a good command of the introductory melody or *imbauan*. The *imbauan* is a melodic introduction which comes to an end on a particular pitch, depending on how many finger holes are covered. *Saluang* players refer to this as *pakok* (closed), and the *imbauan* melody is categorized according to how many finger holes (*giriak*) are closed: *pakokampek* (four closed); *pakoksabalah* (half closed); *pakoktigo* (three closed); and *pakok duo* (two closed). Musically, these four systems of *pakok* provide a cue or code to the vocalist about the type and *irama* of the particular *dendang* to be sung. In addition to the four concepts of *pakok* mentioned above, in performance the *saluang* player must also master four other musical principles: (1) *imbauan* (introductory melody); (2) filler melody; (3) *raun* melody (interlude); (4) melodic ending or coda.

A traditional performance of *saluang-dendang* is in strophic form in which a particular melody is sung over and over again by the vocalist with different *pantun* texts. These texts are created spontaneously with themes that are chosen to suit the purpose and situation of the performance. Hence, the ability to create *pantun* is an essential skill for the *dendang* artist to possess in the logogenic musical style of traditional *saluang-dendang*, in order to build a dynamic atmosphere in the performance. It is this dynamic aspect which has made the traditional music of *saluang-dendang* such a well-known and popular genre of traditional music in the Minangkabau community. The topics to be addressed in this article are: first, power systems and the concept of *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang-dendang*; second, the concept of *bagurau* and musical aesthetics in the performance of *saluang-dendang*.

2. Literature Review

The literature study in this research can be divided into four areas: first, literature that is concerned with the social systems or power systems in Minangkabau; second, literature which touches on the field of aesthetics; third, literature on ethnomusicology; and fourth, literature related to the material object. Literature on the subject of social or power systems includes the work by Christine Dobbin (1992: 71-72) which discusses the differences of opinion and conflict between two legendary figures who emerged when Adytiawarman’s reign of power came to an end in 1375, namely Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang and Dt. Katumanggungan. This conflict gave rise to two political and legal systems known respectively as *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* with Dt. Katumanggungan as the main

figure and *Kalarasan Bodicianiago* led by Dt. Parpatiah. These two figures were involved in the political and legal conflict which determined the government system in Minangkabau.

Mochtar Naim (1983: 87-88), in his article entitled “*Minangkabau dalam Dialektika Kebudayaan Nusantara*”, primarily discusses the social concept and cultural system in Minangkabau which is dialectic, dichotomous, and bipolaristic. Minangkabau culture recognizes the existence of “diversity” in ways of thought, as well as synthetic uniformity as a result of the presence of dichotomous and bipolaristic dualism. Conflict envisages its dynamics; where there is thesis, there will always be antithesis, while consensus symbolizes the occurrence of a process of synthesis in an endeavour to attain a sense of continuity and balance of the community.

On the other hand, Naim also discusses the ‘battle’ between the two ideologies of these legendary figures which originated from the powers of the two large kingdoms in the Nusantara (Indonesia). The Buddhist Sriwijaya kingdom symbolizes the cultural power of *bodi-caniago*, while the Hindu Majapahit kingdom symbolizes the supremacy of the cultural power of *koto-piliang*. These dialectic, dichotomous, and bipolaristic social and cultural systems are represented in their music – *bagurausaluang*. The dialectic, dichotomy, and bipolarity narrated in the *pantun* texts that are sung to a particular *irama* form a medium for aesthetical conflict between the groups of *pencandugurau* (audience members and enthusiasts) in a *saluang* performance. The aesthetical dialectical dynamic is a condition of necessity which is formed between artists on one side and groups of *pencandugurau* on the other. The mediation for this aesthetical conflict is regulated by a person known as the *janang* (performance referee) in order to ensure aesthetical satisfaction.

The ethnomusicological paradigm “music in a cultural context” is explored by Bruno Nettl (1983: 132), who focuses on musical behaviour, musical performance, and musical experience. Meanwhile, the subjects of “Music in Culture” and “Music as Culture” are discussed by Alan P. Merriam (1977: 202-204). Music in culture focuses on history and ethnography, while the study of music as culture attempts to understand how music represents or reflects a cultural system. These three thought concepts proposed by Bruno Nettl and Alan P. Merriam can be used to explain *saluang* both as a music system and a musical system, as a text, and also in the context of the life of the Minangkabau community.

