

The Performance Concepts of *Adu-Tandiang* in Pariaman Society: Fighting, Competing, and Fighting/Competing as Main Characteristics

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the subject of adu-tandiang, which includes adu (fighting), tandiang (competing), and adu/tandiang (fighting/competing); three concepts of performance that are found in the performing arts and rituals of Pariaman society. This study uses an emic approach and grounded theory method to obtain supporting data about the concepts of adu, tandiang, and adu/tandiang. The research results show that the performing arts and traditional rituals in Pariaman are basically dynamic and always have adu-tandiang concept. The characteristics of performances with elements of adu, tandiang, and adu/tandiang are dynamic, and reflect the nature and character of the Pariaman people themselves, as a result of their history as a coastal community and facing many encounters with foreign communities. Therefore, the concepts of adu, tandiang, and adu/tandiang are generalisations of principles that characterise almost all performances in Pariaman society.

Keywords: *fighting, competing, fighting/competing, performance concepts, Pariaman, dynamic*

INTRODUCTION

Pariaman is a region that is open and faces directly onto the Indonesian Ocean on the coast of West Sumatra. It has always offered a unique experience to its community through contact with foreigners from other parts of the world. This experience has taken numerous different forms, including opposition, negotiation, persuasion, friendship, and even marriage between members of the Pariaman community and foreigners. The various goals and intentions of the foreigners who come to Pariaman have been met with a variety of responses. Beneath the friendships formed, there sometimes lies a sense of resistance and hostility, or even a desire to control the people of Pariaman and their territory. The Pariaman people respond cautiously and are ready to face all the possibilities that come from outside. Their caution and readiness to fight is something that cannot be avoided.

Contact between the Pariaman people and foreign nations began in the 14th century, specifically when the Pariaman port was first opened (Martamin 1978). Outside traditions and cultures entered Pariaman through contact with traders and the foreign diaspora who came to Pariaman, including Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Persians, Europeans, and other ethnic groups from various parts of Indonesia. Pariaman is an ancient town on the coast of West Sumatra and was formerly an important port town. Tome Pires noted that the cities of Pariaman, Tiku, and Barus were all important port towns. Every year, two or three ships from Gujarat would stop over in these towns to trade gold and textiles (Cortesau 1944). Later on, immigrants began to settle in the area, including people from China, India (Tamil), the Netherlands, Arabic countries, Aceh, Bengkulu, Bugis, Nias, Batak, and Java, making their homes alongside the Minangkabau community who made up the indigenous majority of Pariaman (Kato 1986), and the ethnic Malays.

The encounter with people from other nations has had a strong influence on the culture of the Pariaman people, in particular the Indian, Aceh, Malay, and Middle Eastern cultures which blended with European cultures. These influences have coloured the culture of the Pariaman people up to the present day. The various encounters with foreign cultures have given a more dynamic life perspective to the Pariaman people. Their dynamic attitude has developed into a behaviour that has carried over into the traditional arts and rituals of Pariaman in the form of fighting, contesting, and battling, or performances of a competitive and confrontative nature. These competitive and confrontative performances were created as a reaction to and a reflection of a repressive situation. Different forms of performance developed in their own unique ways and styles. *Indang* is an Islamic-based performing art from Aceh which presents an intense debate between one group and another. The *Mauluik* ritual is presented in the form of a ritual of Islamic art, and local art and culture. *Tabuik*, which originated from Persia and India, is a ritual performance by two groups of *Tabuik* supporters who present a show of opposition that leads to a fight between the two groups of supporters. *Gandang Tasa* has Indian origins (Kartomi 1984; Asril 2015a), and although it does not present a direct display of confrontation or competition, it is the only ensemble that is used to inspire passion and trigger the fighting in a *Tabuik* performance (Asril 2015a). Martial arts such as *silek*, *ulu ambek*, and *silek galombang* also present a contest or fight between two individuals or groups.

Based on theories about cultural performance (Singer 1972; Lewis 2013; Murgiyanto 2015) and performance (Schechner 2003; Simatupang 2013), it can be said that various performance events in Pariaman society are characterised by dynamic and confrontational nuances. As cultural performances, these various types of performance are regarded on the one hand as building an attitude and sense of togetherness in the community. While on the other hand, they display a cultural identity and uniqueness to outside communities. By identifying the qualities of the cultural performances of Pariaman society, it is possible to construct a theory or concept about these local performances that contains their experiences and reflections, namely a principle of *adu-tandiang*, or fighting, competing, and fighting/competing, which can be used to anticipate the various changes and challenges that may appear in preserving their arts, traditions, and performance rituals.

RESEARCH METHOD

In order to examine the concepts of performance in various performance events in Pariaman society, the research was carried out using a qualitative method combines the emic approach with grounded theory. The goal of a grounded theory approach is to give rise to or discover a theory (Creswell 2013). In this case, the aim is to discover the performance concepts of rituals, traditional arts, and music. The material objects studied are the rituals of *Tabuik* and *Mauluik*; the martial art performances of *silek*, *ulu ambek*, and *silek galombang*; and traditional music performance of *Gandang Tasa* and *Indang*, all of which are regarded as a manifestation of the concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing. The formal object of this research is the relationship between the concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing and the construction of the identity of Pariaman society, which is viewed as a crystallisation of the performances. The data used are the performances of rituals and music collected through a performance centred approach, which are developed as the basis for formulating a generalisation of concept, by looking at the similarities in the qualities of the performance events.

