



Lareh Nan Bunta: Power Systems and The Concept of Musical Aesthetics in Talempong Basaua in Luhak 50 Koto Minangkabau

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Abstract

The goal of this article is to bring to light *lareh nan bunta* as a form of representation of the system of democracy – or power – developed by Dt. Nan Sakelap Dunia. The discussion in this paper uses a qualitative method which is backed up by quantitative data. The data was collected through participant observation, interviewing, discussion, and analysis. The analysis was carried out using a descriptive method using theoretical reasoning, with knowledge of aesthetics and art. The results of the research show that conceptually, *talempong basaua* is a musical reality which represents *lareh nan bunta* in Luhak 50 Koto Minangkabau. *Lareh nan bunta* is a synthesis of the influence of power – or dialectic – between *lareh kotopiliang* (autocracy) and *lareh bodicaniago* (democracy), each with its own system of leadership. The dualism in the autocratic and democratic systems of power form a balancing power known as *lareh nan bunta* – a combination of all three existing conceptions. *Lareh nan bunta* is also reflected in the concept of musical aesthetics in *talempong basaua* in Luhak 50 Koto Minangkabau. *Talempong basaua* represents a combination of two musical concepts, namely *talempong* and the rhythms or *irama* of *dendang* (vocal music), which are combined to create a new genre.

Keywords: *Lareh nan bunta*; Power; Aesthetics; *Talempong basaua*; 50 Koto; Minangkabau

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INTRODUCTION

Lareh Nan Bunta represents the dialectic of a conflict between the ideologies of two legendary Minangkabau figures, namely: Dt. Katumanggungan and Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. According to legend, these two figures were involved in a conflict of ideology, especially after the end of Adityawarman's reign of power (1347-1375) in Minangkabau. Christine Dobbin states that from this time on, the history of Minangkabau entered into an oral tradition – known by the local people as *tambo*.

This tradition consistently mentions two functionaries of the law, Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang and Dt. Katumanggungan, who according to legend quarreled about the government system to be enforced after the era of Adityawarman. Their disagreement led to the establishment of two political and legal systems – systems of leadership – namely *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* headed by Dt. Katumanggungan and *Kalarasan Bodicaniago* headed by Dt. Parpatiah (Dobbin, 1992). These two sources of law initiated the conflict between the followers of Parpatiah and Katumanggungan, and

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each district (*nagari*) in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau has since had a tendency to follow the leadership of one of these two traditions. V Rifai (2007), as quoted by Junaidi in *Harmonia*, states that leadership is the process of influencing, motivating, and improving the behavior of people in an organization [community] in achieving the goals of the group and their culture (Junaidi, 2017).

Politics and law are related to a government system, which in turn is oriented towards the system known as *kalarasan* (a customary government system), and this refers back to these two legendary figures. Andar Indra Sastra in *Humaniora* states that these two figures established the two government systems that were subsequently followed by every district (*nagari*) in Minangkabau. Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang's government system was known for its concept of *mambusek dari bumi* (bursting from the earth), which was more democratic in nature. In this system, decisions were made by a government by process of deliberation. Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang's government system is also commonly referred to as *Lareh Bodicianiago* (Andar, 2017). Dt. Katumangguangan with his *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* established an autocratic government system which nevertheless retained an element of deliberation and discussion. Decisions were only discussed by officials at the highest level, while lower officials and the general public had to accept the results of the decisions made by those higher up in rank. This *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* style of government is known symbolically as *manitiak dari ateh* (dripping down from the top) which means instructions are given from the highest level (Andar, 2017). In other words, the government system of Dt. Katumangguangan was oriented towards the system of a monarchy; and from this time onward, the two systems that were based on different ideologies became involved in the conflict.

The conflict described between these two figures led to the implementation of these two systems in every *nagari*. According to Christine Dobbin, each imposes a

