ISSN: 1818-5800

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Cultural Uniformity and Diversity of Talempong Music

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Abstract: Talempong music is the only Minangkabau's cultural music that can be found throughout Minangkabau region. The music shows a uniformity phenomenon on one hand and diversity phenomenon on the other. The uniformity phenomenon is reflected through the same tendency on the part of Minangkabau people to treat the music. The diversity phenomenon is reflected through the variety of community members who treat the music. Looking at this way, convention is a driving factor that forms the phenomenon of uniform talempong music and the diverse phenomenon of talempong music is formed due to the non-existence of convention among the Minangkabau people.

Key words: Cultural uniformity, diversity, talempong music, people, phenomenon

INTRODUCTION

Talempong music is the cultural music of Minangkabau people (West Sumatra Province, Indonesia). This is the most "prestigious" music in their system of culture or custom. It is part of the "grandeur" of the datuk institution. Datuk is the head of tribe or the high-rank leader of the "kinship" in the matriarchal system.

There are two kinds of ensemble of Minangkabau's talempong music. First, gandang oguang ensemble, consisting of one or two gongs, 5 or 6 talempongs and 2 drums. The structure of the ensemble is similar to the structure of "ancient" Javanese gamelan ensemble or gamelan munggang. Second, ensemble of talempong pacik (hand-held talempong), consisting of 5 or 6 talempongs, one drum and one puput (single-reed horn-pipe). This ensemble is usually performed in procession (Fig. 1 and 2). Their treatment for the music shows two phenomena: on the uniformity side, they recognice the existence and treat the music ensemble and on the diversity side they interpret or treat the music ensemble in their life.

The phenomenon explained above was a cultural problem that is interesting to be researched. The problem can be formulated in the following question, how uniform and diverse the phenomenon of talempong music as part of Minangkabau culture in terms of its text and context and why the treatment to the talempong music is uniform and diverse in Minangkabau region? The purpose of this research was to find the facts of uniformity and diversity aspects and the musical culture of talempong as text and context in the system of Minangkabau culture and to find the underlying factors of uniform and diverse treatment to the music.



Fig. 1: Gandang oguang ensemble, Sialang



Fig. 2: Talempong pacik ensemble, Sungai Puar

Conceptual framework: Culture is a system of values and norms (knowledge) which is organized as a guideline for the community. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of thing, people, behaviour or emotions.

It is rather the organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them as such (Machlis, 1991). This view can be seen as a reflection of phenomenology thinking which stresses the process of human mind and the process itself causes people's conscious awareness (Paul and Cheste, 1955). This means "stood the world on its head". What is meant here is "focused on conciousness, not the real material world" (Machlis, 1955). Therefore, it is apparent that the focus is on the system of knowledge of the prople. In addition, this study is also concerned with "unconciously so-called constructing" ethnomethodology. Therefore, it is realized there is a possibility of "beneath the surface, hidden from view, lies a vast reservoir of cultural knowledge" (William, 1988).

What is meant by talempong is a musical instrument made of bronze. Basically, it is the mixture of copper and tin (and sometimes of other substance). This musical instrument is of different sizes and belongs to boss gong (Brandon, 2009). As an ensemble, talempong music is equipped with other instruments (Sumadi, 1990). On the other hand, custom is a "long-established practice considered as unwritten law" (Koentjaranigrat, 1987). Custom is compulsive, on individual, steady and continuous. In this case, it includes "folkways" and "mores".

Theoretical background: A theoretical thinking discussing the culture of bronze music or talempong synchronically was initiated by what John Blacking discusses the relation between sound and human and the relation between music and society and culture as well as the relation between human and music. Music can express the formation and process of knowledge of the society. If we want to know how musical a man is we have to describe what is going on in their music (Blacking, 1974). Music is the mixture of process of knowledge in the culture and the potential of aesthetic sensitivity in human body. Therefore, "music is closely related to social relations and social institutions because society develops norms that influence the ways people will behave musically" (Magnis, 1992). The importance of anthropologism principle as the factor of differentiation and integration of social and humanitarian knowledge is shown. It is proved that modern anthropologism is capable of a theoretical situation production on the other side of social and human opposition (Awang et al., 2014).

The entity of talempong music as a cultural expression can be seen based on Spradley's view. Even we can clearly see the cultural behaviour or cultural objects what we see is only the representation of meaning as cultural knowledge lies hidden beneath the surface. In addition, behind the uniformity and diversity of behaviour and entity of Minangkabau's talempong musical culture, lies their cultural knowledge, either in their consciouness or unconsiousness. With regard to this phenomenon, the formation of group spirit in the society is due to the same culture that they own and the members can live and work together without chaos and intervention. Culture can be studied and analysed and can be generalized about its phenomenon (Linton, 1984).

The cultural uniformity and diversity of Minangkabau talempong music will be investigated based on the assumption that a culture is a product of "reasonable" human being. This phenomenon can be seen in the context of "cultural personality". Culture exists in human being as individual and its locus is in the human (Baal, 1988). This view is closely related to psychology in order to understand culture because each individual literally means the representative of culture (Baal, 1988).

For that purpose, theory of personality becomes relevant to be used. The theory stresses that human being should be approached and confronted as the way it is. Therefore, a theory is formulated by approaching the characteristics of human personality. As there are differences in individual's behaviours, it should be reviewed from the perspective of two conflicting powers: the driving and inhibiting power. One of the three aspects of personality is structure, in its formal form. One of the things in the structure is feeling. Each feeling has two main characteristics: in each feeling there is an inner activity and in each feeling there is a type of feeling that is the levels of clarity. What is meant by inner activity is the power to differentiate the desires contained in the feeling. There is desire in each feeling. Basically, desire consists of the two things: the desire to receive and the desire to resist. If someone is bound to something that binds him, his inner activity wil differentiate the desire contained in his feeling.