Martin Suryajaya (2016: 1) reflects on the paradigm of aesthetics in his book entitled “*Sejarah Estetika: Era Klasik Sampai Kontemporer*”. Suryajaya highlights the historical development of aesthetics as a philosophy of art from ancient Greek times up to the 21st century. He discusses a number of scholars who are rarely mentioned in Indonesian literature, such as Philodemos, Ibn al-Haytham, Edward Hanslick, and Dziga Vertov. The main point Suryajaya makes is concerned with the understanding of aesthetics not only in its orientation to beauty but also in terms of the power of sensory perception. This sensory perception includes sight, hearing, and feeling.

Therefore, aesthetics is often defined as a sense of perception and the variety of feelings it evokes (Ali, 2011: 1-2, Pramono, 2009: 1). Dharsono (2007: 3) also provides an explanation about aesthetics, which he says is no longer simply a philosophical matter but is also concerned with the scientific discussion of works of art. Aesthetics means studying art as an object which brings pleasure and can be observed by the senses in all its complexity; in this case with reference to *bagurausaluang*.

A number of other references that touch upon the material object of the study include an article by Andar Indra Sastra (2010: 67), which discusses the emergence of the concept of *parewa*, which has gained a negative image and perspective from “religious groups” in terms of the activity of *bagurau* in *saluang* performances, which incidentally are supported by “traditional groups”. In his thesis, Resva (2016: 12) investigates the technique and treatment of the *pantun* Mak Sawir in the world of figurative or allusive *pagurauan* (joking or jesting), which applies the concept of ‘nature expanded to become a teacher’. The theme of this figurative *pantun* text invites values of high criticism or sharp satire – in an aesthetical manner, but the audience is not offended when they hear it because the satire is compared to the fate of an object or animal and presented in an attractive or refined manner which at times the audience may find absurd or ridiculous. Thus, whatever the *irama* to be presented, it is important to find the right choice of words to touch the feelings of the audience, or to evoke their sense of conscience. All of the references mentioned above are used to discuss the subject of *lareh bodicianiago*: power systems and the concept of *bagurausaluang* in a study of musical aesthetics in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau.

3. Research Method

This research is based on a qualitative method, which means that the researcher is the primary instrument directly responsible for collecting and processing the data about the material object – *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang*. The collection of primary data was through participant observation, interviews, and documentation. The primary data obtained through these three models of investigation formed the basis for the analysis in accordance with the focus of the research. In addition, secondary data was also needed to strengthen

the argumentation so that the research could reach a level of credibility which could be accounted for scientifically.

After reading various articles and literature related to the topic of *saluang-dendang*, the second step was participant observation, and this involved watching a live performance of *saluang* in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. The collection of information and empirical knowledge obtained through the direct involvement in a performance of *bagurau* was used as a guide for interviewing the informants. The data obtained from the interviews with informants can be grouped into four categories. First about the performance of *saluang-dendang*, including the *saluang-dendang* artists (*tukang*), the performance venue, the *janang* (performance referee), and the audience. Second, data related to the concept of musical aesthetics, including the *imbau* (introductory melody), filler melody, *raun* melody (interlude); and final melody (coda). Next, other information related to the concept of *imbau*, including *imbau pako kampek* (four closed), *imbau pakok satengah* (half closed), *imbau pakok tigo* (three closed), and *imbau pakok duo* (two closed).

Finally, the concept of sound and melody associated with the playing technique of this wind instrument, as well as other aspects that are always used for judging the quality of playing, namely: *danguang saluang*, *rauiik saluang*, or *rauiik dendang*, which means the refined way of presenting the *irama* of the *dendang*; *pamanih*, or additional notes that are produced spontaneously; *garinyiak*, types of ornament or melodic decoration; *sayik*, or producing certain notes with a technique known as *sayatan*; *piciak*, or producing a sound that is both subtle and powerful and creates a depth of feeling; and *kalorok*, which is a type of melody that is produced using a particular blowing technique to create the desired character of a *dendang* melody.