The data interpretation technique is based on a grounded theory approach, which is a form of inductive reading to create a general conclusion from a number of different performance phenomena in Pariaman society. The inductive reading was carried out by observing the processes, actions, and interactions involving members of the Pariaman community in the performance events, and making a comparison with the statements of informants to be used as a basis for theorisation, through a process of codification of meaning of the performance events. The data analysis was then followed by the formulation of a proposition, to find the conceptual relationships between the three subcategories of rituals, martial art performances, and music, all of which are viewed as categories of performance. The conclusion about the conceptual relationships between these categories was then interpreted based on the principles of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing found in each of the subcategories of performance.

The concept of *adu-tandiang* consists of three concepts: (1) *adu* (fighting), (2) *tandiang* (competing), and (3) *adu/tandiang* (fighting/competing). The term *adu-tandiang* comes from the Minangkabau language and is made up of the words *adu* and *tandiang*. The word *adu* means fight, compete, quarrel, contest, incite or cause to fight, while the word *tandiang* means compete, oppose, rival, go up against, or match (Bapayuang 2015). The words *adu* and *tandiang* (*tanding*: in Indonesian) have the same meaning as in the Indonesian language (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional 2014). Hence, (1) the concept of *adu* (fighting) is an activity in a performance that has an element of fighting, competing, quarrelling, or inciting to fight; (2) the concept of *tandiang*

(competing) is an activity in a performance that has an element of competing, opposing, rivalling, going up against, or matching, and; (3) the concept of *adu/tandiang* (fighting/competing) which is a combination of the concepts of *adu* and *tandiang*, is an activity in a performance that has elements of fighting, competing, inciting, opposing, contesting, going up against, or matching. In Pariaman society, the concept of fighting/competing does not have victory as the end goal; it is not a competition of losing and winning. All the contestants taking part simply demonstrate their own excellence in a dynamic way and with a sense of togetherness. The concepts of *adu-tandiang* are used to discover the principles of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing in the subcategories of rituals, martial art performances, and music in Pariaman society.

Thus, the data analysis method used in this study consists of several stages. The first stage is the identification of the views of the local population or native point-of-view on various types of art that live within the Pariaman community itself, as a form of implementing the emic approach. In the second stage, classification is carried out to build a theory about the dominant concept of the various arts in the Pariaman community based on a native point-of-view as a form of implementing the grounded theory method. The final stage is interpretation, in which the theory that has been grounded is then compared with the daily life of the Pariaman people to see the interrelationships between the two. This last stage applies the concept offered by Richard Schechner (Schechner 2003; 2020), namely the concept of artistic drama which is basically a reflection of socio-drama, where what appears in the performing arts is often a symbolic reflection of things that take place in everyday life itself. The interpretation process that will be carried out borrows the dramatic cycle introduced by Turner (1982) and refined by Schechner (2003), can be seen in Figure 1.

The description in this paper applies this scheme, starting with explaining each concept in the show, namely *adu* (fighting), *tandiang* (competing), and *adu-tandiang* (fighting-competing). The Pariaman people practice each concept as a form of aesthetic action containing various performance techniques. The following description shows the relationship between the multiple techniques used in these aesthetic actions and the daily techniques in the social actions of the Pariaman people. At the same time, this shows the relationship of meaning between performance space and social space for the Pariaman people, built on their interaction patterns in these spaces, like the Minangkabau people in general (Pramayoza and Yuliza 2023a). The difference lies in the distinctive character of the Pariaman people, where their social action symbolises the inherent clash, competition, and conflict.

DISCUSSION

Adu (Fighting): Pariaman Community Vigilance Expression as Coastal Heirs

The concept of *adu* (fighting) in the performances of Pariaman society, can be explained using a number of similar expressions or synonyms, as performances that contain elements of contesting, clashing, fighting, and inciting. The element of contesting may be manifested either in the form of physical contact or in a contest that does not involve any contact. The element of clashing is manifested in a performance that uses objects or artefacts, and the elements of fighting and inciting are manifested through words, behaviour, actions, and provocation. The words “*adu*” and “*maadu*” (fight) imply the understanding of an essential principle that there

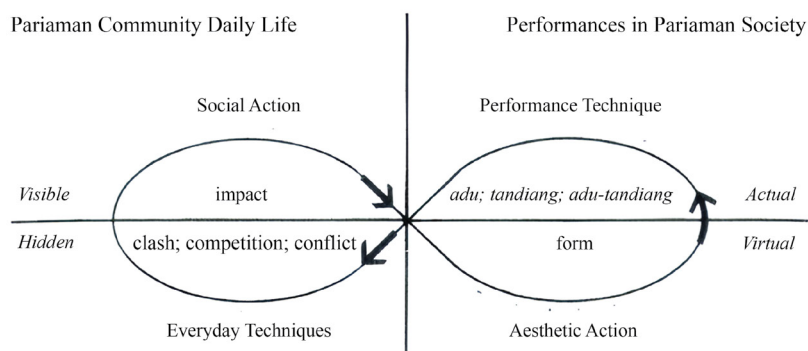


Figure 1 The shuttle relationship between the performance concept of *adu-tandiang* and the socio-cultural life in Pariaman.