With regard to feeling as an aspect of personality, one of its types based on "law of opposing pair" is the feeling of bound or feeling of unbound. Being personal is someone's bound feeling to something that most people do not feel bound as the concerned individual feels. For example, someone is bound to someone else due to the agreement they have made. The social feeling is the feeling of bound shared among group or majority of

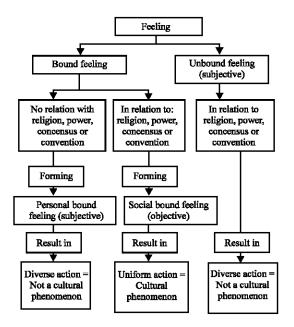


Fig. 3: Social bound feeling

people about something which is essentially the collective bound. For example, a group of people in one place are bound to the existing regulations in their area.

In this case, in line with the purpose of psychological anthrophology research which "measure" public opinion, in the context of uniformity and diversity of talempong music phenomenon, it is viewed that factors of religion, power, concensus or convention form the energy that can shape the general action of collective. Therefore, if someone's bound feeling is related to the four factors, social bound feeling of collective majority will be formed. Next, social bound feeling will cause uniform action and that is the cultural phenomenon. On the contrary, the bound feeling not related to the four factors will form personal bound feeling. Personal bound feeling will cause a variety of actions and it is not a cultural phenomenon. Social bound feeling basically is "objective" in nature and personal bound feeling is "subjective" (Fig. 3).

This theoretical idea is used to see the musicological phenomenon through three approaches that is study of music in its cultural context. Study of music in culture as study of music as culture. Study on music culture includes influence of music, performance and society. There are four components of music culture and there of them are idea about music which includes music and belief system, aesthetics of music and contexts of music; repertoires of music including genre, composition and movement.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study was an inductive-qualitative library research. According to Cresswell (2008), "an inductive approach aimed at reducing the data into a manageable number of themes that addressed the concerns of the study". Qualitative methods departed from the phenomenological views where researchers are trying to understand the meaning of events and linkages to ordinary people in certain situations. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) stated that "qualitative research has the natural setting of the direct source of data and the research of the key instrument; qualitative research is descriptive; qualitative researches are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or product; qualitative research tend the analyze their data inductively, "meaning" is the essential concern to the qualitative approach". In this study, I sought to delve deeply into the uniformity and diversity phenomena were reflected through the same tendency on the part of Minangkabau people to treat the music.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Musical aspect: Basically, this study sees music as a "text". This study is "the study of music as culture". As a text is a means to express what is in our mind (Halliday and Hasan, 1992), so does music (Cooper and Meyer, 1966). "Music can express social attitudes and cognitive process". From this point of view, there is a similarity that is music plays a role as a medium of expression, either personal or public. In order to know the phenomenon of Minangkabau's culture of talempong music as a text, it is related to the following problems.

Musician: In Minangkabau culture, the personal right of society member is explained in the following saying: duduak samo randah, tagak samo tinggi; gadang kabau di kubangannyo, gadang harimau di balangnyo (sitting is of the same low, standing is of the same height; the grandeur of a buffalo is in its mudhole and the grandeur of a tiger is in its stripe).

The saying expresses the recognition of Minangkabau people over the right of individual in their culture, with regard to their social status as a society member. In this view, there is no difference between individual right and the right of other group. Each of them is "sitting of the same low, standing of the same height". No position or job of someone which is determined by old principle which is written forever as in the traditional Javanese society (Groenendael, 1987). The fact is that

ecah individual has the same right to get an opportunity or to get anything. Opportunity is not something that is ascribed but it is achieved. Therefore, someone's achievement is dependent upon his ability to get what he wants.

However, Minangkabau people recognize difference in social status (hierarchy) only because of someone's achievement. This phenomenon is mentioned as "a natural hierarchy". Consequently, people in a society could not all be given the same roles and treated as equals. If a recognition is given to someone, it is only because of his achievement. This culture can be seen in the saying "the grandeur of a tiger is in its stripe". Apart from his achievement, someone is regarded as equal with other people: he is "sitting of the same low, standing of the same height".

Therefore, the right to get the status of talempong musician in the system of Minangkabau culture is open to everyone. The opportunity belongs to everyone. Someone should make the effort to get the opportunity. To get high achievement or to get the skill to play talempong music, someone should rely on his own effort. Each individual is "opponent" to achieve the skill as in "competitive class consciousness". Therefore, the skill to play the music is dependent upon the effort get the skill. Usually, other society members will give recognition based on the achievement. On the other hand, for the musician, the skill to play talempong music is only a tool to get moral dan social recognition. Moral and social values are of importance, even though they are sometimes related to financial matter. Organization of musician is also determined by the concept of such values.

Ideas about songs: Minangkabau people respect their traditional saying "the open nature is the guru." This saying is the reflection of values of "freedom" as part of the system of Minangkabau culture. Everybody is free to interpret the natural phenomena as a guideline for their action. Nature is regarded as a gift from God that everyone is free to enjoy. Therefore, they have no privileges or compulsion to receive someone because of other party not based on common interest. These values also become the main cause of the birth of ideas for talempong songs.

There are many names of talempong songs freely taken from the reality in the place where talempong music exists. One example is the talempong song in Batu Basurek (Kampar, Riau Province), namely Kampuang Tarandam (Inundated Village). The idea for this song was taken from the fact that their area was submerged by water for the purpose of building a hydro power plant in Koto Panjang in Kampar district. There is a song called Siamang Tagagau (A Startled Gibbon). This song is taken from the way a siamang (gibbon) make a sound when it startles.