In addition to interviewing, documentation was also carried out through audio-visual and visual media in order to complete the data and reinforce the argumentation that these events really do take place and are in accordance with the context. Equally important in connection with the documentation is that it enabled the writer to recreate the event of a *saluang* performance in *bagurau* in accordance with its context, for the purposes of analysis. The data was analyzed inductively in accordance with the qualitative nature of the research, and the research constructed an emic way of thinking in providing an explanation. The writer did not depart from an a priori etic theory because formal theories were unable to explain the various phenomena (concepts) – findings or realities that exist in a *saluang* performance in the Luhak Nan Tigo community as the material object.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Power Systems and the Concept of *Bagurau* in the Performance of *Saluang-Dendang*

Culturally, power systems – hegemony – in Minangkabau have been influenced by two legendary figures – Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang and Dt. Katumanggungan. Mochtar Naim writes that the ‘battle’ between the two ideologies of these legendary figures originated from the powers of the two large kingdoms in the Nusantara (Indonesia). The Buddhist Sriwijaya kingdom symbolized the cultural power of *bodi-caniago*, while the Hindu Majapahit kingdom symbolized the supremacy of the cultural power of *koto-piliang* (Naim, 1983: 88). Dendy Sugono states that hegemony is the influence of power over a group of people with a particular ideology in a systematic manner (Sugono, 2009: 516). Edward Said (2010), in Mudra, says that hegemony is the notion that one particular idea [of ideology] has more influence than another, which means that one particular culture is more dominant than another (Andar, 2015: 19). To talk about hegemony in cultural terms means to talk about power systems. One of the legendary figures in traditional Minangkabau historiography was Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang – and his government system is known as *Lareh Bodicaniago*.

Lareh Bodicaniago is a democratic system represented in *bagurau* in *saluang* performances in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. This democratic nature provides freedom for all the *pencandugurau* to present their aesthetical rights in a performance of *saluang-dendang* without distinguishing between position and social status. This democratic nature has the potential to cause conflict or differences of opinion – dialectic – between different *pencandugurau*. This can be seen when the *janang* who acts as the moderator of the performance creates a dialectic-dichotomous atmosphere between different *gurau* groups or members of the audience throughout the duration of the performance.

The themes that tend to cause conflict or arguments during a performance include: the profession of audience members; a wife leaving a husband; various hobbies such as hunting wild boar, fishing, shooting birds, and so on. These themes can act as a source of psychological conflict – dialectic – that is packaged in an aesthetical way in a *saluang-dendang* performance – usually presented in metaphorical language. *Saluang* performances that are packaged in a dichotomous-aesthetical manner represent the democratic model of the *Kalarasan Bodicaniago* system. In Minangkabau, this is traditionally described using the expression: *duduak samo randah*, *tagak samo tinggi* (seated at the same level, standing at the same height) – which reflects an ideological system.

Thwaites (2009: 234) in I Nyoman Chaya writes that an ideology is an “idea” that is upheld by all the members of a social group in their day to day lives (Chaya, 2015: 41). It is a belief system and a value system which is represented in various media and social actions (Piliang, 2003: 18). *Bagurau* in a performance of *saluang-dendang* is a medium that represents the day to day lives and social actions of the Minangkabau community who live under the influence of the ideological system *Kalarasan Bodicaniago*. This means that ideology as a system is closely related to the life views of a person or a social group and is framed within a system of cultural values. At this point we can talk about the relationship between art – music – and the cultural concept of its community. In this context, Alan P. Merriam makes a distinction between “Music in Culture” and “Music as Culture” (Merriam, 1977: 202-204). From a cultural anthropological perspective, T.O. Ihromi stresses that music as a product of human behaviour reflects part of the system of ideas and actions of its community; that culture [music] is an outward reflection or representation of the human thought structure on which it is founded (Ihromi, 2009: 66).

In another section, Alan P. Merriam writes that musical sound as a product of human behaviour has a specific structure and also a system, but it cannot stand alone – separate from the cultural concept of its community (Merriam, 1964: 32). From a sociological perspective, Fabio Dasilva (1983) in M. Jazuli writes that the presence of a musical existence in a community indicates the social and cultural phenomena or conditions of the community (Jazuli, 2014: 287). What Merriam, T.O. Ihromi, and Fabio Dasilva say can strengthen the argument that music as a cultural product must be synchronized with the cultural concept that created it – through a system of cultural values.

