

# SPIRITUALITY IN THE “BATTLE” OF TWO IDEOLOGIES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF *SALAWAIK DULANG* IN MINANGKABAU

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## Abstract

The goal of this article is to reveal the spirituality in the “battle” of two ideologies in the performance of *salawaik dulang* in Minangkabau. Spirituality means living with the awareness that God is always close to us. This awareness motivates all human actions, including in the world of performing arts and specifically in the case of *salawaik dulang*, which is an aesthetical representation of the “battle” or contest between two ideologies. Ideologies founded on religious values and popular music are both present in the same space and time. The name *salawaik dulang* is made up of two words, namely *salawaik* and *dulang*. The word *salawaik* (Indonesian – *salawat*) comes from the Arabic language and is the plural form of the word *salat*, which means prayers or praises to the prophet Muhammad s.a.w. *Salawat* is a form of invocation of religious (Islamic) verses that are presented through song. *Dulang* is a kind of tray, made from brass, and is used as a musical instrument which is struck to produce a sound to accompany the singing. Musically, the *dulang* is the medium which regulates the tempo and rhythm, and at the same time provides the music. The singing of religious verses with the accompaniment of the *dulang* is performed by two *salawaik dulang* groups which compete with one another aesthetically in the *salawaik dulang* performance. As a musical genre, *salawaik dulang* cannot be separated from a number of concepts, a concept being a source of knowledge that is sourced from a world of ideas – “being” and “becoming”. The qualitative method used in this research is based on participant observation for the collection of research data through observation, interviews, documentation, and data analysis. The results show that the performance of *salawaik dulang* is a representation of the battle between two ideologies, namely: the ideology of Islam and the ideology of popular culture.

**Keywords:** spirituality, battle of two ideologies, *salawaik dulang*, Minangkabau

## 1. Introduction

According to Suaedy (2004) in Hajizar, the word spirituality comes from the word spirit. Spirituality means living with the awareness that God is always close to us, and this awareness motivates all human actions (Hajizar, 2008: 26). The awareness of living a life in which God plays a central role appears in the performance texts of *salawaik dulang* and is presented in the form of verse. Muhammad Muhyidin states that spirituality is a spiritual state related to our place as human beings in the presence of God (Muhyidin, 2007: 92). This spiritual state can be seen in the poetic texts that are recited or sung in the performance of *salawaik dulang*. There are two types of narration in the performance of *salawaik dulang*, the first of which contains religious values (religious literature), and the second of which represents popular culture. These two narrations are involved in a “battle” between two ideologies that is packaged in an aesthetical form.

As an artistic or musical text, ontologically *salawaik dulang* is made up of a number of concepts, in the sense that a concept is a source of knowledge and sourced from a world of ideas. The understanding or study of music in its existence in society means confronting concepts that are rich in various meanings. John J.O.I. Ihalaw states that a concept is a symbol which is given a certain meaning (conception) for a particular event (object) (Ihalaw, 2004: 27). *Pangajian nan taraso* (literally “recitation with sentiment”); (2) *lagu nan sero* (“a pleasant melody”); (3) *tapuak dulang geleang kapalo* (“tap of the *dulang*, shake of the head”) can all be viewed as concepts that appear in the performance of *salawaik dulang* – the object. Musically, these three concepts fall into the domain of the study of aesthetics – spirituality in the “battle” of two ideologies.

In terms of its etymology, Martin Suryajaya writes that the word “aesthetics” comes from the Greek adjective *aisthetikos* which means ‘related to perception’. The noun *aesthesis* means a sense of perception (Suryajaya, 2016: 1; Andar Indra Sastra in Humaniora 2017: 245). The senses include sight, hearing, and feeling – beauty. The word musical means related to music. Hence, the concept of musical aesthetics is concerned with a symbol that is given meaning and can be perceived through the senses and is associated with music.

According to Sidi Gazalba in Agus Sachari, beauty is a label that is applied to certain characteristics of an object

when the said object arouses in us a particular sense of pleasure known as aesthetics (Agus Schari 2002: 20). The concept of aesthetics has a variety of definitions depending on the place, time, and circumstances in which the definition is given. The musical aesthetics of the material object of a *salawaik dulang* performance also refers to the specific characteristics that can arouse pleasure – beauty or satisfaction.

R.J. Wilkinson states that the term *salawaik dulang* consists of two words, *salawaik* and *dulang*. The word *salawaik* comes from the Arabic word *salawat*, which is the plural form of the word *salat*, meaning prayer (Wilkinson, 1959: 1002). *Salawatis* is a form of invocation or verse containing Islamic teachings that is presented in the form of song. Musically, the melodies of the sung verse are beautified with the rhythmic patterns of the *dulang*. A *dulang* is a kind of tray made from brass and is used as a musical instrument that is struck to provide accompaniment to the sung verse. The *dulang* used in this kind of musical performance has a diameter of around 65 cm. In a performance, two *salawat dulang* groups perform the sung verse, accompanied by the rhythms of the *dulang*.