In addition to that, naming a song is related to technical aspects in presenting the music. For example, in Kubang Pipit, Baso sub-district, Agam district. A music group here name their song according to the way the music is presented, such as Talipuak Tigo, Talipuak Ampek and Panyinggahan. The song is named Talipuak Tigo because the number of talempong players is three; Talipuak Ampek with 4 talempong players. Meanwhile, a song is named Panyinggahan because one of the talempong players beat a talempong held by other player.

Freely taking the name of the songs from the environment is part the tradition of the community as it is reflected in the following songs: Tupai Bagaluik (animal behaviour), Sendayuang (rowing = human activity), Rumah Gadang (type of a house design), Talipuak Layu (state of plant), Duo-duo (the beat of talempong being played); Tak Tuntun (sound of a talempong style being played) and Kelok Simpang (condition of a place).

Naming songs in such a way is the result of their subjective association with the impression of their talempong performance. On the contrary, the rhythm is not the result of an imitation in the form of music. The performance comes about as a reflection of their emotional expression. Then, they give the name to the form of music according to their association. The target of their association is the natural reality or behaviour in their environment, different rhythm will give them different association. The construction of the rhythm can be seen as a form of realization of "satisfactory" expression of their choice. No thought or comprehension relying on other things rather than the expression of satisfaction through the rhythm when they play the music.

Aesthetics: The construction of rhythm as the manifestation of emotional expression is very important in the art of talempong music. The same phenomenon in primitive music, "rhythm is the most important element in primitive music" (Machlis, 1955). Therefore, it is on this rhythm the construction and aesthetic assessments are given, whether the music is good or not.

In the tradition of talempong music, the construction of rhythm that forms the song consists of at least two (or three at most) kinds of instrument, each with its own type of rhythm. The instruments are usually called for example, talempong anak, talempong pambaoan and talempong paningkah. The three instruments can be found in the ensemble of talempong pacik while in the ensemble of gandang oguang, there are only two parts: talempong anak and talempong pambaoan. In certain areas however such as in Jao (Teluk Kuantan), there is no talempong anak. The role of talempong anak is replaced by gondang laluan and talempong is played by only one player.

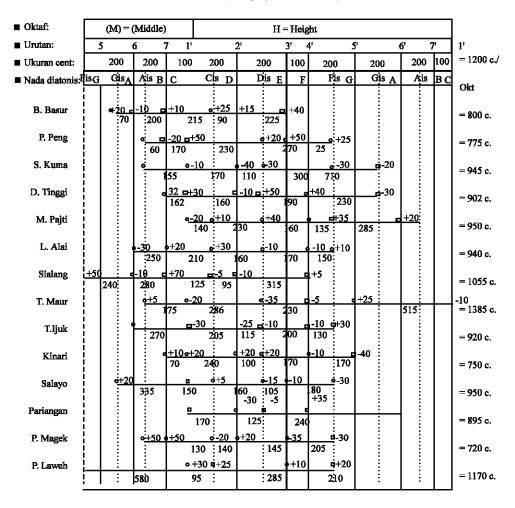


Fig. 4: Talempong tone scale of 14 random in Minangkabau in comparison with diatonic tone scale: - minus; + plus; c = cent; measured in chromatic tuner; Model WT-12, Model WT 12 Keio electronic

Two or three parts of the instruments that play the rhythm with common patterns unite in one complete form of rhythm. It is the form of rhythm from the two or three integrated instruments that is called a song in the tradition of talempong music. The constructed rhythm is formed from the note which is usually one-eighth (\flat) and one-sixteenth (\flat). The short musical units constructed by the one-eighth and one-sixteenth notes are the common characteristics which form the aesthetic or character of talempong music. Even in this music we cannot find one-fourth note, let alone half note, etc.

However, there is also a possibility to add other instruments such as gong, gendang (double-headed cylindrical drum) and single-reed horn pipes. Gong, apart from giving certain accent is also played as gandang played with the pattern of rhythm which is interwoven with the rhythm of talempong. Based on that, it can be explained that the construction of rhythm in talempong music is formed by the performance of some instruments

with their interlocking rhythm. It is reflected here the existence of role or form of call-and-response rhythm based on interwoven principle, ostinato organization, dan variation developed based on formulation of certain rhythm pattern. Therefore, the basic value of the music is similar to Shona people and some Africa music society, "the ability to add one's own distinctive part to ensemble while making it blended with the whole".

Toning: The problem tone in the ensemble of talempong music can be seen in the musical instrument that plays the melody, namely talempong. This is possible because talempong has different tone from other of talempongs in this ensemble. Therefore, there are some levels of tone with certain scale in each ensemble.

The scale of talempong tone can be seen randomly from the 14 samples of tone levels that have been measured (Fig. 4 and 5). As it is known, the tone scale

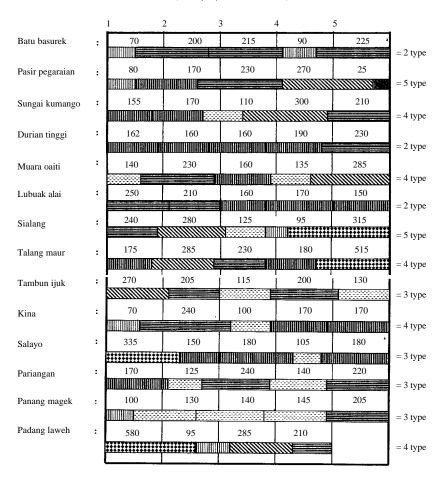


Fig. 5: Interval pattern of talempong tone scale

shows diversity. The diversity can be seen from several aspects, namely, octave, tonika, tone interval dan interval pattern.