A system of cultural values is represented – accumulated – in *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang-dendang* in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. This ideological representation can be seen from the status and rights of the *gurau* audience at a *saluang-dendang* performance. Every audience member has an equal status and equal rights – *duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggi*. They all have the same right to convey their opinions through the mediator or *janang*. They are free to engage in polemics and express different opinions which are developed by the *dendang* artist into *pantun* and packaged in an aesthetical form.

Nyoman Chaya writes that cultural values involve general beliefs about kinds of behaviour that are desirable and undesirable and also goals or circumstances that are aspired to or not aspired to (Chaya, 2015: 41). Leoner, W.J. and Malapass state that a value is a relatively stable belief about specific models of behaviour that are personally socially desirable (Malapass, 1994: 49). The cultural value *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang-dendang* represents a system of democracy which creates a dialectic – psychological conflict – as a part of the dynamic that must be present in a *saluang-dendang* performance. Whether or not a *saluang-dendang* performance comes to life depends largely on the skill of the *janang* in creating and controlling the psychological conflict between members of the audience.

The psychological conflict that develops in a *saluang-dendang* performance is due to the different values and themes that are treated in an aesthetical manner. Taufik Abdullah states that in Minangkabau, the concept of conflict is not only recognized but is also developed in the social system itself [including in an art performance of *saluang*]. From a sociological context, conflict is viewed dialectically as an essential element for achieving balance in the community (Abdullah, 1987: 107). This means that conflict plays a significant role in developing the dynamic of culture or art. This cultural dynamic becomes a commodity in *bagurau* in a *saluang* performance. The traditional expression for this is *basilang kayu dalam tungku, di sinanapimangkoiduik* (a pile of wood in the fireplace, that is where the fire will come to life). In the context of a *saluang* performance, differences of opinion, or conflict, are a medium for igniting the “performance fire” to achieve the goal of aesthetical satisfaction. “Disputes” or differences are recognized as something that should exist.

The presence of conflict is due to differences in values, which in turn form the behaviour and knowledge of performing art audiences. The conflict referred to in *bagurau* in a *saluang-dendang* performance is not physical conflict but psychological conflict which appears in the form of arguments or debates packaged in the literary expression of *pantun* that is presented through song – in a dialectic. The ideological paradigm represented in *bagurau* in the performance of *saluang-dendang* can be seen in the diagram below.

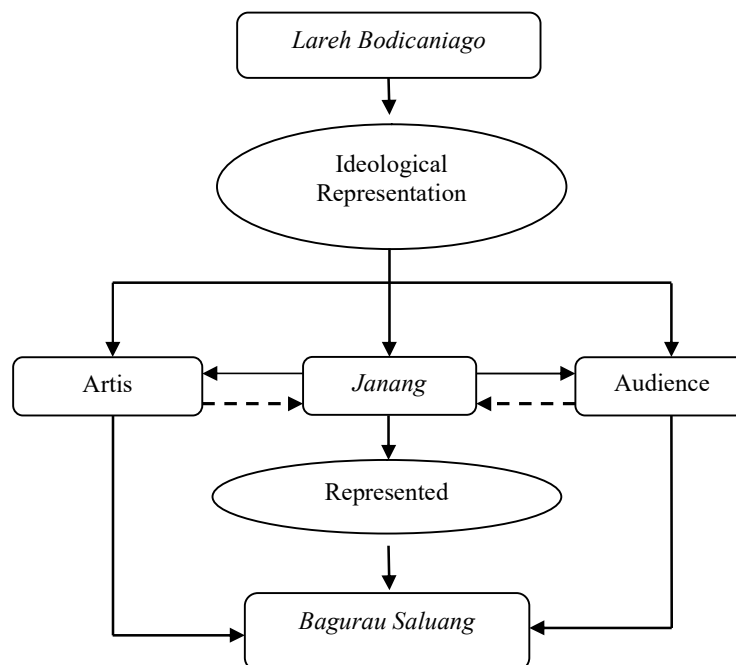


Diagram 1. Ideological representation of *bagurau* in a *saluang* performance

The diagram above shows that *lareh bodicianiago* in its democratic system – as an ideological symbol – positions conflict as a part of the dynamic of community life as represented in *bagurau* in a *saluang* performance. It can be seen how the role of the *janang* as a central figure in the performance is required to build an atmosphere of psychological conflict – an aesthetical dialectic – in a *saluang* performance.