Oman Fathurahman writes that the *dulang* is a tray used for washing gilt objects; it is a bronze container in the shape of a large plate. In a performance, the function of this kind of bronze vessel is to regulate the tempo and rhythm, as well as acting as a musical instrument. The rhythmic recitation of religious verse accompanied by the beating of the *dulang* usually takes place on the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. (Fathurahman, 2000: 53), performed by the community of Tarekat Syattariyah followers in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. Al-Qalami states that Tarekat Syattariyah was founded by a Sufi expert by the name of Abdullah Syattar. Syekh Abdullah Asy-Syatari died in India in 1236 AD and has a large number of followers both in India and in Indonesia (Al-Qalami, 2007: 75).

Taking a closer look at Fathurahman's words, it is clear that originally *salawaik dulang* performances were used as a medium for Islamic da'wah by Tarekat Syattariyah in Minangkabau. According to Robi Suhendra, in addition to its use as a medium for da'wah, some recitations of *salawat* were used by Sufi leaders to sing praises to the Prophet Muhammad and his family. These verses were subsequently recited and sung together on special occasions using an attractive style of language (Suhendra, 2016: 3). Up to this point, it can be said that *salawaik dulang* – the traditional-religious vocal music of Minangkabau – was a medium for da'wah to promote Islamic ideology.

The structure of a *salawaik dulang* performance consists of: (1) *imbauan khutbah* (a call for the “sermon”); (2) *khutbah* (the “sermon”); (3) *imbauan lagu batang* (a call for the *batang* song); (4) *lagu batang* (the *batang* song); (5) *lagu yamolai-illalah* (song of adulation to the prophet and to Allah); (6) *lagu cancan* (the *cancan* song). Firdaus states that there are various types of *cancan* song, depending on the situation and condition of the performance, as follows: (a) a joint request by the audience; (b) a question by a member of the same *salawaik* group; (c) a way of joining the storyline; (d) the request of an individual audience member. Songs based on the request of an audience member can be divided into two types, namely: (a) *lagu nan sero* (a pleasant melody); and (b) *tapuak dulang geleang kapalo* (tap of the *dulang*, shake of the head) – (Firdaus, interview 2017); and (7) the closing melody. From the first section up to the fifth section of a *salawaik dulang* performance, the text contains religious messages; *kaji nan taraso* (recitation with sentiment) – the narration promotes Islamic ideology. The *cancan* song represents the ideology of popular music or modern aesthetics, including rhythms such as those of *dangdut* music, standard Minang pop music, or other popular musical forms.

During the 1980s – the modern era – *salawaik dulang* began to enter into the domain of performing arts and become more entertainment oriented. The spirituality of *salawaik dulang* performance experienced the textuality of modern culture and began to exist within a “battle” of two ideologies – Islamic ideology versus the ideology of popular culture. This “battle” of ideologies is packaged aesthetically, with an ideology based on religious values and an ideology of modern culture that is transformed through the culture of popular music. Jhon Fiske writes that popular culture was created by society not by the cultural industry. All that the cultural industry can do is to produce a repertoire of texts or cultural resources for various societal formations to be used or rejected in an ongoing process in order to produce a popular culture (Fiske, 2011: 26). In Ponoë Banoe's opinion, popular refers to something that gives pleasure or is enjoyed by a large number of people; popular music is light and pleasant, and enjoyed by a large number of people, with emphasis on its entertaining characteristics (Banoe, 2003: 341). Popular music is a cultural product (in the form of a song) that is liked by a large number of people because of an aesthetical need and because it is easily understood.

The introduction of popular culture (music) in the performance of *salawaik dulang* is an indication of an aesthetical “battle” between two ideologies. One side is an ideology containing Islamic values and the other is popular culture packaged in various musical forms and rhythms, performed to suit the tastes of the audience.

From a cultural perspective, these conditions reflect the lives or tastes of the Minangkabau community in West Sumatra – the endeavour to preserve its religious values while at the same time confronting the pressure of popular culture and the concern for fulfilling certain aesthetical needs – a sense of beauty or pleasure. From the point of view of the connection between music and culture, John Blacking states that a musical structure reflects a cognitive system that gives birth to other structures, including the structure of the community from which it arose (Blacking, 1974: 24-25) – in this case the cognitive structure of the Minangkabau community in West Sumatra which now exists in the era of modern culture.

Aesthetically, the problems discussed in this article – with the performance of *salawaik dulang* as the material object – are: (1) *pangajian nan taraso* (recitation with sentiment); (2) *lagu nan sero* (a pleasant melody); (3) *tapuak dulang geleang kapalo* (tap of the *dulang*, shake of the head). In performance, the three concepts mentioned above form the arena for the “battle” between two ideologies, namely an ideology based on the religious values of Islam and the ideology of popular music, which contains the ideology of modern music.