Octave: If we look at the phenomenon that can be found in the tone scale of talempong (Fig. 4), the concept of octave can hardly be found. Even though there are three scales of tone (no.7 {1055c.}; 8 {1385c.}; and 14 {1170c.}) which is closed to1200c in one octave but if it is compared to 11 scales (No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13) the scale of other talempong tones is completely different. The 11 tone scales have different cents between the lowest and the highest, so there are no tones that have 1200 cents. So, it can be concluded that talempong music does not have octave as music culture. Even though there are three tone scales of talempong which are close to 1200 cents, they are just an exception.

Tonica: Tonica or the first tone in a tone sequence of 14 tone scales in talempong is diverse. The explanation can be found in Fig. 4. There are two or more almost

similar tones, namely no. 7 and 14 in Fis (M), no. 1 and 11 in Gis (M), no. 6 and 9 A (M), 2, 3, 8 and 13 in Ais (M), No. 4 dan 10 in B (M) and no. 5 and 12 in C (H).

Even though there are almost similar tonicas but if they are compared to the overall tone scales, the number of similar tonicas is relatively low. In Ais (M) for example, the almost similar tones are no. 2, 3, 8 and 13. So, out of 14 tonicas, there 4 tonicas which almost similar which make it ten completely different tonicas, that can be found in the tones of Fis, Gis, Ais, B and C. Therefore, it is apparent that the tone scales of talempong in Minangkabau is diverse. It shows that there is no concept in the system of tone scale in the tradition of talempong in Minangkabau.

Tone interval: The interval between two different tones in the tone scale of talempong is also diverse. It can be seen from the length of tone interval found in the sample. In order to describe the interval, the length of the interval is measured by using the flexible 50 c. in each interval (Fig. 6). The measurement is as follow.

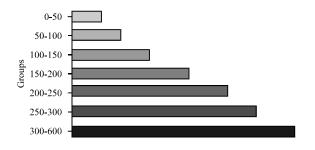


Fig. 6: Measurement of different tone

Based on the measurement above, there are 7 kinds of tone interval in talempong music. (Fig. 5). Based on the range of each interval (1-2; 2-3; 3-4; 4-5; 5-6), there are only three kinds of interval. The interval is discrepant between the lowest and the highest tone in cents (Fig. 7). It shows that there is no concept in the musical system of tone scale in talempong music in Minangkabau.

Pattern of interval: The pattern of invertal can be defined as the arrangement of tone interval in a systemic tone scale. As the arrangement of tone interval is diverse, the pattern of interval in tone scale is also diverse. The data are as follow (Fig. 5): 1) = two patterns of interval (poi); 2) = 5 poi.; 3) = 4poi; 4) = 2 poi; 5) = 4 poi.; 6) = 2 poi.; 7) = 5 poi.; 8) = 4 poi; 9) = 3 poi; 10) = 4 poi; 11) = 3 poi; 12) = 3 poi; 13) = 3 poi and 14) = 4 poi. The diversity of arrangement and pattern of interval can be regarded as indication of non-existence of a systemic tone scale in Minangkabau talempong music.

As has been previously discussed, the aspects of octave, tonica, tone interval and pattern of interval show diversity. The diversity can be seen as the reflection of a "condition" with subjective orientation. In this case, there is no conscious awareness or unconsciousness on the part of the player which leads him to the "right" tone scale as expected from the appreciation of Minangkabau musical culture.

Songs and their structure

Songs: There are similar names for the same songs in different groups of talempong music in different are in Minangkabau. The songs are generally inherited orally. Talempong players rarely compose new songs, apart from those they have got before. The number of songs is limited and they are regarded as 'heritage' as they see the ensemble of talempong music as 'heritage'. The songs are as old as the ensemble itself. The most common name is the name of sandayuang. This name can be found in several areas such as Durian Tinggi, Sialang Ateh, Koto Bangun, Sialang, Muara Paiti, Lubuk Alai in Kapur IX sub-district in Lima Puluh Kota district; Batu Basurek (Kampar District); Pasir Pangaraian dan Sungai Kumango

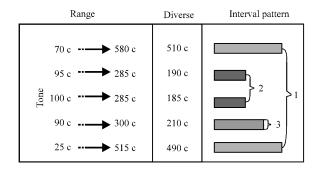


Fig. 7: 3 interval pattern

(Rokan Hulu District). The supporters of talempong music from those region believe that sandayuang is an old song inherited from the past.

It is known that the melody of the same song is different. It can be seen from the songs like sandayuang in Muara Paiti, Durian Tinggi and Sialang, even though those areas are close to each other. Different melody for the same song is because they just memorize the melody while their capacity to memorize is very limited. Therefore, the level of change of the melody from one generation to the next is quite big.

Structure of songs: There are two kinds of talempong songs: songs played in the tradition of talempong pacik ensemble and songs played in the tradition of gandang oguang ensemble. The songs played in the tradition of talempong pacik ensemble are generally built by three instruments, namely talempong anak, talempong pambaoan and talempong paningkah. Meanwhile, songs played in gandang oguang ensemble are built by talempong anak and talempong pambaoan, or by talempong pambaoan only.

Talempong pacik ensemble: Talempong anak is one of the parts that play a role in making a rhythm pattern appearing for the first time in the composition of this ensemble. The pattern of the rhythm has the potential to create a frame of the song and at the same time determine the tempo for the guidance of other instruments, such as talempong pambaoan. As the rhythm played by talempong anak is a rhythm with certain pattern and it is repeated (ostinato), it is actually a pattern that can be seen as something stand alone in its part. The pattern played by talempong anak does not need other rhythm to realize itself.