Source: Turner (1982) and Schechner (2003). Modified by Pramayoza (2022).

are mutant elements (living objects that have mutated) that are brought together and incited to clash, fight, and compete. Victory is not considered to be the end goal of a performance that contains a concept of fighting.

Performances that use the concept of *adu* include *silek*, which is a genre of martial art that has developed widely in Pariaman society. There are several schools of *silek* that continue to exist, including *Silek Sunua*, *Silek Mangguang*, *Silek Gunuang*, *Silek Tuo*, and *Sitaralak*. *Silek* is a form of martial art that was kept as a “weapon” by warriors and only used when necessary. *Silek* is performed by two *pasilek* artists in the form of a fight in which they attack each other to try and paralyse the opponent. A performance of *silek* is a battle of skills and agility demonstrated by the *pasilek* performers who carry out various deadly attacks and actions to trap, fend off, and dodge the opponent, either bare handed or with a weapon.

Razali (2019), a 70 year-old *pandeka* and *silek* teacher from Nagari Limau Purut said in an interview, “*Silek* is a very important and necessary martial art for the Pariaman people as a self-defence. People who are good at polishing themselves will have courage and high self-confidence and are not afraid of the opponents that confront them.” Suwardi Jamil (2022), a 71 year-old *silek* teacher from Sunua explained in an interview that, “Learning *silek* is a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation from our ancestors. Even though not all of them will become *pandeka*, they already have the basic provisions for *silek*.”

Every *pasilek* artist has an attitude of extreme vigilance and caution. This attitude is combined with a shrewdness and precision in fending off the attacks of the opponent and launching their own attacks. The event of a *silek* performance may take place at a village cultural festival (*alek nagari*), in the form of a *silek* competition, in a *Manapa* performance, and in various other ceremonial activities in the Pariaman community. *Manapa* is a performance held during a visit to another place to test knowledge or skills (Bapayuang 2015). A *silek* performance has a concept of fighting that engages and stuns the audience. The concept of fighting is clearly displayed by the two *pasilek* artists. The fighting concept is not only present in the performance itself but also starts during the preparation stages where practices are led by a *silek* teacher. The principle of shaping and instilling vigilance and caution in every *silek* performer is an important step for building their understanding and implementation of the concept of fighting.

Another traditional art performance that is strongly rooted in *silek* and presents a fight is *ulu ambek*. *Ulu ambek* is a traditional ritual performance in Pariaman society. It is performed in connection with traditional rituals such as the appointment of a new *panghulu* (tribal/clan leader) or *rajo* (the traditional head of a district or territory), and at *alek nagari* events. *Ulu ambek* is the only traditional art which is a symbol of the *ninik mamak* (tribal leaders) in Pariaman society (Asril 2015b). Elements of fighting in an *ulu ambek* performance are clearly visible, although their method and style is different from *silek*. In practice, *ulu ambek* is a “battle” between two players, where one plays the role of the attacker (*paulua*) and the other is the defender (*paambek*).

According to the rules, each player is assigned the position of attacker for half the duration of the performance, and likewise for the position of defender. Neither of the players in an *ulu ambek* performance carries out an attack or defence according to opportunity or their own will but in accordance with their role. Halfway through the performance, the two players change position. An *ulu ambek* performance does not involve any direct physical contact (Asril 2015b).



Photo 1 An *ulu ambek* performance by two players in the role of attacker and defender.

Source: Photographed by Asril.

This is different from the general practice in traditional art forms that fall into the category of martial arts, where each player will constantly try to launch an attack to disable or paralyse the opponent. With great precision, each player will look for an opportunity to carry out an attack that the opponent fails to fend off. This is usually the case in *silek*, where caution and vigilance combined with shrewdness and precision are used to fend off an attack. The performance by the two players, *paulua* and *paambek* is the demonstration of a fight taking place between the two. They endeavour to carry out an attack and to defend with a principle of caution, vigilance, shrewdness, and precision to show off their skills and dexterity.

In the learning process of *silek* and *ulu ambek* in Pariaman there was no pattern of practising repeating moves, tactics of attacking and parrying together using the drill method without facing each other, as is done in other types of martial arts. Zulkifli Tajun (2021), a 71 year-old *silek* and *ulu ambek* elder from Kurai Taji said during an interview, “During the process of learning *silek* and *ulu ambek*, I made it mandatory for the participants to compete with each other in every practice. This is done continuously to hone their skills.”

Nyaman (2021), a 66 year-old *silek* and *ulu ambek* teacher from Kapalo Hilalang, said in the same way, “The practice method against each other is better for *pasilek* and *ulu ambek* players. Those who quickly master the moves of attack and block, then they will also quickly become *pasilek*, *pandeka*, and *ulu ambek* players.” Practice fighting each other as a battle simulation that will familiarise them as if they are facing potential opponents, so that their mentality and self-confidence are nurtured, so they become stronger. So, the method of fighting and fighting patterns in the training process has become the hallmark of these two traditions in Pariaman. The illustration below shows a performance of *ulu ambek*.