## 2. Literature Review

The literature study in this research can be grouped into three domains: the first domain is related to the understanding of spirituality; the second is concerned with *salawaik dulang* as a material object; and the third refers to supporting literature. Literature related to spirituality includes an article by Suaedy (2004), who explains that the basic principle of spirituality means living with an awareness that God is always close to us. Meanwhile, Muhyidin (2007: 92) writes that spirituality is a spiritual state associated with our status as human beings before God.

Secondly, literature related to the subject of aesthetics includes a work by Martin Suryajaya, who discusses the historical aspect of the emergence of the term aesthetics and the basic principle and understanding of aesthetics in connection with the word beauty. In subsequent developments, the understanding of aesthetics underwent a change, and came to be no longer related to beauty alone but also understood to mean a sense of perception and the various feelings aroused by an object. Meanwhile, Andar Indra Sastra in *Humaniora* (2017) focuses specifically on musical aesthetics in connection with symbols that are assigned meaning and can be perceived in a sensory manner in relation to music. Sidi Gazalba (2002) discusses the subject of beauty in connection with certain characteristics of an object that arouse a unique sense of pleasure in ourselves, known as an aesthetic.

With regard to the material object – in this case *salawaik dulang* (*selawat-dulang*) – Wilkinson (1959: 1002) explains that etymologically the word *salawat* comes from the Arabic word *salawat*, which is the plural form of *salat*, meaning prayer. Oman Fathurahman (2000: 53) explains that the word *dulang* means a tray that is used to wash gilt objects, or a kind of bronze container in the shape of a large plate. In a musical performance, the *dulang* is used as a musical instrument and its function is to regulate the tempo and rhythm. Other literature includes works by Jhon J.O.I. Ihalaw (2004); Jhon Fiske (2003); Ponoe Banoe (2003); Jhon Blacking (1974); Fadli Munawwar Mansur (2017); and Edward W. Said (2010), all of which is concerned with popular culture. Of all the literature reviewed, none discusses the subject of the battle of two ideologies in the performance of *salawaik dulang*.

## 3. Research Method

A qualitative method was considered suitable and relevant for the focus of this research. The researcher acted as the main instrument and was directly responsible for collecting data on the material object – *salawaik dulang* in the Minangkabau community. The collection of primary data was done through participant observation, interviews, and documentation. The primary data obtained using three models of investigation formed the basis for the analysis in accordance with the focus of the research – the battle of two ideologies. In addition, secondary data was also needed to reinforce the argumentation in order for the research results to reach a level of credibility that could be accounted for scientifically.

Participant observation was the second step that was carried out to observe live performances of *salawaik dulang* in a number of places in Minangkabau, after the writer had first finished reading the various articles and other literature related to the performance of *salawaik dulang* in the Minangkabau community. The information collected and empirical knowledge gathered from the direct participation in the performances were used as guidelines for interviewing the informants. The data obtained from the informants provided information about the performance of *salawaik dulang* in various places.

In addition to holding interviews, documentation was also carried out by means of audio-visual and visual media. This was needed to complement the other data and strengthen the argumentation that the event really took place and was in accordance with its context. The documentation was equally important for helping the writer to

reproduce the event of a *salawaik dulang* performance in accordance with its context, for the purposes of the analysis. The data analysis was carried out inductively – in accordance with the nature of the phenomenological research. The researcher constructed an emic thought pattern to provide an explanation. The writer did not depart from an a priori theory, or an etic theory, because formal theories would not have been able to explain the various phenomena – findings or reality – that exist in the performance of *salawaik dulang* in the Pariaman community as the material object of the study.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

##### 4.1 Concept of Musical Aesthetics in the Performance of *Salawaik Dulang*

First: *pangajian nan taraso* (recitation with sentiment) is related to the text of the recited verse, which is sung in such a way as to make contact with the spiritual message – *kaji tarekat* – contained therein; *tarekat* means the path or guidance for worship according to the doctrine or teachings of tasawwuf of Sufism – in this case through a religious work of literature. Fadlil Munawwar Mansur, in Humaniora, states that religious works of literature with Sufi patterns usually portray a person's spiritual and religious experiences with the goal of sharing these experiences for the benefit of others. Sufi literature is literature that is influenced or inspired by, or imbued with, tasawwuf teachings. Sufi literature is literature which appears to remind people about God and to follow his commands (Mansur, 2017: 316). Sufi literature – the narration of religious texts in *salawaik dulang* – always connects art and creation with a broader outlook on life, attempting to unite the outside world with the inner world, the social dimension with the transcendental dimension – *pangajian nan taraso*. According to Manguwijaya (1994), in Mansur, Sufi literature refers to works that are a deep expression of the voice of the heart, not simply a collection of pages or pieces or paper that discuss religious matters, but on a level of religiosity (Mansur, 2017: 316).