There are two kinds of possible metrum that are common in talempong anak, namely two meters and four meters. However, sometimes the rhythm with metrum two a long the way can change into metrum four. It happens because there is a change of melody structure played by talempong anak (Fig. 8). After becoming metrum four, it can go back to metrum two and so forth. Constructing the



Fig. 8: Metrum 2/4 becomes metrum 4/4 (Sandayuang, Sialang)



Fig. 9: Song main frame, Talipuak Layua



Fig. 10: Possible variation

rhythm played by talempong anak in this way is quite common in the tradition of talempong pacik. It is different from the rhythm that has been previously constructed in metrum four. It cannot be changed to metrum two.

Talempong pambaoan is to respond to the play of talempong anak. The play of talempong pambaoan refers to two main elements existing in the play of talempong anak: tempo and rhythm. The tempo that has been constucted becomes the guidance for the tempo of talempong pambaoan. Meanwhile, the rhythm is responded with the technique of play which in principle is interlocking with talempong pambaoan. The rhythm pattern that has been constructed by talempong anak has the potential to be a frame of a song, while the rhythm constructed by talempong pambaoan is the real song frame.

Even though the rhythmic orientation of talempong pambaoan inclines to be ostinato rhythm, it is quite possible that during the play the rhythm will be in variable which is usually in short duration. After the variable rhythm is played, the rhythm is back to the previous pattern (Fig. 9 and 10).

Talempong paningkah is to respond to the rhythm of song frame in a creative way then expresses it directly in the form of rhythm as well. In this play, there is a responsive "dialogue" between the player of talempong paningkah and the player of talempong pambaoan. The entity of this ensemble music resembles "call-and response, interlock, ostinato organization, improvised variation based on stock formulaic patterns and density in the resulting sound of entire ensemble" (Turino, 1992). Therefore, the rhythm constructed by the play of

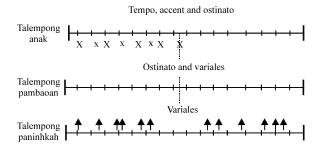


Fig. 11: Song structure (music composition) in talempong pacik ensemble



Fig. 12: Gandang palalu rhythm, Sikadidi song

talempong paningkah is basically variable rhythm. The interlocking rhythm is seen as the representation of the 'soul' of the play in talempong pacik (Fig. 11). Therefore, three aspects are required in this play: objectivity, responsiveness and creativity.

Gandang oguang ensemble: Songs in this ensemble are constructed by melody instrument called talempong pambaoan. Before they are played, there are other instruments played beforehand such as talempong anak or gandang palalu. The play of talempong anak or gandang palalu seems to closely related to the appearance of talempong pambaoan.

Talempong anak or gandang palalu: There are two possible instruments functioning as talempong anak in this ensemble, namely talempong anak itself and gandang palalu that is "female gandang" as one of the two gandangs in this ensemble. In the ensemble of gandang oguang, there are usually six talempongs and two of them are functioning as talempong anak.

The role of talempong anak or gandang palalu in realizing songs in the tradition of Gandang Oguang ensemble in principle is not different from the role or existence of talempong anak in the talempong pacik ensemble. The role is more apparent in the construction of tempo and accent in the form of ostinato rhythm pattern. In the gandang oguang ensemble with six talempongs, this role is played by talempong anak by playing two of the six notes. Meanwhile, in the ensemble with five talempongs, the role is usually played by gandang palalu (Fig. 12).

Talempong pambaoan is the main instrument to play the melody. This instrument is played when the tempo and rhythm constructed by gandang palalu or talempong



Fig. 13: Sikadidi song (phrase)



Fig. 14: Sikadidi song (phrase)

anak is felt suitable by the player of talempong pambaoan. Usually the player of talempong pambaoan will play the melody by bringing it into line with the constructed melody, beside playing in the rhythm pattern constructed by the play of talempong anak or gandang palalu. Songs played in talempong pambaoan are short melodies framed in a pattern of rhythm and usually played repeatedly. The melody constitutes a phrase marked by a cadence either cadence in the form of antecedent or in consequent (Fig. 13). In a song, the number of phrases of melody can be four or eight. But presentation should not be in particular sequence. The presentation of a song always starts with opening melody and ends with closing phrase. With no regularity in presenting the phrases, there is no regularity in the form of song such as song called Sikadidi. However, the structure of Sikadidi can be recognized that is consisting of two phrases of antecedent melody, six phrases of consequent melody and one of them is the final cadence (Fig.14 and 15).

Context of music: Things to be discussed in the context of music are ideas about music performance, music and religion, music and custom and function.

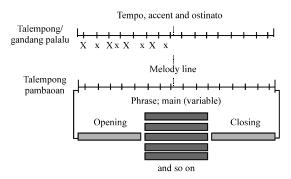


Fig. 15: Song structure in gandang oguang ensemble

Ideas about performance: The performance of talempong music is part of Minangkabau culture. All actions related to the performance are the reflection of actors' ideas accommodated in the performance itself.

Players: Talempong players are mostly farmers who are willing to sacrifice in terms of time, energy, sometimes money and other necessities when they have to play. Based on the theory of thermodynamics, if someone chooses to play talempong, it means that he is willing to leave out other values for the sake of the values in the performance. It can be seen in this phenomenon that the performance of talempong is an indication of certain values that the players expect to get. The values may take the form of material or non-material things. However, the most important thing for them is moral appreciation.