different legal tradition – known as *lareh or laras*. *Limo Kaum* is the central point for all *nagari* which follow the *Kalarasan Bodicianiago* system. Sungai Tarab, meanwhile, is the central point of the rival tradition – *Lareh Kotopiliang* (Dobbin, 1992) – both of which are found in Luhak Tanah Data. Mochtar Naim states that the conflict between these two figures led to a kind of phratry dualism which up to the present day continues to colour all areas of life and culture in Minangkabau. To the outside, and in all intents and purposes, the Minangkabau community is united, but on the inside, its social and cultural system displays dialecticism, dichotomy, and bipolarity (Naim, 1983). This bipolarity in the conflict of the two different ideologies led to the emergence of a third figure, Rajo Babandiang, who took the initiative to integrate the two conflicting systems to create a third system, known as *Lareh Nan Bunta* or *Lareh Nan Panjang*. Over the course of time and as a result of the migration of some members of the Minangkabau community, a fusion between the two traditions began to appear in some *nagari*. In his dissertation, Andar Indra Sastra states that in general, *nagari* which purely retain the tradition of Koto Piliang are more prominent in Luhak Tanah Data, while those who purely retain the tradition of Bodi Caniago are found primarily in Luhak Agam. In Luhak 50 Koto, meanwhile, there is a combination of the two traditions (Sastra, 2015).

This ideological conflict has also influenced the formation of a musical concept which aesthetically is worth discussing in more detail. Musically, the significance of this concept can be seen in the music system that was created, both from bronze music (*talempong*) and from the concept of vocal music. This new form of *talempong* music promotes the concept of *basaua*. The concept of *basaua* is a *talempong* playing technique which produces different melodies from those used in the performance of *talempong bararak* (played in procession) and *talempong duduak* (played while seated).

Numerous studies related to the po-

wer system in Minangkabau have been carried out, amongst others by Christine Dobbin (1992); Muchtar Naim (1983); A.A. Navis (1986); Taufik Abfullah (1987); and Zuryadan Zubir (2010). Their thought concepts are used to construct a framework of thought and provide an explanation of the social system – of politics and law – in the community of Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau. Meanwhile, studies about *talempong* from a different perspective have been written by Nadiya Fulzi (2014) and Andar Indra Sastra (2015). The information obtained from these two researchers can be used as secondary and comparative data for writing this article. The research results related to music as the material object originate from the knowledge or thought concepts of *talempong basaua* artists in Luhak 50 Koto, Minangkabau.

METHOD

A qualitative method was chosen for this research since it was considered suitable and relevant for the focus of study. The researcher was the main instrument responsible for the collection of data about the material object – *talempong basaua* in Luhak 50 Koto (Kabupaten 50 Kota). The collection of primary data was carried out through participant observation, interviewing, and documentation. The primary data obtained through these three models of investigation formed the basis of the analysis in accordance with the focus of the research. In addition, secondary data was also needed to strengthen the argumentation so that the results of the research could reach a level of credibility that could be accounted for.

Participant observation was the second step and involved watching a live performance of *talempong basaua* in Luhak 50 Koto, after the writer had first read a variety of literature and articles related to *talempong basaua* in the Luhak 50 Koto community. The information collected along with the empirical knowledge acquired through direct involvement in the performance provided the guidelines for inter-

viewing the informants. The data obtained from the interviews with informants was divided into two sections, first about the concept of *lareh nan bunta* in the social system of the Luhak 50 Koto community; and second, related to the performance of *talempong basaua*, including: the number of players and musical concept of *talempong* – *polong*, *tongah* and *tingkah*, each holding 2 (two) *talempong*. The *polong* plays *talempong* 2 and 4; the *tongah* plays *talempong* 1 and 3, and the *tingkah* plays *talempong* 5 and 6.

In addition to interviews, documentation was also made through audio-visual and visual media. This was needed to complement the other data and strengthen the argumentation that this event really is taking place and is in accordance with its context. Equally important in connection with the documentation is the re-enactment of a *talempong basaua* 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 qualitative research. The researcher constructed an emic way of thought to provide an explanation. The explanation was strengthened with a theoretical thought concept – etic – in order to add to the scientific level of the problem addressed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Lareh Nan Bunta: Adaik Kotopiliang, Langgam Bodicaniago

Rajo Babandiang's system of *kalarasan*, known as *Lareh Nan Bunta*, is a combination of *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* in its structure of customary leaders and *Kalarasan Bodicaniago* in the implementation of its government system. This model of government, which combines the two systems, is referred to with the expression *adaik Kotopiliang, langgam Bodicaniago* (customs of *koto piliang*, style of *bodicaniago*). A.A. Navis states that in Luhak Agam, the *nagari* that follow the two systems are called *lareh nan bunta*, which literally means a round district. In Tanah Datar the term

used is *lareh nan panjang* (a long district). The meaning of the words *bunta* and *panjang* in this sense can be understood as an expression that has the same meaning (Navis, 1986). *Lareh Nan Bunta* and *Lareh Nan Panjang* in the Minangkabau system of leadership are the syntheses of the creation of a dialectical balance between *Kalarasan Bodicaniago* and *Kalarasan Kotopiliang*. *Lareh Nan Bunta* or *Lareh Nan Panjang* in a customary expression are described as follows:

Pisang sikalek-kalek utan
Pisang tambatu nan bagatah
Bodi caniago inyo bukan
Koto piliang inyo antah

Tranlatated in English:
 A type of banana from the forest
 A type of banana with seeds and sap
 Bodi caniago he is not
 Koto piliang he is not either

This customary expression means that their system does not take sides – whether of *Kalarasan Bodicaniago* or *Kalarasan Kotopiliang* – but is a combination of the two. It states that they are neither *Bodicaniago* nor *Kotopiliang* (see the explanation above). Both *Lareh Nan Bunta* and *Lareh Nan Panjang* show that there is a consensus to epitomize the process of synthesizing as an attempt to seek balance – to share power. This balance of power ultimately led to the concept of a trilogy in the traditional Minangkabau government system (*kalarasan*), known as *tali tigo sapilin-tungku nan tigo sajarangan* (literally: “a rope made of three strands, a stove supported by three stones”). All three systems have legal norms which reflect the power of each, and are not integrated but exist within three conceptions. For a clearer picture, see the Figure 2.

The Figure 2 shows that the dialogic or dialectic process that took place between *Lareh Bodicaniago* and *Lareh Kotopiliang* resulted in the formation of *Lareh Nan Bunta/Panjang*, which symbolizes the process of a synthesis that has created balance or harmony. Yakob Sumardjo states that the

wisdom of the Minang people is harmony; anything that is dualistic in nature is not resolved through the victory or defeat of either side; instead both sides must remain as themselves – harmony is a paradox in peace (Sumardjo, 2010) – existing within two conceptions. However, one thing that escaped Sumardjo’s attention is that this paradox produces a third party, in this case *Lareh Nan Bunta/Panjang* – thus creating a three-way pattern. Each of the three systems has its own style of architecture for the traditional houses, and at the same time this acts as a symbol of identity that distinguishes the three different figures.

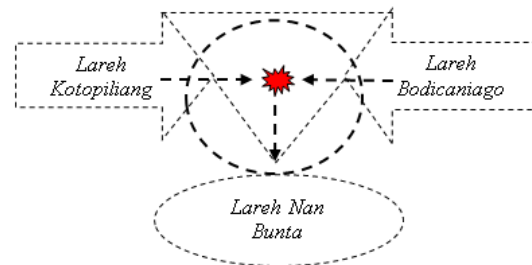


Figure 2. Concept of a Three-way Pattern: *Tali tigo sapilin dan tungku nan tigo sajarangan*

Note:

→ ← == Conflict

★ = Symbol of conflict

○ = *Lareh Nan Bunta*

○ = Middle world

▽ = Three-way pattern

Information:

LBC = *Lareh Bodi Caniago*

LKP = *Lareh Koto Piliang*

LNB = *Lareh Nan Bunta*

Lareh Nan Bunta/Panjang is a synthesis that combines the two traditional government systems (*kalarasan*) in a new customary tradition. Nadya Fulzi agrees that the *Lareh Nan Bunta* system is a combination of *Lareh Kotopiliang* in the structure of its customary leaders and *Lareh Bodicaniago* in the implementation of its government system. The system through which the customs or traditions of an area are implemented is referred to using the expression “*Adaik Kotopiliang, Langgam Bodi-*

caniago" (Fulzi, 2011). Ibrahim Dt. Sanggono Diradjo states that *Lareh Kotopiliang* is characterized by a style of leadership that is reflected in the philosophy *kato surang gadang sagalonyo* (with one word alone everything is decided) (Diradjo, 1986). This means that in decision-making, priority is given to the person with the highest position, while the task of those in a lower position is to implement the decisions that have been made.

On the other hand, the implementation of the customs of *Lareh Nan Bunto* displays the characteristics of *Bodicaniago* in which democracy, with deliberation and discussion to reach a consensus are the methods followed in decision-making, and the system is strongly oriented towards the common interests of the people, as reflected in the traditional philosophy: *kato surang dibuleki, kato basamo kato mufakat* (the word of one person is unanimous, the word of many is a consensus). As Nadya Fulzi states, in the traditional system for decision-making in *Lareh Nan Bunto*, every person [leader] has the freedom to express an opinion, regardless of position. A meeting is not allowed to begin if one of the traditional leaders is not present in the meeting hall (Fulzi, 2011).