4.2 The Concept of *Bagurau* and Musical Aesthetics in a Performance of *Saluang-Dendang*

In the previous section, it has been explained how *bagurau* in a *saluang* performance represents the system of democracy – ideology – of Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang with his system of *lareh bodicianiago*. *Lareh bodicianiago*, which is based on populist democracy, is synchronous with the life of the performing art of *saluang*. This synchronism is described by Hajizar, who states that the life of the arts must be synchronous with the social system in which they exist; if not they will die (Hajizar, interview, 2017). This synchronism is based on a principle of transformation which originates from a social event and becomes a musical reality – in this case *saluang dendang* with all its philosophical aspects. In philosophical terms, *saluang-dendang* as a form of music reflects the thought concepts of its community which are based on dialectic and dichotomy – psychological conflict. Fabio Dasilva writes that music is connected to the mentality of the community to which it belong...The existence of music in the community essentially shows the social phenomena or social conditions of its community (Dasilva, 1984: 3-4). Aesthetically, in a music system or musical system, this social phenomenon is represented in the performance of *saluang-dendang*.

Musical aesthetics is related to the aesthetical principles of *saluang* as **a music system** and **a musical system**. As a music system, *saluang* has 4 sound holes or finger holes (*giriak*) which can produce five different pitches. In musical terms, the music played on the *saluang* is referred to as pentatonic. The segment of *talang* (a type of bamboo) used for making the *saluang* is between 60 and 70 centimetres in length, while the diameter is between 3 and 3.3 centimetres. The length of the *talang* is determined by measuring 6 times the length of the central circumference – there is a tip and an end and the centre is marked with a small incision. The first finger hole is determined by measuring the cross section at the end of the *talang*. The distance between the first hole and the central mark is divided by four; this quarter measurement is then used to determine and mark the other holes – two, three, and four (see picture below).



Picture 1. Saluang

(Photo: Documentation by Andar, 2017)

From an organological and acoustic perspective, the *saluang* is classed as an end-blown flute which is played using a technique of circular breathing. Acoustically, the pitch of the *saluang* falls into the fourth octave, with the following specifications.

Saluang Alkalon (38years) Padangpanjang					
Oktave	IV				
Pitch Sequence	N1	N2	N3	N4	N5
Sound Position (Cents)	C4-18 C	D4-34 C	D#4+29	E4+30	F#4+6
Frequency (Hz)	258.8	287.9	316.4	335.6	371.5
Interval (Cent)	184.47	163.41	101.99	175.94	
	625.81Cent (1 oktaf)				

Diagram 2. Pitch sequence (N), sound position, frequency, and intervals of the *saluang*

The *saluang* is played by placing the end (known as the *suai*) to the lips. The position of the lips against the *suai* is similar to the position of the mouth when whistling, and is known as *manggalotoi*. When the *saluang* is played, it is held at an angle, either to the right or the left, depending on individual preference or habit, with the end pointing downwards to the front of the body (see picture below).



Picture 2. Position of lips for playing the *saluang*

(Photo: Documentation by Andar, 2017)

As a music system, *saluang* is tied to a number of concepts that have emerged in local terms and have their own meaning for the performer. The creation of music in a community cannot be separated from various concepts, a concept being a source of knowledge that originates from a world of ideas. In order to understand music in the life of a community, we must come face to face with concepts that are rich in a variety of meanings. From these meanings discourse will arise about scientific paradigms related to music, whether music as culture or music in a cultural context

Merriam states that in an overall sense, concepts form a framework for music that is regulated in a community and a framework for the people who think about what music is and what music should be (Merriam, 1964: 63). In technical musical terms, he writes that every music system is based on a series of concepts that are associated with music and create a music system as a life phenomenon that exists amongst other phenomena (Merriam,

1964: 63). As a music system, *saluang* is regulated based on the concepts of *giriak* (sound holes), *suai* (sound source), and *manggalotoi*; these three concepts are a part of the music system.