The preparation includes preparing the music to be performed. The music they are going to play has been mastered since the first time they learn to play talempong. They seldom practise before the performance. They usually practise in their spare time on their way to the place of performance.

Other consideration they make is the costume they should wear with regard to the context of performance. The context can take the form of procession, competition, welcoming honorable guests, part of art performance, community work, inaugration of clan chief, marriage, circumcission, house warming, or inaugration of village leader. They usually wear costume suitable to those contexts.

Audience: Audience are those who watch the performance. The performance can be watched by anybody. This is because the performance is usually sponsored by individual or a group of people for certain occasion. This kind of performance can be classified as communal support (Brandon, 2009). It is part of the service to the community and free of charge. However, the purpose of being there is not to watch the performance

but to attend the context of the performance such as wedding ceremony, circumcission, khatam Al-Quran. As they are already there, they can watch talempong performance. Therefore, the main idea is to attend the ceremony and watching talempong performance is a merely bonus.

Music and religion: Minangkabau culture is based on Islamic teachings: custom based on syariah, syariah based on Al-Quran". They regard their daily actions as ideal as long as they are not in confrontation with Islamic teachings. Now a days, Saykina et al. (2015) religious values were synthesized with popular culture. Such Tatar folklore due to Islamic tradition. Its content and functional parameters are determined by Islamic philosophy. Meanwhile, Islam does not make music as a normative part of its system. Therefore, the practice of music is not part of their daily religious norms. No muslim would call this "singing"; he would stress the term "reading" (Quran) although melodies are developed" (Jenkins and Rovsing, 1976). Any genre of music in Minangkabau society is not regarded as part of their system of religion. The survival of the music is merely the matter of tradition and secular.

Music and custom: There are four categories of Minangkabau custom that form the unity of their custom: adat yang sebenar adat (the real custom based on Islamic teaching), adat yang diadatkan (basic stipulation inherited by previous traditional leader), adat yang teradat (custom based on convention) and adat istiadat (habits). Each custom has its own unwritten jurisdiction that requires individual to act as required by the respective custom. Adat yang sebenar adat means that Islamic teaching is the ideal foundation of their life. In this context, there is no relation between talempong and real custom which is in principle based on Islamic teaching.

The next category is adat yang diadatkan. In this category, there is a meaning about main or basic stipulation inherited by the legendary of Datuak Katumangguang and Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. Its scope includes the whole area of Minangkabau and it is the main characteristic of their life. One of them is the custom to have a penghulu (leader) as a manifestation of tribal leadership where each clan is led by a leader which is usually called datuk. This traditional leadership constitutes a custom for them. It is in this custom where talempong finds its existence as part of the custom. Flags are raised, gongs are beaten and buffalos are slaugthered. The festivity lasts for at least three days. Beside gong, the instruments used in the ceremony are talempong, gandang and sometimes puput. All of these instruments

form an ensemble (Darsiti, 1989). This ensemble is called "Adek or Suku-music". The existence of this ensemble is needed in those ceremonies. This event legitimates the grandeur of penghulu in the system of Minangkabau culture. It is in the grandeur of penghulu where talempong music shows its uniformity all over Minangkabau area. Therefore, we can be sure that whenever there is a penghulu, there will be talempong music or at least a gong as part of the grandeur of the penghulu as an institution.

Next, adat yang diadatkan means traditional regulation made based on the concensus among ninik mamak (traditional elites) in a Nagari. Nagari is a part of Minangkabau and the treatment for talempong music can be different from one Nagari to another. In Nagari Sialang, Lima Puluh Kota district for example, talempong music is used in jalang-manjalang ceremonies. In Teluk Kuantan, talempong music is used during the dragon boat race. Therefore, the existence of talempong music in the context of this 'adat yang teradat' is the result of the local habits. A variety of local habits will emerge as many as the number of Nagari in Minangkabau. So, the diversity of the utility of talempong music is apparent in the context of adat yang teradat. This phenomenon can be seen as the sub-culture of Minangkabau and it is local in nature.

Next is adat istiadat. In principle, it is not different from the context of adat yang diadatkan. Adat istiadat can be defined as the common good deed in a Nagari. There is a variety of good deed in a Nagari which maybe different from one Nagari to another. For example, in Kacang and Tikalak, in Solok District. It is regarded as a good deed if the bride and the groom are accompanied by talempong music in their wedding procession. However, in Baso, Agam District, it is a good deed to accompany the bride and the groom with dikia rabano music. Consequently, it is quite possible to have a variety of talempong music in the context of adat istiadat as the culture of Minangkabau.

It can be seen from the explanation above that talempong music and the Minangkabau custom have paralel relationship with the structure of Minangkabau society. On the other hand, they have paralel contextual relation with the local dynamics of the existing custom in a Nagari. At the structural level of Minangkabau society, especially penghulu institution as its part, talempong music is part of the existing custom all over the Minangkabau area. On the contrary, at the custom level around Nagari, the position of talempong music is part of a custom as an emerging dynamic and becomes the context regarded as adat (adat yang teradat or adat istiadat) in the Nagari.

Therefore, if the attachment of talempong music to the level related to the structure of Minangkabau society, it becomes part of custom for all Minangkabau people. The phenomenon of this action becomes uniform in the culture of Minangkabau people. If the attachment of talempong music to custom in a Nagari and even a village (as part of Nagari), this phenomenon of action is diverse to the practice of talempong music, in accordance with the emerging dynamic in that environment. What is meant by diverity can be seen in the context of unity of Minangkabau culture.