The emergence of *Lareh Nan Bunta* in a democratic system – or leadership – in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau has created harmony in the social system of the community. Harmony symbolizes the potential for conflict that imagines dynamics to be the result of a dichotomy of dualism and bipolarity in the community. Conflict exists because of the difference in values which form the behaviour and knowledge of the people. Taufik Abdullah states that the meaning of conflict is viewed from the dual perspective of traditional and religion (Islam). In Minangkabau, the concept of conflict is not only recognized but also developed within the social system itself. Conflict is viewed dialectically, as an intrinsic element for achieving balance in the community (Abdullah, 1987). This means that conflict plays a significant role in developing the dynamics of a culture. Con-

flikt not only brings about division; on the contrary, it is a source of dynamics for the community. Zayardam Zubir states that conflict holds an important position in developing the dynamics of a culture. Conflict not only results in division, on the contrary it is a source for the dynamics in the Minangkabau community (Zubir, 2010).

The dynamics in the life of the Minangkabau community are founded on a dichotomy of two systems of values which define the behaviour and views of the community, both in *Lareh Kotopiliang* and *Lareh Bodicaniago*, and from both a traditional perspective and a religious perspective (Islam). The two systems can sometimes exist side by side but on other occasions there is a potential for bitter and prolonged conflict in the life of the community. A simple example of this is in the case of marriage, in which tradition forbids marriage between two people from the same ethnic group or clan (*kawin sapasukan*), while Islam allows it, with the exception of marriage between a brother and sister or with one's own mother. If this rule is violated, it may lead to conflict in the community.

The meaning of conflict is reflected in the traditional expression: *basilang kayu dalam tungku, di sinan api makonyo hiduik*, which means that cross-disputes or differences are acknowledged as something that are necessary to create conflict in the community. Conflict is an integral part of a community and is a way to create balance. Balance is transformed into a three-way pattern, both in the concept of Minangkabau culture and also in the concept of the musical aesthetics in the performance of talempong *basaua* (intertwined).

The Concept of Musical Aesthetics in Talempong Basaua

The creation of music in a community cannot be separated from a number of concepts, in that a concept is a source of knowledge originating from a world of ideas. In order to understand music in the life of a community – in this case the music of talempong *lagu dendang*, we must look

at its concept, which is rich in a variety of meanings. From these meanings discourse will then arise about the paradigms of knowledge about talempong *basaua* as a music, both as a culture and also in a cultural context. J.O. Ihlau states that a concept is a symbol that is given a particular meaning (conception) for a particular event (object) (John J.O.I. Ihalaw, 2004). *Basaua* is a symbol that is conceived as a form of playing – performing – talempong using a special technique, the basic principle of which can be compared to the technique of hocketing in Western music.

The name *basaua* (intertwining) comes from the impression of *basaua* that is present in the performance of the melody, which at a glance displays similarities with the performance of *talempong renjeang* (carried). Apel (1972) states that hocketing is a technique which uses the quick and continuous alternation of single or groups of short notes played by a number of different sound sources. While one part plays, the other parts remain silent, so there is seldom, or never, a clash of notes [sounds] in this process and the end product is a perfect melody. The melody referred to here is a melody produced from the rhythmic vocabulary of *dendang* (vocal music) that is commonly played in a performance of *bagurau saluang* (a kind of Minangkabau music played by a traditional wind instrument).

Talempong *basaua* is performed by three talempong musicians; Nadya Fulzi states that musically each player holds a pair of talempong, the three pairs being known as *polong*, *tongah* and *tingkah*. The *polong* consists of talempong 2 and 4; *tongah* consists of talempong 1 and 3, and *tingkah* consists of talempong 5 and 6. The ensemble also includes a double-headed drum, or *gandang* (Nadia Fulzi, 2014). The structure of the instrumentation is ideal for developing a composition of talempong *basaua* music with a rhythmic character, and developing a melody filled with improvisation and dynamic ornamentation.

Musically – aesthetically – the *polong*, *tongah*, and *tingkah* each play a spe-

cific role in accordance with the register of the pitches in the melodic structure of the *dendang*. Conceptually, the three parts are related, each having a different role or authority. Gilles Deleuze states that all concepts are joined together through a variety of problems, without which the concepts would be meaningless. A concept has a sense of *becoming* which involves relationships with various other concepts situated on the same plane (Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, 2010). From the perspective of the anthropology of music, Alan. P. Merriam states that on the whole, concepts form the framework for music that is regulated in the community and the framework for the people who think about what the music is and what the music should be (Merriam, 1964). As a concept, *polong*, *tongah* and *tingkah* are a musical framework created by the community which invented or first gave rise to the music with all its uniqueness. Sandi Gunara (2016) in *Harmonia* states that in the practice of this music ... there is a unique way that can be learned and inherited so that it does not disappear (Gunara, 2017).