*Pangajian nan taraso* can be defined as a form of da'wah which touches the senses (*raso*) – in the heart or according to the *kaji tarekat* – known as the elders (*kaum tuo*). In Minangkabau, *kaum tuobelong* to a social group of traditional followers of Islam, or followers of various schools of *tarekat*, such as Tarekat Syattariyah in Minangkabau. Robi Sehendra states that the performance of *salawaik dulang* is more than simply an artistic activity; it is also a method for expressing religious – Sufi – values (Suhendra, 2016: 114). *Pangajian nan taraso* exists in the narration of the melodic structure of *salawaik dulang*, which comprises: (1) *imbauan khutbah* (a call for the sermon); (2) *khutbah* (the sermon); (3) *imbauan lagu batang* (a call for the *batang* song); (4) *lagu batang* (the *batang* song); (5) *lagu yamolai-illalah* (song of adulation to the prophet and to Allah); (6) *lagu cancang* (the *cancang* song, representing the ideology of popular culture).

The *imbauan khutbah* is a call or appeal; it informs the audience that the performance of *salawaik dulang* is about to begin – *yo junjuangan* (oh lord). This is a reference to the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. as the messenger of Allah s.w.t. Every *salawaik dulang* group consists of two players (*tukang salawaik*), known as the *induk* (mother) and the *anak* (child), who take turns to present the text. During the *imbauan khutbah*, the *induk* (abbreviated *toi*) and the *anak* (abbreviated *a*) take it in turns to sing. The text sung by the *tukang salawaik* in the *imbauan khutbah* section is as follows.

Aaaa ... ei ... yo ... oooo (i)

Aaaa ... ei ... yo ... Nabi Allahu Nabi ... yo (a)

Aaaa ... ei ... yo ... ey ... ooo (i)

Aaaa ... ei ... yo ... ooo ... eee ... aaa ... ooo ... o ... o ... o... (a)

Aaayo ju ... unjuangan (i)

Allah-Allah e ... Aaayo ju ... unjuangan (lord) ... Aaaa ... ei ... eieiei (a)

Allahhu rabbi, Rabihu rabbi (i)

Allahu rabbi bak tuan kito (like our lord), Nabi Muhammad pangulu kito (our leader) (a)

Wahai sahabat tolan sudaro (o friends and brothers) (i)

In the text above some words have meaning and others have no meaning. Wilma Sriulan states that the function of the words with no meaning function is to fulfil the musical needs in accordance with the character of the *imbauan khutbah* [read Aaaa, ei, yo, ooo, eee, o, and eieiei]. The words *Allahurabbi* are an expression of praise to Allah s.w.t. and *Nabi Muhammad Panghulu kito* is an adulation to the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., the leader of all Muslims; *wahai sahabat tolan sudaro* is an appeal to all those present in the audience (Sriwulan, 1999: 213).

In the *khutbah*, the *tukang salawaik* sings the words *assalamualaikum ka dalam jamuan* (assalamualaikum to the guests), which refers to the audience. In general, the text recited in the *khutbah* is preceded by an extract from the Al-Qur'an or the hadith, along with an explanation about the meaning. This is followed by verses which contain advice and apologies, an acknowledgement that human beings always have their limitations and are never free from error and wrongdoing. The *tukang salawaik* asks for forgiveness in the event that there are shortcomings in the performance. This section also contains an expression of thanks for all goodness and virtue – see the extract of a *khutbah* below.

*Assalamu'alaikum nan kami pulangkan*  
*Kapado sialek atau sipangkalan*  
*Nan lah maundang ka iko jamuan*  
*Kalau nan jauh surek lah balayangkan*  
*Nan ampia pinang lah bakapuakan*  
(Assalamu'alikum which we return  
To the guests or the host  
Who invited us to the place of the ceremony  
Those who live afar have been sent a letter  
Those who are close are prepared an areca nut)

The *imbau lagu batang* is similar to the *khutbah* and performed based on the *khutbah* song. While the *khutbah* expresses an apology as a way of displaying humility as a human being with limitations, the meaning of the *imbau lagu batang* is related to a statement of sincerity: “*sunnguh baitu ....kami cubo .. agak sajamang*” (it is truly so, we try for a while) – and this is followed by the *lagu batang*.

The text of the *lagu batang* is an expression of words presented by the *tukang salawaik* using the melodic line of the *lagu batang*. It is a continuation of the *imbau lagu batang* which begins with the words *sunnguh baitu* (it is truly so) and continues as follows:

*Sunnguah baitu ... ..*  
*Aaaa ... yaaa ... la ... ngak ....*  
*O Allah ... o ... Allah ... illah ... o lai yaing*  
*Ilallah ... iyo ... ayya, Allah, illah ... o*

The text of the *lagu batang* generally contains praises or adulations to Allah and his prophet, Muhammad, and is essentially the same as the confession of faith or *shahadah* (the first pillar of Islam), by Allah's blessing we can meet. Based on this *shahadah*, the *tukang salawaik* composes a beautiful text with a catchy rhythm.