Aesthetically, *saluang* as a musical system can of course not be separated from a number of concepts which comes together to form a whole, and are the basis for creating a new musical form. Gilles Deleuze & Fellex Guattari write that all [musical] concepts are related to various problems without which the concepts have no meaning... A concept has an *outcome* which involves its relationship with various concepts that are located on the same level (Guattari, 2010: 18-20). This *outcome* is a process of 'becoming' and 'being' a form of music. In a performance, the musical forms of *saluang* and *dendang* are closely related to one another and each has its own musical concept. The concepts that are constructed in a performance can be divided into two categories: (1) melodic structure; and (2) the musical character of *dendang*.

1. Musical Structure

The melodic structure consists of the *imbauan* (introductory melody); filler melody; *raun* melody (interlude); closing melody (coda), with the following structure:

First, *imbauan saluang*, which is a kind of introductory melody leading to the *dendang* melody. There are several different concepts for the *imbauan saluang*: *imbauan pakok ampek* (four closed); *imbauan pakok sabalah* (half closed); *imbauan pakok tigo* (three closed); and *imbauan pakok duo* (two closed). The use of a particular type of *pakok* is closely related to the cadence of the particular type of *dendang* that is played or accompanied.

Second, after this 'melodic code', the *saluang* then plays the *dendang* melody or accompanies the *dendang*. At the end of the second melodic phrase, the *saluang* plays what is known as a *sampaian*, a type of short melody which functions to join the broken *dendang* melody – this usually occurs in *dendang ratok* (a lamentation or sad *dendang*).

Third, after playing one cycle of the *dendang* melody, the *saluang* then plays the *raun* melody, which is a kind of interlude that acts as an introduction to the next melodic cycle. The length of the *raun* melody is not fixed and depends on the mood of the *saluang* player.

Fourth, after the second cycle of the *dendang* melody, the *saluang* player immediately continues into the *tutuik lagu* or closing melody, a short melody which functions to end the performance of the *dendang* melody. The cadence of the *tutuik lagu* often switches to the tonic pitch of the *saluang* instrument to create a sense of closure to the *dendang* performance (see picture below).



Picture 3. Bagurau in a *saluang* performance
(Photo: Documentation by Andar, 2017)

In the performance of *saluang*, according to information obtained in interviews with *saluang* artists and observers H. Halim and Hajizar, there are eight concepts of sound and melody related to the playing technique of this instrument, and these are always aspects through which the quality of the performance is judged.

1. *Danguang saluang*, a kind of dense or powerful tone produced by blowing the *saluang* instrument.
2. *Rauik saluang* or *rauik dendang*, a refined way of playing the *irama* of the *dendang* on the *saluang* instrument or by the vocalist.
3. *Pamanih*, additional notes that are produced spontaneously to enhance the beauty of another note in a *dendang* melody. These additional notes are played by doubling the rhythm of the *batang* pitch with another higher note. There are two ways of adding a *pamanih* note to a *saluang* melody: by doubling the basic rhythm using an interval of either a fourth or fifth. The choice of the *pamanih* pitch depends on the musical taste and spontaneous decision of the *saluang* player who may choose whichever *pamanih* pitch he prefers.

4. *Garinyiak*, a kind of melodic decoration or ornamentation which is designed to make the melody more beautiful. *Garinyiak* is the spirit or soul of a *saluang-dendang* performance – in the vocal part it is referred to as *darai*. A melody without any *garinyiak* is not enjoyable, because the performance of *saluang-dendang* will lose its ability to communicate with the audience.
5. *Sayik*, the playing of certain pitches using a technique known as *sayatan* (cutting). The *sayik* note is a note on the *saluang* that is produced or played in a way that is imperfect in order to create a melodic impression with a unique Minangkabau musical character in which the note appears to slide or curve. Minangkabau *dendang* prefer this kind of melodic character – the use of a *sayik* note. All the notes of the *saluang* are used in turn as a *sayik* note, depending upon the character of the *dendang* that the *saluang* is accompanying.
6. *Piciak*, creating an impression of a refined tone which has the power to create a depth of feeling.
7. *Kalorok*, a melody that is produced using a blowing technique to create the desired melodic character of the *dendang*.
8. *Pakiak*, a pitch that overlaps from the fifth pitch. The way in which this pitch is produced is by blowing hard on the fifth pitch while covering the first and second holes to produce the *pakiak* pitch. The *pakiak* pitch is not a sixth pitch of the *saluangdarek* but may also represent a seventh or eighth pitch that is required in the accompaniment of the *dendang*. Hence, all of the notes of the *dendang* melody that are above the fifth pitch of the *saluang* are represented by the *pakiak* pitch, thus continuing to create a harmonic effect.