An *ulu ambek* performance is a prestigious fight in a *nagari* (village) or community, because the two people who perform on the *laga-laga* (the special stage used in an *ulu ambek* performance) are not only performing in their own personal capacity but are also representing their *nagari* or community (Asril 2017). It can even be said that the fighting in an *ulu ambek* performance is not only between the players, community, and *nagari*, but is regulated traditionally according to zones, or *lareh*, which determine the boundaries for the *ulu ambek* groups that compete. The only *ulu ambek* groups that are allowed to compete are those from different *lareh* (zones). The groups that belong to the same *lareh* as the group holding a performance act as the *sapangka* (host), and compete against *ulu ambek* groups from outside their own *lareh*, which they refer to as *luak-lareh* (Asril, Rovyndes, and Saputra 2021). Figure 2 shows an illustration of a particular *nagari*, which is acting as the host and competing against *ulu ambek* groups from outside its own *lareh* (*luak-lareh*).

Silek galombang is a derivation of *silek*, which is performed in the form of dance movements. The material for the movements of *silek galombang* comes from *silek* movements. *Silek galombang* performers are young *silek* artists who are already highly skilled. *Silek galombang* is a traditional art used to welcome guests in Pariaman society. A *silek galombang* performance involves two groups that face each other as they perform, initially starting from two distant places and moving towards each other until they both arrive at the same spot. The movements of the two groups of *silek galombang* performers gradually show an increase in emotional expression as they become more animated and fierce like *pasilek* who are ready to carry out an attack. The closer the two groups move towards each other, the fiercer their expression become. Their fierce expression is triggered by the accompanying music of *Gandang Tasa*, a type of percussion music which is loud, energetic, and has the ability to incite the passion of the players. When the two groups are already in close proximity to each other and are ready to launch an attack, the *janang*, who acts as a mediator, quickly places a *carano* between the two groups in anticipation of the “fight.” A *carano* is an object that functions as a traditional symbol in all traditional activities in Pariaman, and in Minangkabau in general.

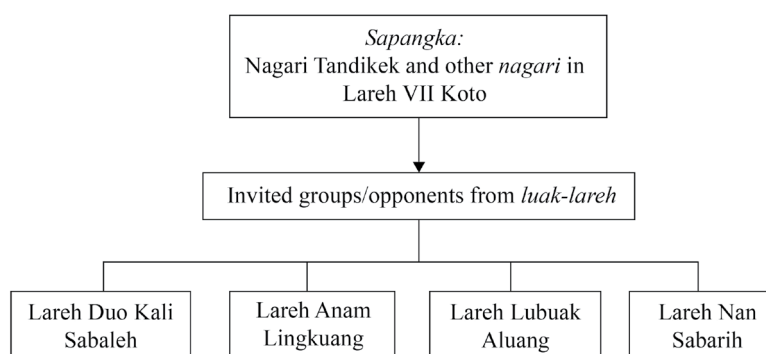


Figure 2 *Sapangka* (host) and *luak-lareh* in an *ulu ambek* performance.

Source: Illustrated by Asril.

A *silek galombang* performance always presents an element of opposition and readiness to fight. The dynamics of the performance are an expression of fierce emotion that is triggered by the *Gandang Tasa* music. The element or concept of fighting can be identified in the way the two groups move forward until they stand face-to-face, with an intensity of fierce emotion. Although *silek galombang* is performed to honour guests, behind the outward display is an attitude of extreme vigilance. In the opinion of the host, the guests could, in fact, become an enemy, so it is necessary to be ready for every possibility, including being ready to fight. This is a reflection and implementation of their experience with foreigners, who in the beginning pretended to be guests but ultimately took control and became an enemy (Asril 2015a).

Tandiang (Competing): Pariaman Community Pride of Skill Impression

The concept of *tandiang* (competing) is found in *Gandang Tasa*, an art that has developed widely and is highly popular in Pariaman. It is a genre of traditional music that is used in various ceremonies in Pariaman society, such as wedding parties, marriage processions, *alek nagari* (village cultural performances), as the musical accompaniment for *silek galombang* at the inauguration of a *pangulu* (local leader), in various cultural processions, and in *Tabuik*, *Mauluik*, *Bapereih*, and *Manapa* ceremonies (Asril, Sastra and Rovylendes 2018; 2019). Asril (2015a) elaborates more on *Gandang Tasa*:

Gandang Tasa is a genre of traditional rhythmic percussion music that consists of the *gendang* and *tasa* instruments. The music played is constructed entirely from the rhythmic patterns of the *gendang* and *tasa*. The power of the music lies only in the interlocking rhythmic patterns. The character of the music is energetic and loud, with an attractive performance style, so the music dominates and controls a procession in an open field.

An independent performance of *Gandang Tasa*, which includes an element of competing, is found only in the context of *Bapereih* and *Manapa*.