The *lagu yamolai* (literally - “let's begin”) is given this name because the words recited by the *tukang salawaik* are followed by the words *yamolai* and *ilallah*. Although both words are mentioned, in the structure of a *salawaik dulang* performance, this section is known more commonly as *lagu yamolai*. It consists of two parts, referred to as *yamolai one* and *yamolai two*. *Yamolai one* is directed towards Allah and the Prophet Muhammad and is a means of surrender to Him. An example of a *lagu yamolai* text is shown below.

*Allah ya Allah ya illallah, yamolai*  
*O Muhammad the prophet, ilallah*  
*Blood as old as the calyx of the areca nut, yamolai*  
*As young as a year of corn, ilallah*  
*If pushed, please pull, yamolai*  
*If wrong, please scold, ilallah*

*Yamolai dua* is made up of two sections, the text that acts as the introduction and the text that contains the story – known as the fruit of the *salawaik*. Wilma Sriulan writes that the opening text is preceded by the interjections: *iyoo ... ooo ... aaa ... eee ... yo ....* The *tukang salawaik* then begins to tell a story to the audience. The end of the first line of every phrase of text is always *yamolai* and the end of the second line is always *ilallah* (Sriwulan, 1999: 215). See the example below.

*Iyo ... ooo ... aaa ... eee ... yo ...*



*Karanonyo kami kamangambang curito, yamolai, yamolai*  
*Mangambang curito di muko basamo, ilallah, ilallah ... aaaa ... ooo*  
*Tarimo kasih banyal jo tarimoo suko, yamolai, yamolai*  
*Yo disoal pangajian nan kakami baco, ilallah, ilallah ... aaaa ... ooo*  
*Yo disoal pangajian di bidang agamo kito, yamolai, yamolai*  
*Agamao Islam agamo kito, ilallah, ilallah ... aaaa ... ooo*

(Because we are going to expand the story, *yamolai, yamolai*  
Expand the story together in front, *yamolai, yamolai*  
Thank you so much, thank you, *ilallah, ilallah ... aaaa ... ooo*  
We will read the recitation, *yamolai, yamolai*  
We will read the recitation, *ilallah, ilallah ... aaaa ... ooo*  
Islam is our religion, *yamolai, yamolai*)

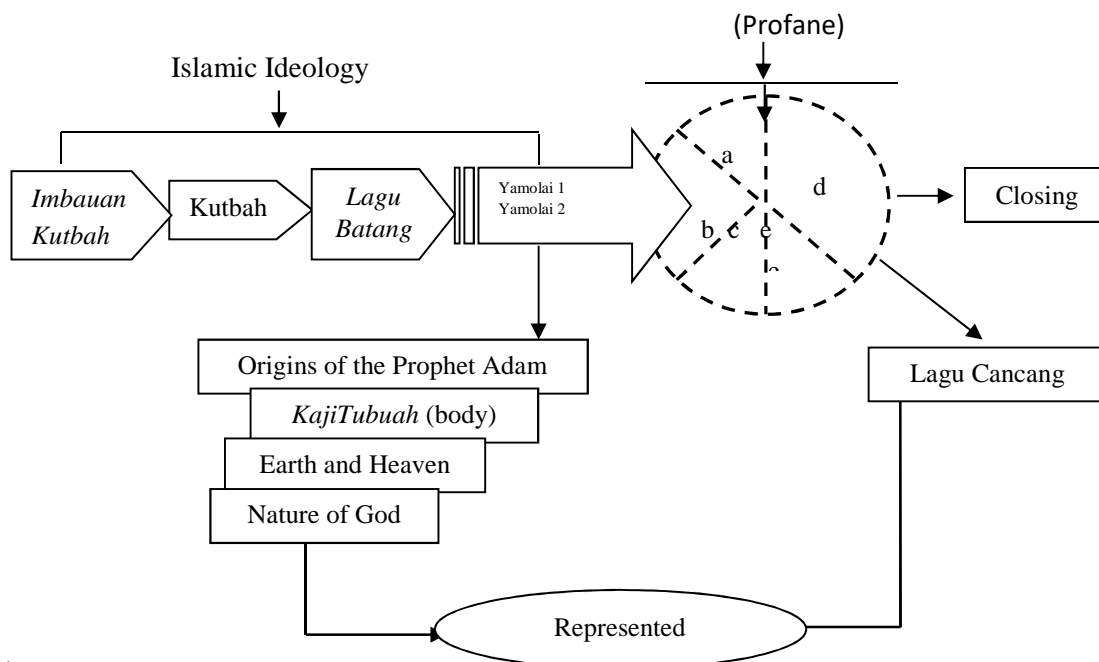
Based on the example of the text above, it can be seen that *lagu yomulai duo* presents text with a story that is to be told in more detail in the next section as well as introducing the story to be presented. The story – or theme – to be presented may tell about: the events surrounding the Prophet Adam; the characteristics of God; the body; the origins of earth and heaven; and so on. The theme of the recitation is essentially related to *kaji tarekat* – Sufism. In a performance of *salawaik dulang*, both groups usually ask questions and answer whatever is asked in an aesthetically designed performance. The questions and answers are part of an aesthetic package that provides an arena for battle between the two *salawaik dulang* groups. The arena for battle that discusses the theme of the *kaji tarekat* acts as a medium for the *salawaik dulang* groups to preserve their popularity in the eyes of the community. This is what the community refers as *lagu nan tarso*.