As a musical genre, talempong *basaua* is closely related to the cultural concept of the community by which it was created, namely the community of Luhak 50 Koto. According to Minangkabau culture, the people of Luhak 50 Koto fall under the control of Lareh Nan Bunta. This connection is in line with Alan P. Merriam's idea that the sound of music as the result of human behaviour has a specific structure – separate from the cultural concept of its community (Merriam, 1964: 32). From a sociological perspective, Fabio Dasilva (1983) in M. Jazuli states that the existence of music in a community in fact shows the social and cultural phenomena or conditions of the community (Jazuli, 2014). What Merriam and Fabio Dasilva are saying reinforces the argument that a music culture – in this case talempong *basaua* – must be synchronous with the cultural concept that gave birth to the music.

From a musical – or aesthetical – perspective, the concept of talempong *ba-*

saua is different from that of *talempong renjeang*. The differences are in the pairing of the *talempong* instruments played by each musician (Table 2).

The Figure above explains that musically, there is a difference in the concept of the *talempong* pairings between *talempong basaua* and *talempong renjeang*. This difference is not only related to the musical or aesthetic principle but also includes the form of the music or the *talempong* melody. *Talempong renjeang* plays melodies formed from the interlocking rhythms of the three musicians. *Talempong basaua* uses the technique of hocketing to produce the rhythmic melodies of *dendang* Minangkabau (see photo and notation below).



Figure 2. Talempong basaua performance (Photo. Documentation Andar 2017)

The notation of *dendang Mudiak Arau* shows that the music is created using the technique of hocketing amongst the three *talempong* players, who play the *polong* (*talempong* 2 and 4), *tongah* (*talempong* 1 and 3), and *tingkah* (*talempong* 5 and 6). The three musicians each strike the *talempong* to create a sound, in accordance with the course of the *dendang* melody. Meanwhile, the *talempong renjeang - Jantan, Paningkah, and Pangawinan* - is also played by three musicians using interlocking techniques. The *talempong basaua* with its hocketing technique can be described as a representation of *Lareh Nan*

Bunta. The *talempong basaua* which uses a hocketing technique is only found in *Luhak 50 Koto Minangkabau*. The rhythms of the drum (*gendang*) in *talempong basaua* make up an essential part of the musical composition, and the main function of the *gendang* is to provide rhythmic accents and to accompany the melodic line. However, the *gendang* does not have the function of determining the tempo of the music, since this is completely controlled by the *talempong* players.

Nadya Fulzi states that the performance of the music begins with the player who is responsible for playing the first note of the melody. The other players then join in, playing their notes in turn to form a melody. This continues, with the musicians taking turns to play their individual notes to create an unbroken melodic line (unless a particular piece requires that there is a break in the melody).

In principle, the three players all have the same role, namely to form a melody, but based on a careful audio and visual observation, the *talempong* that are more dominant in the process of forming the melody are the *polong* and *tongah* players, since the majority of the pieces from the *saluang dendang darek* repertoire that are played by this ensemble use mainly notes 1 to 4. The use of note 5 in the formation of the melody occurs mainly at the beginning of the melodic cycle (though there is an exception in *Mudiak Arau*), and subsequently, note 5 is used more often to provide a kind of ornamentation (*tingkah/garitiak*) throughout the course of the piece.

This indicates that a higher level of skill is required for the *polong* and *tongah* players, who must display a high level of musicality to produce a complete and perfect melody, while at the same time displaying creativity and spontaneity in

Table 2. Difference in pairing between *talempong basaua* and *talempong renjeang*

Talempong Basaua			Talempong Renjeang		
Talempong Pair			Talempong Pair		
<i>Polong</i>	<i>Tongah</i>	<i>Tingkah</i>	<i>Jantan</i>	<i>Paningkah</i>	<i>Pangawinan</i>
2 and 4	1 and 3	5 and 6	1 and 6	3 and 5	2 and 4

The image displays the musical notation for 'Mudiak Arau', transcribed by Nadya Fulzi in 2011. It consists of four systems of staves, each representing a different instrument: Polong, Tongah, Tingkah, and Gandang. The notation is written in a 2/4 time signature and uses a mix of treble and bass clefs. The Polong part is in the treble clef, while the Tongah, Tingkah, and Gandang parts are in the bass clef. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments, indicating the specific melodic lines and rhythmic patterns for each instrument.