Bapereih is a competition between *Gandang Tasa* groups from various villages in Pariaman. About 20–30 *Gandang Tasa* groups usually take part in a contest. According to Asril, Sastra and Rovylendes (2019):

Bapereih has its own rules and system that cannot be intervened by anyone from outside, including the government. All the contestants, together with the *Bapereih* committee, discuss in detail the rules of the competition and the judging system. Scores are calculated based on the mistakes made by a group, so the greater the number of mistakes, the lower the score achieved. Types of mistake include errors in the playing of rhythmic patterns and motifs. A single mistake is counted for each player. If a musician's stick drops, one point is deducted, if the stick is picked up, it counts as another point deduction.



Photo 2 A performance of *Gandang Tasa* in a *Bapereih* event.

Source: Asril (2017).

The final score is announced by the judges shortly after the performance of each group.

Asril, Sastra, and Rovylendes (2019) state: “*Manapa* is a performance involving several *Gandang Tasa* groups from different kampongs or *nagari* which takes place in a particular kampung. *Manapa* is an event that is designed to build social bonds between the *Gandang Tasa* players and between the different groups through a performance.” In *Manapa*, there are no rules such as in *Bapereih*, and there is no winner. However, every group that comes to perform must prepare well so that their performance is not a disappointment. Sometimes, a *Manapa* event may be modified to be more like *Bapereih*, in an attempt to give more motivation to the participating groups, and this leads indirectly to an element of competition in the event.

The performance of *Gandang Tasa* in a *Bapereih* or *Manapa* event clearly contains an element of competition. Every contest requires preparation in various aspects, such as the command of the musical material performed, mental preparation, and a detailed understanding of the rules of the competition. The most important preparation is the command of the music, which must be practised repeatedly in the group’s own village. This shows indirectly the element of competition in every *Gandang Tasa* group. The same is also true in a *Manapa* event. Although it is not a competition, every contestant must display their own expertise and skills. Hence, the concept of competing is found in *Gandang Tasa* performances in *Bapereih* and *Manapa* events. The dynamics that are built from these events require each *Gandang Tasa* group taking part to prepare themselves well. The concept of competing in these events encourages the *Gandang Tasa* groups to be more passionate about their playing.

Gandang Tasa plays a significant role in various different contexts to animate and alter the emotions of the performers. For example, in *silek galombang* and *Mauluik* processions in Nagari Sicincin, *Gandang Tasa* serves to arouse fierce emotions in the *pasilek Galombang* and the performers in the procession, sometimes to the point where they lose consciousness. Meanwhile, in a *Tabuik* ritual, *Gandang Tasa* triggers fierce emotions in the *Tabuik Pasa* and *Tabuik Subarang* supporters, which causes them to fight with each other. Until now, the function of *Gandang Tasa* in the *Tabuik* ritual has not been replaced by any other musical instrument or ensemble.

Asril (2015a) states, “The *gendang* and *tasa* are used as a stimulus to incite the emotions and spirit of the supporters of the performance to become violent. The rhythms of the *gendang* and *tasa*, played in a fast tempo with loud dynamics, will produce an “explosive” sound, and this will incite the emotions and spirit of the supporters of the performance.” Needham (quoted in Rouget 1985) also emphasises that, “The drum produces the greatest sound effect so it is used widely in various ceremonies.” Based on its function in these various contexts, *Gandang Tasa* also contains a concept of competing/fighting. Nevertheless, in reality the independent use of *Gandang Tasa* only contains a concept of competing.

Another performance that falls into the category of competing is *Mauluik*, which is a ritual that is held to commemorate the birth of the prophet Muhammad. The *Mauluik* ritual showcases cultural activities in a series of rituals, such as a procession in which members of the community bring donations of money and food to the mosque, both individually and in groups, accompanied by a performance of Islamic art. *Mauluik* performances are held in a mosque. In Nagari Sicincin and Lubuk Pandan, the participants in a *Mauluik* procession bring objects they have created themselves, referred to as *tabuik*, which include replicas of houses, cars, cattle, tigers, gadgets, as well as leaves and branches. Inside these *tabuik* they place banknotes. The procession is made up of adolescent boys and girls, young adults, and important figures in the community. An example of a procession of people carrying a *tabuik* can be seen in Photo 3.



Photo 3 *Tabuik* in the form of a statue of a cow.

Source: Photographed by Jonni.

In order to create a lively atmosphere and build a spirit of excitement and fierce intensity, each procession is accompanied by a *Gandang Tasa* ensemble. The participants in the procession, who come from different villages, display their grandeur, excitement, and the amount of money they have brought. In Nagari Sicincin, some members of the procession, usually young people, enter into a trance. The effect of the pounding beat and *gendang* rhythms of the *Gandang Tasa*, played in a fast tempo with a loud volume, very quickly alters their emotions, which are aroused to become fierce, out of control, and even lose consciousness (Asril, Sastra and Rovylendes 2018). In Nagari Parit Malintang the procession is somewhat different, with people walking to the mosque carrying banknotes fastened to branches that they call *bungo lado*. “*Bungo lado*, which means chilli flower, is a decorative tree with leaves of money, also referred to as a money tree. It is a display of communal euphoria to welcome the birthday of the prophet Muhammad” (Maijar 2018). The concept of competition appears in each group in the procession as they compete to show their grandeur and festive character with the objects (money and food) they bring.