Second: *lagu nan sero* in a performance of *salawaik dulang* is a term used by the young people in West Sumatera and means: a song that is pleasant to the ear. In this sense, pleasant means attractive and suited to the taste of the young generation, especially from the perspective of performing arts of a profane nature. This type of pleasant song is synonymous with the rhythms of *dangdut*, Indian songs, Minang pop music, modern *khasidah*, and so on. The rhythms are usually modified by the *tukang salawaik* to match the dynamics of the performance taking place. This means that the audience's reaction or requests can provide inspiration for the *tukang salawaik* to present various rhythms. The rhythmic meter of the music is commonly used as an opportunity for developing and creating the traditional verse (*pantun*) that makes up the text. In the structure of a *salawaik dulang* performance, the concept of *lagu nan sero* is found in the *lagu cancang*.

*Cancang* literally means fragments or pieces – of meat or the *cempedak* fruit, for example. In connection with *salawaik dulang*, it refers to a form of song that contains various different rhythmic meters. At this point in a *salawaik dulang* performance, in line with the developments and artistic requirements of a performance, the aesthetic of the lyrics presented is packaged in accordance with the taste of the audience. Here, the *tukang salawaik* uses his skills to present the *pantun* spontaneously in various rhythms. It is not unusual for members of the audience to request a particular kind of rhythm to be performed.

Audiences, especially young people, often treat a *salawaik dulang* performance as a form of entertainment, and this is especially true of the *lagu cancang*. The *lagu cancang* is based on popular songs that the audience knows and from an aesthetical point of view they can enjoy. In addition to the possibility of the entertainment value that arises from the popular songs on which this section is based, the audience also eagerly awaits the *tukang salawaik*'s skills in creating an attractive performance – or in other words, the stage action of the *tukang salawaik*. Therefore, it may be said that the climax of a *salawaik dulang* performance comes during the *lagu cancang* (see the diagram below)

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Note:

- a = joint request by the audience
- b = question by a colleague in same *salawaik* group
- c = reason for continuing the story
- d = request by a member of the audience

**Diagram 1.** Diagram of a *salawaik dulang* performance (Andar Indra Sastra, 2017)

The diagram above shows that a *salawaik dulang* performance begins with the *imbau kutbah* and continues with the *kutbah*, *yamolai*, *lagu cancang*, closing, and prayer. The *lagu cancang*, with its popular rhythms such as the rhythms of Indian, Sundanese, and Javanese pop music, is enjoyed most by the young people. They find the varied rhythms exciting, even though they do not know the lyrics of the songs – songs such as *Marajil Le Pakke*. Aesthetically, it is more important for the young people to enjoy the rhythms of the music. The presence of different rhythms and new narration in a *salawaik dulang* performance creates new energy in an aesthetical manner (see the photo below).



**Picture 1.** Performance of *Salawaik Dulang*  
 (Photo: Documentation by Andar 2016)

*Tapuak dulang geleng kapalo* is different from *pangajian nan taraso* or *lagu nan sero*. It is one of the

attractions of a *salawaik dulang* performance and a unique characteristic that is appealing to the audience. In a *salawaik dulang* performance, *tapuak dulang geleng kapal* is a form of expression which appears when the *tukang salawaik* shakes his head as he plays the *dulang* instrument.

*Tapuak dulang geleng kapal* is a body movement, performed by the *tukang salawaik*, which creates an impression of beauty and allure to the audience, in particular the young generation. In addition to the rhythms and texts being adopted from those of popular music, equally important to the young generation is the *tulang salawaik's* movements (*tapuak dulanggeleang kapal*). The young people enjoy the musical expression of the *tukang salawaik* who combines the rhythmic patterns of the music with head movements and captivating expressions.