Uniformity and diversity: What is meant by uniformity here is an action or aspect that shows a phenomenon that tends to be uniform. On the contrary what is meant by diversity is an action or aspect that shows a phenomenon that tends to be diverse. In order to explain the uniform and diverse in the culture of Minangkabau bronze music, we can look at it from two sides: text and context. Explanation from the text side will include ensemble, tone scale, musician, ideas about songs, aesthetics, songs and their structure. While the explanation from the context side will include the phenomena related to idea about performance, music and religion, music and custom.

Uniformity

Text: Based on the previous explanation, on one side there is a uniformity phenomenon of action to the existence of talempong music. The uniformity of music as text can be seen especially in three aspects, namely ensemble, aesthetics and song structure (music). There are two kinds of ensemble: gandang oguang ensemble and talempong pacik ensemble. The two ensembles can be differentiated based on the way they are played. Gandang oguang ensemble is played by placing the talempong on two pieces of rope on a para-para horizontally, the gong is hung and players of talempong sit on the floor. Talempong pacik is played by holding the talempong. This ensemble is played while walking or standing still

Playing the ensemble of talempong music in such a way is a common phenomenon that can be found in Minangkabau. So, based on the similirity in playing the music, talempong music can be classified into two ensembles, namely gondang oguang ensemble and talempong pacik ensemble. In this regard, it is apparent that the two ensemble use the same instruments from the gong family and use two-cylindrical drums as the main instruments. From the similarity of the instruments used, the two ensembles have their uniformity. The uniformity here lies in the fact that the instruments used are similar, especially the instruments from the gong family. This is a Minangkabau phenomenon. In other words, the

existence of musical instruments from the gong family is regarded by Minangkabau people as part of their culture. Even, the only bronze musical instruments in Minangkabau culture is the insruments from this gong family.

In addition to that uniformity is also apparent from the aesthetic side, especially in relation to the rhythm of the music. As has been previously discussed, the construction of talempong rhythm consists of several short musical units. The units are constructed mainly by one-eight note and one-sixteenth note. The construction of the rhythm is interlocking, especially in the tradition of talempong pacik music. Songs in this music are presented in modular/phrase. The fact is a phenomenon existing mainly in Minangkabau tradition of talempong music. It can be seen as an element that creates the aesthetic values like the beauty of talempong music as the culture of Minangkabau people.

Next is the uniformity in terms of music or song structure that becomes the tradition of the two ensembles. The song structure played in the tradition of gandang oguang ensemble consists of this part of play, namely talempong anak/gandang palalu and talempong pambaoan that is usually played more than a phrase of melody. Meanwhile, the song structure in the tradition of talempong pacik ensemble consists of part of the play, namely talempong anak, talempong pambaoan and talempong paningkah. The phenomena of two song structures from two traditions of talempong music are uniform.

The facts about the uniformity mentioned above are the realization of uniformity of "cultural knowledge" in the frame of Minangkabau culture. In such a frame, Minangkabau people will not recognize talempong music as part of their culture if it is different from what has been discussed above. So, the uniformity of their culture makes talempong music as part of the system of Minangkabau culture.

Context: As far as context is concerned, talempong music is uniform in the frame of Minangkabau culture. The uniformity can be seen for example, in the ideas about music performance. For the musicians, the performance is meant as a means to gain moral and social values. As most of the musicians are farmers, they sometimes consider the economic values of the activity, even though it is not always the case. For the audience, talempong performance is seen as the actualization of their understanding about talempong as part of their own culture.

In the context of religion, talempong music is seen as having no relation with the system of Islamic norms.

Table 1: Kinds of Talempong music culture

	Uniform		Diverse	
Aspects	Text	Context	Text	Context
Form of ensemble	Gandang oguang			
	Talempong pacik			
Aesthetics	Rhythm/short musical units			
	Interlocking			
	Modular/phrase			
Song structure	Structure of music composition			
Idea about songs		To get moral and social values		
		Sense of belonging about the culture		
		For cultural ceremonies		
Religion		No relation with the system of Islamic		
		norms		
Tone scale			Tone scale (octave, tonica,	
			interval pattern)	
Musician			Social background;	
			sex; age; social status	
Idea about songs			Rhythm construction	
			Idea about songs	
Function				Apart from cultural ceremony

Talempong music is merely regarded as a worldly matter. It is contrary to the context of custom, especially in the context of inaugration of penghulu or the so-called batagak pangulu. Almost in every ceremony of penghulu inaugration, bronze music is presented or at least the gong as the instrument in the implementation of the ceremony.

It is a Minangkabau-style phenomenon and it is appropriate that an instrument from the gong family can be found all over Minangkabau area. On the other hand, it can be seen as the reflection of the meaning of adat yang diadatkan which reaches people all over Minangkabau area. One of the people that it reaches is penghulu. Therefore, it can be further seen that the existence of talempong music is attached to penghulu institution and structurally constitutes part of the structure of Minangkabau society. Therefore, talempong music is uniform as part of the system of Minangkabau culture.

Diversity

Text: The diverse phenomenon in terms of text can be seen in tone scale, musician and ideas about songs. The tone of scale of talempong music is diverse. The diversity is supported by the variety of elements forming the tone scale such as octave, tonica, tone interval and pattern of tone interval. For Minangkabau people, there is no reference or orientation toward the "right" system of tone scale in Minangkabau style. The scale in the tone system is needed because different tones are needed to play talempong music. Therefore, they treat the tone in different ways in the frame of Minangkabau talempong music.

The diversity in terms of musician is possible because the musician can be of any sex, age, social status or background. Talempong can be played by anybody as long as he has the skill to play the music. As a result, their ideas about songs are also diverse. The diversity can be seen in the construction of rhythm as they wish to construct. The rhythm is the subjective expression of their own group. There are many talempong music groups as the culture of Minangkabau people. Therefore, the fact will result in various ideas about songs according various expression of the songs composed by each talempong group.