The concept of competing is also found in the traditional art of *Indang*. *Indang* is a traditional art form which is a debate or “battle” of words that comprises elements of music, literature, and movement. The literary texts, known as *radaik*, are in the form of prose containing questions, answers, debates, complaints, provocations, presented in the form of metaphors in various linguistic styles by the different *Indang* groups. Haris and Sahrul (2018) states that, “The main characteristic of *radaik* is *cimeeh* (ridicule or insult) presented in a linguistic style of irony, sarcasm, cynicism, satire, and innuendo.” This is interesting because in other Minangkabau areas, the poetic word is the highest aesthetic (Pramayoza 2022).

One performance package involves three *Indang* groups which take turns to compete (Yulinis 2017; Ediwar and Hermawan 2007; Sahrul 2017) each with a duration of around 30–45 minutes. Themes may emerge spontaneously at the time of the performance, being introduced by the first group to perform and passed on to the other two competing groups. The *radaik* texts are presented by the *Tukang Dikie* and *Tukang Karang* from each group. The more skilled the *Tukang Dikie* and *Tukang Karang* in compiling and presenting the *radaik*, the more attractive the performance. The competition does not involve physical contact or face-to-face confrontation but uses shrewdness and skill to arrange words to trap the opponent. The dynamics of a performance are built through the *radaik* which is like a game of chess played between the two *Tukang Dikie* or *Tukang Karang*. The quality of an *Indang* group is determined largely by the ability of the *Tukang Dikie* and *Tukang Karang* to arrange and present the *radaik*.

In the field of music, such as *Gandang Tasa* and *Indang*, *tandiang* events have become a tradition in the Pariaman community. M. Nasir (2020), a 70 year-old *Gandang Tasa* teacher from Cubak Air said, “*Tandiang* or competing is a tradition of competing, competing in as *Gandang Tasa* performances between as *Gandang Tasa* groups throughout Pariaman.” Then Kaman (71 year-old) confirmed that, “Having a match has encouraged and motivated many *Gandang Tasa* groups to improve their playing skills to be better in fact, many new groups have appeared among young people and teenagers” (Kaman 2020).

The *tandiang* event is a place to show the skills of playing *Gandang Tasa* by each group. It is impossible to deal with it without preparation because it is competitive and there is competition. The same thing was done with *Indang*, according to Jafrizal (2021), “Arguing through metaphorical words such as satire and ridicule is a skill that must be built in the tradition of *Indang* performances; without it, it’s not an *Indang* show. So, each *Indang* group will practice their skills in arranging words to say to the *Indang* group that is their respective opponent.” The same thing was also stated by 58 year-old Yasri (2020), “We will always look for subtle satire words, but are sharp. The more subtly the insinuations are made, the higher the quality of the group.”

Adu/Tandiang (Fighting/Competing): Pariaman Community Demonstration of Excellence

The concept of *adu/tandiang* (fighting/competing) is a combination of the concepts of fighting and competing, where elements of contesting, fighting, clashing, inciting, opposing, competing, rivalling, and matching are found in a performance. In Pariaman society, the end goal of performances that contain an element of fighting/competing is not to achieve victory; it is not a competition to be won or lost. All the contestant who performs are simply demonstrating their own level of excellence in a dynamic way and with a sense of togetherness. One kind of performance that presents the concept of fighting/competing is the *Tabuik* ritual.

Tabuik is a hybrid cultural performance in the Pariaman community which is made up of elements of Shia, Sunni, and Minangkabau culture. A performance presents various fragments of the events surrounding the death of Husain (the grandson of the prophet Muhammad), manifested in the form of a procession, a “dramatisation” of grief, joy, violence, fighting between *Tabuik* supporters, immersion of the *tabuik* into the sea,

and in particular an attraction of demolishing the two *tabuik* artefacts that are an imaginary representation of the coffin of Husain (Asril 2016). Two opposing groups, *Tabuik Pasa* and *Tabuik Subarang*, fight and compete in this event, each with the support of the community from their own village. The *Tabuik* ceremony is a cultural performance in the Pariaman community which was created to be performed collectively by the people of Pariaman (Pasa and Subarang). As stated by Heriyawati (2016), “The characteristics of a cultural performance represent the identity of the culture of a particular community. The entire events of the performance are not merely the work of an individual artist.”

Fighting in the *Tabuik* ritual performance is the main menu of the show. Performances with violent dimensions such as provoking each other roughly between the two *Tabuik* supporters, pitting *tabuik* artefacts so that they take the form of fights, become an important part of every *Tabuik* performance. Syafruddin Auang (2021) an elder of *Tabuik Subarang* stated during an interview, “*Bacakak* (fighting) is a must in every *Tabuik* performance. This is part of the *Tabuik* show. If there is no *bacakak*, the *Tabuik* performance is considered cold and lacks enthusiasm.”