The unique nature and attractive movements of a *salawaik dulang* performance appear because the movements are in time with the *tukang salawaik's* expression and the rhythms of the music being performed. *Tapuak dulang geleng kapal* has the ability to create an aesthetical effect and is very important to the audience. When they see the action (*tingkah kurenah*) of the *tukang salawaik* in a *salawaik dulang* performance as he sings the song accompanied by movements of the head, they witness an element of beauty in the performance and this is especially enjoyed by the young people. This element of beauty makes the performance more attractive to watch because the *tingkah kurenah* of the *tukang salawaik* can be enjoyed with the eyes, or the sense of sight. One of the rhythms played is a combination of Javanese rhythms known as *Dewe-dewean*. See the lyrics below:

*Saiki yo mas dewe-dewe an 2x (Now, brother, we each do it separately)*  
*Ora kalem ora opo opo (If you're not patient, it's okay)*  
*Po o ra kalem ora opo opo (If you have no patience, it's fine)*  
*Po miing joLankisau (We are with Langkisau – the name of a Salawaik Dulang group)*  
*Dewe dewe an (Separately)*

The text above is from one of the songs in the *salawaik dulang* repertoire that is performed using the rhythms of Javanese music – *Dewe-dewean*. Its performance usually accompanies a humorous scene combined with the *tapuak dulang geleang kapal* of the *tukang salawaik*. In the closing section of a *salawaik dulang* performance, the only words sung are “Ya Rasullullah”. These words are sung together by both the *induk* and *anak*.

#### 4.2 Spirituality in the Battle of Two Ideologies

The battle of ideologies in the context of a *salawaik dulang* performance can be understood as a form of existence of two aesthetical values on the performance stage. John Storey describes ideology as a central concept in a product of culture [art], also which fits in with Antonio Gramsci's conceptual framework (Storey, 2006: 5). The texts of *salawaik dulang* that are founded on *kajitarekat* – knowledge of the body – contain ideological values - of nobleness – about the truth of religious values which are the ultimate goal and contain knowledge. M. Jazuli states that functionally, ideology is a set of ideas and knowledge about the common good (Jazuli, 2000: 94). It is true to say that an ideology is the formulation of goals that are aspired to and the ways and means to reach these goals. This leads to the understanding that an ideology contains a meaning that is desired to be attained.

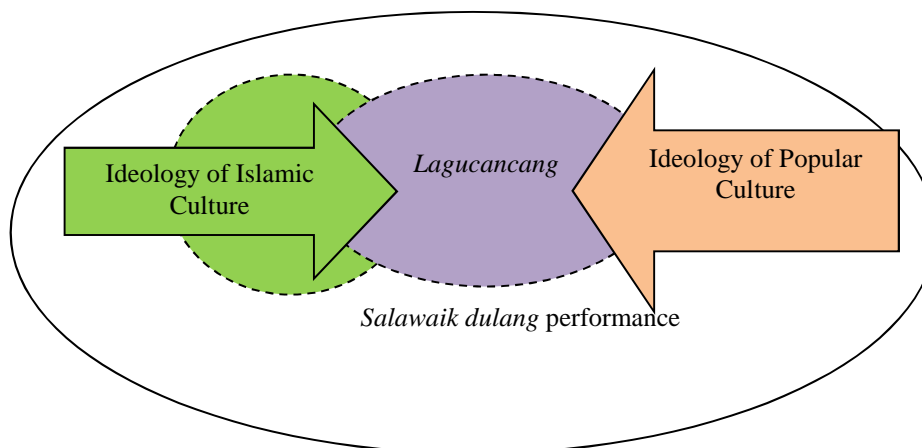
The meanings contained in *kajian tarekat* texts include the essence of the phenomenon of God, Nur Muhammad, the physical body, the spiritual body, the soul, and so on. In addition these texts present values of nobleness, honour, and virtue of the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. and his family, which are packaged in an aesthetical form in the performance of *salawaik dulang*. Essentially, the verses that tell of the Prophet Muhammad's honour – knowledge of the body – contain philosophical values and religious ideology believed by Muslims, and especially by followers of Tarekat Syattariyah in Minangkabau. In terms of spirituality or the spiritual life of a person, these values of religious ideology can improve the quality of a person's faith by deepening his or her knowledge of *tarekat* and religious ideology. The ideology of religiosity in the performance of *salawaik dulang* is found in the *imbauan khutbah*, *khutbah*, and *lagu batang – yamolai* sections. See the previous diagram.

Meanwhile, in the *lagu cancang*, the *salawaik dulang* performance presents a variety of rhythms of popular music. These popular rhythms originate from a modern culture which is based on the conventional music system of the West. This conventional music, with the music system and philosophical values it promotes, contains an ideology because it also contains a system of knowledge. Ideology always possesses power or hegemony. This hegemony can be felt when the rhythms of a song are based on the system of 'solmization', the system commonly used for reading the symbols of notes in the diatonic music system – and in this there lies an



ideology. John Fiske states that ideology is a system of knowledge. Ideology works in a cultural domain and as such, it makes the capitalist system appear quite natural, as though there is no other choice available (Fiske, 2011: 17). The presence of various kinds of pop rhythms in a *salawaik dulang* performance confirms the presence of an ideology that is packaged in the form of an aesthetical image.