Figure 3. Notation of Mudiak Arau
(Transcription by Nadya Fulzi 2011)

developing and interpreting the *saluang dendang darek* melody (providing melodic interpolations (*sisik*) or ornaments (*bungo*)) according to the version of talempong *lagu dendang*, so that the melody created is treated in a different way from the original version. The terms *sisik* and *bungo* describe the types of ornamentations that the talempong players create to produce a more attractive sound. For this reason, it is only possible for senior players with a high level of musicality to exchange roles with each other in the performance of ta-

lempong *lagu dendang*.

In order to perform a technique known as *basilang*, the three talempong players each strike their own notes, in turn, according to the melodic line that has been chosen. In this process, all three players must pay careful attention to be accurate in the placement and duration of the notes so as to define the melodic line rhythmically. Therefore, in order to apply the *basilang* technique properly in talempong *lagu dendang*, it is necessary for the players to have memorized the melody so that they are fa-

miliar with the order of the notes that they must play.

The problem of timing and accuracy in the striking of every note is an essential part of the *basilang* technique. If a note is played too soon, it will clash with the previous note, and if it is played too late, it will make the melodic line disjointed. Talempong *lagu dendang* artists describe this as *donga-mandongakan* (listening to each other) or *nanti-banantian* (waiting for each other), which means that the players must be constantly watching and paying careful attention to each other, and control their emotions while they play in order to create a perfect melody. They compare this to a group of people who are discussing a problem. When one person speaks, the others remain silent and listen, and only give their answer when the first person has finished speaking.

The development of talempong *lagu dendang* involves the use of ornamentation (*tingkah/garitiak*); Willi Apel describes ornamentation as follows:

Musical ornamentation originates from the spontaneity of the players, in the way they present, enhance, develop, or vary a written or traditional melody through their own technique of improvisation. Melodic figures that are more or less “cliché” or “stereotypical” in nature, when altered or added to within the original notes of the melody, are known as ornaments. One form of ornamentation is improvisational ornamentation, which depends entirely on the improvisation of the player (Apel, 1972).

In talempong *lagu dendang*, ornamentation is provided by the *tingkah* player, who plays note 5 with a short duration and a regular rhythmic pattern throughout, to accompany the melodic line. This kind of ornamentation is known by local musicians as *tingkah* or *garitiak*.

CONCLUSION

Lareh Nan Bunta, which represents the power system in Luhak Nan Tigo Minangkabau, emerged as the result of a

dialectic that led to a conflict of ideologies between two legendary figures in Minangkabau, namely Dt. Katumangguangan and Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. This ideological conflict was based on the implementation of the two different power systems by these two figures, in which Dt. Katumangguangan was more autocratic or monarchy-oriented, leading to the birth of the government system known as *Lareh Kotopiliang*. On the other hand, the *Lareh Bodicaniago* system, established by Dt. Parpatiah Nan Sabatang, was more democratic in nature. *Lareh Nan Bunta* is a synthesis of the ideological conflict between Parpatiah and Katumangguangan. *Lareh Nan Bunta* is a combination of *Lareh Kotopiliang*, in terms of the structure of its customary leaders, and *Lareh Bodicaniago*, in terms of the implementation of its government system – which in the Minangkabau tradition is known as the concept of *adaik kotopiliang, langgam bodicaniago*.

The musical – aesthetical – the concept of talempong *basaua* is built on the concept of *polong, tongah, and tingkah*. This means that each of the three players plays 2 talempong instruments. The *polong* consists of the talempong pair 2 and 4; the *tongah* talempong 1 and 3; and the *tingkah* talempong 5 and 6. Talempong *basaua* uses a technique of hocketing to create the rhythmic melodies of *dendang* Minangkabau. Talempong *renjeang* uses the concept of *Jantan, Paningkah, and Pangawinan* – consisting respectively of the talempong pairs 1 and 6, 3 and 5, and 2 and 4 – also using three players. The rhythmic patterns created by the interlocking technique creates the short melodies that characterize talempong *renjeang* Minangkabau (see the notation for Malin Kailia). In extra-aesthetical terms, the talempong *basaua* is a representation of the concept *Lareh Nan Bunta* (Naim, 1981)

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