The tradition of fighting and hard dimensions has long been carried out in *Tabuik* performances, as Zulfakri (2021), the elder of *Tabuik Pasa* said, “*Bacakak* among *Tabuik* supporters has been carried out by our ancestors since 1915, and we have continued it until now.” Then it was strengthened by Nasrun Jon (2021), the elder of *Tabuik Subarang*, explaining that, “The *bacakak* tradition and other forms of performance with a hard dimension are creations originating from the Pariaman people themselves as a reflection of past life experiences.”

Elements of the concept of competing begin to appear when the two groups, *Tabuik Pasa* and *Tabuik Subarang*, simultaneously begin to form a procession. Both groups pass through the two districts as they process towards the venue of the ceremony. Throughout the procession, which is accompanied by the *Gandang Tasa*, they present a display of actions and movements to “provoke” the people from outside their own area who have come to watch. Another form of competing is displayed through the *tabuik* artefacts (imitations of Husain’s coffin), which are tower-like structures measuring 10–14 metres in height, decorated with coloured paper with various motifs. The two *tabuik* structures are shaken, swung around, pounded, and paraded to show how strong and great they are.

Meanwhile, the concept of fighting is manifested in a number of rituals that have a dimension of violence, such as the conflict, brutality, and fighting in the rituals *maambiak batang pisang*, *maarak jari-jari*, *maarak sorban*, and *hoyak tabuik* (Asril 2015a; 2016). The trigger and “instigator” of the violent atmosphere which leads to fighting between the two groups of *Tabuik* supporters is the *Gandang Tasa* with its rhythmic patterns, loud dynamics, and fast tempo as it plays the piece entitled “*Sosoh*.” The role of the music is dominant in arousing a spirit of excitement and anger among the participants in the performance, and building an atmosphere of hostility and competition between the two groups of *Tabuik* supporters (Asril 2015a: 218).

Various forms of opposition, violence, and fighting have been a part of the *Tabuik* ceremony for a long period of time. These violent dimensions are intentionally displayed to create an attractive performance. The fighting that appears in the *maambiak batang pisang*, *maarak jari-jari*, and *maarak sorban* rituals is a measure of the success of the *Tabuik* ritual. When fighting breaks out, there is a tendency for emotional outbursts to occur with a loss of control, and the *gendang* instrument and its beaters may be used to attack members of the opposing group, which is extremely dangerous.

When the Dutch colonised Pariaman, the people of Pariaman were pitted against each other by the Dutch through the *Tabuik* performance. The political dynamics that took place in Indonesia also influenced the *Tabuik* show to become heated. For example, since the 1960s and at its peak in 1965, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was opposed to the major Islamic parties, each party would mutually influence *Tabuik*’s supporters to become their constituents. As a result, *Tabuik*’s performance became heated as a venue for party representation. *Tabuik*’s supporters became the media and mask of inter-party fights. Examples showing the use of the *gendang* in a fight can be seen in Photos 4 and 5.

In the past, apart from fighting, other forms of conflict have also appeared in the form of provocation, such as mocking, attacking, cursing, and so on; nowadays, this is rarely seen. Navis (1987) states:

Mocking and fighting in *Tabuik* is a “development” that has arisen from the habit and nature of the Pariaman people themselves. Mass fighting occurs because of the “heated” atmosphere in the competition, and the battle of elegance of the *Tabuik* between the villages (Pasa and Subarang) and the battle of skills in pounding (dancing) the *Tabuik* when they meet at the wide intersection of the road. There is no-one else in Minangkabau with the expertise of the Pariaman people in mocking and no-one else with their enthusiasm to fight en masse.



Photo 4 and 5 During the fighting, the *gendang* is thrown to hit the opponent in an outburst of angry emotion.

Source: Photographed by Disbudpar and Yance.



Photo 6 One of the attractions in the *Tabuik* ritual is to bring together or match the two *tabuik* against each other.

Source: Photographed by Asril.

Apart from presenting a form of conflict, a *Tabuik* performance also conveys an atmosphere of togetherness, although still within a dimension of competing. For example, in the *tabuik* parade there is a ritual known as *hoyak tabuik*, in which the two *tabuik* structures are set in front of the main stage and sometimes brought together in a play-off or contest between the two. This behaviour is a form of competing/fighting because a competitive mood develops among the participants and the supporting communities (see Figure 3). Based on the description above, it is clear that the concept of competing and fighting (competing/fighting) is present in a performance of the *Tabuik* ritual, the largest and grandest ritual in Pariaman society.

Adu, Tandiang, and Adu/Tandiang (Fighting, Competing and Fighting/Competing): Pariaman Social Drama Reflection

Performances and rituals that use concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing all have their own unique character and characteristics, and are performed in their own unique way with their own criteria. Not all of these art performances and rituals have the goal of finding a winner or loser, with the exception of a *Gandang Tasa* competition. In the martial art of *silek*, none of the *pasilek* taking part in the contest are explicitly declared to be the winner. This is different from the common practice of martial arts in which every fight will produce a winner. Over the course of time, new *pasilek* emerge with a high level of skills. These martial artists, known as *pandeka*, are not born and affirmed in the arena of a *silek* competition but are recognised by *silek* schools, teachers, other *pandeka*, and the general public after successfully passing through a period of time in which their skills and behaviour in the community are “tested.”