All of the playing techniques associated with the sounds and melodies described above are always encountered in the playing of *saluang*, whether in the context of accompanying the vocal melodies sung by the *dendang* artist or in the instrumental *dendang* melodies played by the *saluang* itself.

2. The Character of *Dendang*

The musical character of old *dendang* is highly effective as a form of musical pleasure to create a sense of nostalgia for the older generation and for immigrant communities; the musical character of new *dendang*, meanwhile, is suited to the spirit of the young generation, most of whom are still preoccupied with romantic affairs. This is evident in the way the *pantun* is treated. The logical impact of the musical concept of these new *dendang* is that in aesthetical terms, the *saluang-dendang* performance is extremely dynamic, because the structure and style of the performance provide opportunities to be treated in accordance with the goal of the organizers. This is the underlying factor which makes *saluang-dendang* performances effective for use in seeking funding for various kinds of development in local communities, since it ‘entertains while developing without the need to implement a system of ticketing’.

In fact, *pantun* also acts as a bridge in mastering the *rauik* of the different *irama* of the *dendang*. *Rauik dendang* refers to the character of the melody or the accuracy of the *dendang* artist in presenting the *irama* of the *dendang* in accordance with his individual sense of expression so that the audience feels moved when listening to a *dendang* with a sad character (*ratok*), or on the contrary feels joyful when listening to a *dendang* with a happy character. Thus, the *dendang* artist plays an important role in embellishing or beautifying the *irama* in accordance with the character of the *dendang* performed.

There are three steps in the category of character in *irama dendang*: *dendang ratok* (sad), *setengah ratok*, or “half” *ratok*, and *dendang gembira* (happy). *Dendang ratok* and *setengah ratok* of course use *pantun* with themes about fate and advice, while *dendang gembira* are presented using *pantun* for young people, and even *pantun* with humorous themes. Sometimes the choice of *pantun* texts may be inappropriate, due to the inexperience of the *dendang* artist, such as the use of *pantun* for young people with *dendang ratok* when this type of *pantun* should actually be presented using *dendang gembira*.

In order to improve the skill of creating good quality *pantun*, a *dendang* artist should explore the life of the community because the numerous events that take place in the community can be used as a source of creativity for developing new *pantun*. A *dendang* artist who never experiences a troubled life or never pays attention to the life of a person living in strife will probably have difficulty teaching such a person *pantun*. This means that a *dendang* artist must investigate various social events in the community because the realities that take place in the life of the community can become a source of inspiration for creating expressions of *pantun* for *dendang* in a spontaneous manner in front of the *dendang* audience.

Sometimes *dendang* relates the life situation of a particular person, although in the *saluang-dendang* tradition, the *dendang* artist is not allowed to mention the name of the person who is referred to or criticized in the *pantun*. This kind of *pantun* is known in Minangkabau as *pantun ibaraik* (metaphoric *pantun*). One of the concepts of *pantun ibaraik* is that the life situation of a particular person is compared to the fate of an object or animal, such as the fate of a piece of wood, a boat, coconut, flower, ship, bird, fish,

horse, beetle, water, oil, and so on. In this way, metaphors about the fate of a bird that is read, the destiny of a horse and cart that is spoken of, the condition of a shaking boat about to capsize all touch the feelings of the audience, and the message or criticism contained in the *pantun* can act as a moral teaching for the audience.

5. Conclusion

Lareh bodicaniago represents a system of democracy – power – which is based on populist democracy in luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. In symbolic terms, this power system is reflected in the traditional expression *duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggi* (seated at the same level, standing at the same height). This traditional expression means that the people at the lower end of the power system have equal rights and status in community life. *Bagurau saluang* is a musical performance which also represents this system of democracy; the audience members all have the same aesthetical rights to convey their wishes, criticisms, or dissatisfaction through the *janang* (performance referee). The wishes of the audience are packaged in the form of texts of *pantun* and are sung in a particular irama in accordance with the requests of the audience. This dialectic, which is packaged aesthetically under the control of the *janang*, makes performances of *saluang-dendang* popular in the community of Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau.

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