Context: The diverse phenomenon of culture in terms of context can be seen in relation to adat yang teradat. There are many Nagaris in Minangkabau (West Sumatera) and accordingly there are many kinds of talempong music culture. A Nagari is considered good if the procession of the bride and the groom is accompanied by talempong pacik. But for some other nagaris, it is not necessary to accompany the bride and the groom with talempong music (Table 1).

Background of factor: The unformity and diversity of Minangkabau talempong music culture have some underlying factors. The factors behind the uniformity are normative factors. The factors may be related to religion, power, concensus or convention.

Religion: One of the characteristics of religion is the belief in the creature and supernatural power (Jonathan, 1978). Therefore, a religion requires obedience because it is normative. According to Talipora *et al.* (2015), the sciences and religion were never separated. The obedience is a recognition of human powerlessness againts something which is superior which determines the destiny of human being. As most Minangkabau are

muslim there is no normative requirement in treating talempong music as part of their religion. Therefore, religion is not a factor that determines the uniformity of talempong music in Minangkabau culture.

Power: Absolute power in the history of mankind is the power owned by kings. As in the Egyptian kingship ideology, it stresses the function of Pharaoh protection and his responsibility to justice and order of his people. Pharaoh has the highest power on earth as determined by God. In Mesopotamia, the highest god is represented by the head of government function as supreme judge (Turino, 1992). In the Javanese palaces (Surakarta and Yogyakarta), the position of a king as Sang Murbawisesa (the highest decision maker) has caused a king to have an absolute power and all of his decision are not to confronted because it is believed as God's will and a king is a reincarnation of God (Wisnu) (Johan, 1993; Soedarsono, 1997). Therefore, the capital is not only a centre of politic and culture but also the centre of magic of the kingdom (James, 1988, 1980). But, there are no more kingdoms or palaces in Minangkabau. Therefore, there is no royal power that creates the uniformity of Minangkabau talempong music culture.

Concensus: What is meant by concensus here is a written general agreement as a formal legal foundation for a group of peope to regulate their action. The object can be in the form of anything to be regulated for the interest of the group. Apart from the way in creating the agreement, we can be sure that the agreement is made to be regulations to control the people. As it is known, each society creates institution to make people obey the regulations and determine the proper behaviour (Jonathan, 1978). If the obedience to religion or kings is based on morality, the obedience in the frame of concensus is the obedience to what have been created and mutually agreed with the formal aspect. But here, the product of the concensus is regarded as having a power to determine or control the uniform action of the people. Meanwhile, in Minangkabau society there is no concensus to the existence of talempong music as part of the necessity for the same action.

Convention: Apart from the three factors mentioned above, convention is also the factor that determines the construction of uniform pattern of action. The convention is a written agreement in the form of custom, tradition, habit as the guidance for proper behaviour in the context of community life or morality. "Morality is a determination to follow what is acknowledged as an absolute

obligation". The convention is the knowledge like any other knowledge in every individual which is not in itself but the soul of the community (Djuretna, 1994). It is above individual with a compulsion to behave according to the convention. The individual is part of a community and not as himself. The convention is regarded to determine the pattern of behaviour of the people involved in the convention.

The four aspects (religion, power, concensus and convention) are the factors that determine the pattern of uniform action. The action is social action and personal one. The action is in the frame of collective awareness, mutually owned by community members as opponents of something personal and in variation between one man to another (Djuretna, 1994).

Therefore, beside the actions caused by the four factors, there are personal actions which are different from one individual to another. If the actions caused by the four factors results in uniform pattern of action, the actions not caused by the four factors will result in diverse pattern of action. What is regarded as the background factor behind the uniformity of bronze music in Minangkabau is convention. Meanwhile, other factor like religion, power and concensus have nothing to do with the culture of Minangkabau bronze music. Meanwhile, the factor of power cannot be found anymore in Minangkabau. Concensus in form of written regulation about the existence of talempong music in Minangkabau has never been found. Therefore, we can be sure that convention is related to the uniformity of Minangkabau bronze music.

CONCLUSION

Talempong music is the only traditional music of Minangkabau culture. There are two cultural phenomena with regard to the existence of this music: uniformity and diversity in treating the music. In certain cases, the music or the instruments are treated in the same way the Minangkabau people so we can find the phenomena all over Minangkabau region. This entity is the manifestation of Minangkabau style culture of music. The uniformity of this music culture can be seen in the text (aspect of music) and context in their culture. The uniformity in terms of text is apparent from the aspect of ensemble form, aesthetics and song structure (music) while the uniformity in terms of context is apparent in the aspects of idea about performance, religion, custom (adat yang diadatkan) and function especially in the ceremony of penghulu.

The uniformity is the description of the existence of talempong music in the structure of Minangkabau society, beside the structure of the music itself reflects the structure of Minangkabau society. The structure is constructed by parts without domination of certain part. Functionally, each part has the same role in making the unity.

On the contrary, Minangkabau people are diverse in treating this music so that the phenomenon can only be found in the area where the music exists. The diverse phenomena can seen in the text and context. Diversity in terms of text can be seen in the aspects of tone scale, musician and ideas about songs while the diversity in terms of context can be seen in the diversity of adat yang teradat and adat istiadat with regard to the utility of talempong music in a Nagari or sub-region of Minangkabau.

The background for the formation of the uniform talempong music tradition is the convention among Minangkabau society. Meanwhile, the background to the formation of the diverse talempong music tradition is the non-existence of convention among Minangkabau society about the matter. The uniformity and diversity is a manifestation of talempong music tradition as part of Minangkabau culture.

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