These two ideologies are packaged aesthetically in the performance of *salawaik dulang*. Originally sourced in *pengajian tarekat*, *salawaik dulang* performances now present a battle between two ideologies packaged in an aesthetical manner – in which the popular culture is dominant (see diagram below).



**Diagram 2.** “Battle” of two ideologies in the performance of *salawaik dulang*

The diagram above shows that *lagu cancang*, which presents the values of modern aesthetics packaged in a variety of popular rhythms, dominates *salawaik dulang* performances. This domination indicates the hegemony or power of the ideology – culture – surrounding it. Hegemony is the effect of power over a group with a particular ideology in a systematic manner (Sugono, 2009: 516). Edward Said, in his book *Orientalisme*, writes that hegemony is the notion that one particular idea has more influence than another, which means that one culture is more dominant than another. In essence, it is no more than a form of legitimacy of the superiority of Western culture over the inferiority of Eastern culture (Edward W. Said. 2010: x). The emergence of various kinds of popular musical rhythms in the performance of *salawaik dulang* shows the superiority of Western culture – both aesthetically and ideologically – as presented by the *tukang salawaik dulang*.

The *tukang salawaik dulang* is a performer – an agent – and is also required to be a creative artist. The creativity displayed by the *tukang salawaik dulang* impacts the sustainability of the art of *salawaik dulang* in the community. Creativity within a consciousness of expression tends to experience a shift in attitude and interest, as explained by M. Jazuli below:

A consciousness of expression is more inclined to reflect a shift in attitude, orientation, and interests. For example, a shift from collectivity to individuality, from a social motive to an economic motive, from establishment of values to non-establishment of values. This condition has implications on the ideology of the artist concerned. Therefore, aside from the advantages or disadvantages of the impact of globalization (modern ideology) on the world of the performing arts, there is a relevant and substantial problem to be studied, namely the ideology of the artist (Jazuli, 2000: 92).

Following on from Jazuli’s words above, it can be said that accommodating a variety of different popular songs and rhythms in a *salawaik dulang* performance is a sign of a shift in the attitude, orientation, and interests of the *tukang salawaik dulang*. These interests can be viewed from two sides, namely from the need to fulfil aesthetical demands and the need to meet economic demands. Fulfilling aesthetical demands depends on the creativity of the *tukang salawaik dulang* in his effort to enhance the image of the group in the hearts of the audience. A performance that is packaged aesthetically can preserve the popularity and existence of a *salawaik dulang* group in the eyes of the audience. Of course, the economic aspect cannot be ignored since both aspects are interconnected and mutually influential. An aesthetic packaging indirectly has an economic effect on the performer – the *tukang salawaik dulang*, although ideologically, the hegemony of Western culture has begun to dominate the performance of *salawaik dulang*.

On the aspect of knowledge, the religious values – spirituality – contained in the texts of *salawaik dulang* are no longer concerned with truth and have begun to shift to another domain. Is this beneficial? According to Madan Sarup, in the context of the mercantilism of knowledge, to a large extent this question is the same as the question: is it sellable? (Sarup, 2011: 215). The accommodation of popular culture in the performance of *salawaik dulang* is an endeavour to realize the question of saleability.

## 5. Conclusion

Spirituality is living with the awareness that God is always close to us. This awareness motivates all human actions, including in the world of performing arts, and specifically in the case of *salawaik dulang*, which is an aesthetical representation of the “battle” between two ideologies – two concepts. These concepts are the basic principles on which the music is created, and originate from a phenomenon. A phenomenon is the center of attention that is sourced from a variety of different social events, and from this, various art forms using different media are created – including *salawaik dulang*. *Salawaik dulang* was originally a medium for *pengajian tarekat* in the prayer houses (*surau*), but subsequently underwent a transformation and entered into the domain of performing arts, presenting three aesthetical musical concepts. The three aesthetical musical concepts presented in the performance of *salawaik dulang* are: (1) *pangajian nan taraso* (recitation with sentiment); (2) *lagu nan sero* (a pleasant melody); (3) *tapuak dulang geleang kapalo* (tap of the *dulang*, shake of the head)

The existence of three musical concepts in *salawaik dulang* is a reflection of the battle of two ideologies. The aesthetical musical concept of *pangajian nan taraso* presents spirituality (spiritual life) which is based on religious ideology. In the *lagu nan sero*, which is accompanied by *tapuak dulang geleang kapalo*, the performance begins to enter a profane domain, presenting the ideology of modern aesthetics or popular culture. These two aesthetical values are packaged in an aesthetical performance in *salawaik dulang*.

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