Although there is no direct physical contact in a contest of *ulu ambek*, every time an attack is launched, it must be fended off properly or there will be a loser, referred to as *buluih*. *Buluih* is the label used when there is an outright defeat. It not only refers to the person taking part but also to all the members of the community and *nagari* that the *ulu ambek* player represents. The predicate *buluih* is something all *ulu ambek* players wish to avoid because it concerns the pride of the whole community and *nagari*. All the traditional elders, *ulu ambek* leaders, and people associated with *ulu ambek* are highly aware that shaming anyone with the label *buluih* in

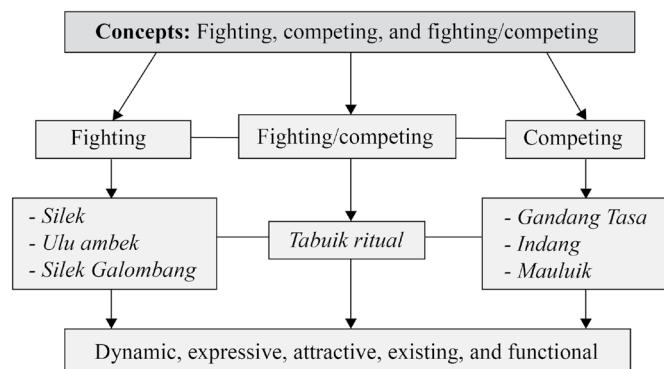


Figure 3 Diagram of the concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing.

Source: Illustrated by Asril.

an *ulu ambek* performance is an act of disgrace. However, this does not mean that an *ulu ambek* performance is not serious, or is only for the purpose of a show of pretence.

Ulu ambek contains important lessons for all the players, whether young or old, namely lessons about morals, ethics, and vigilance. Yulinis (2015) refers to this as *tageh* and *bataratik*. *Tageh* means to have a balance between power, gentleness, intelligence, wisdom, agility, and flexibility. *Bataratik* is concerned with courtesy and politeness in play, and the way it is implemented in daily life. Due to the frequency with which *ulu ambek* players take part in a competition, they will gradually transform to become *ulu ambek* players on the level of *pandeka*. Fighting in *silek* and *ulu ambek* is not about seeking prestige and status, like the cockfighting contests in Bali described by Clifford Geertz (1992), nor is it a competition that drains the players' energy to the point of losing consciousness like a capoeira competition (Lewis 2013).

Performances in *Mauluik* and *Tabuik* rituals are essentially a display of fighting and competing that does not produce a winner. They are cultural performances that contain various cultural and artistic activities which are presented at a designated time for an audience to watch. Heriyawati (2016) states that cultural content is encased aesthetically in a cultural performance. A *Tabuik* ritual in particular not only contains elements of opposition, fighting, and conflict, but also presents various traditional arts and creations such as *Indang*, *Debus*, *Gandang Tasa* competitions, *silek*, Islamic arts, popular music, new dance creations, and theatre. This kind of cultural performance is described by Singer (1972) as follows:

Many people imagine their culture compacted into special events, "cultural performances," which can be displayed to themselves and to other people, and present "units of a cultural structure that can be observed and are most concrete." These whole performances have unique characteristics, such as a strictly limited time period, a beginning and an end, a planned program of activities, a group of performers, an audience, and a performance venue and event.

Opposition, contests, competitions, and matches that manifest as constructed "conflict" are a dynamic in the art performances and rituals of Pariaman society. Conflict indirectly builds up the dramatic element of a performance to become more dynamic. Zubir (2010) states, "Conflict holds an important position in growing cultural dynamics in Minangkabau. Conflict not only leads to discord; on the contrary, it is the source of dynamics in the Minangkabau community." Furthermore, Asril (2016) stresses that, "In a *Tabuik* performance, it appears that fighting as a form of conflict is not always viewed as a negative action."

Providing a "space" for the supporters of *Tabuik Pasa* and *Tabuik Subarang* to fight can be viewed as a release of emotional energy that has built up during the ritual because after the *Tabuik* performance has ended, there is no revenge between the groups or individuals outside the performance context. If they want to take revenge, they must wait until the *Tabuik* performance the following year. The concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing are applied to several genres of performing arts and rituals can be seen in Figure 3 and Table 1.

These art forms can be compared with traditional performing arts with non-fighting, competing, and fighting/competing such as *talempong*, *rabab*, *katumbak*, and *gamad*. *Talempong* is a genre of traditional melodic music and *rabab* is a form of traditional recitation music, both of which reached their height of popularity during the 1960s to 1980s as a kind of entertainment music. Subsequently, they gradually

Table 1 Concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing.

No.	Concepts of <i>adu-tandiang</i>			
	Concept of performance	Form of performance	Genre of performance	Condition/information
1.	Concept of fighting	Performance presented in the form of a contest, fight, participants perform in pairs and groups	- <i>Silek</i> - <i>Ulu ambek</i> - <i>Silek galombang</i>	Dynamic, expressive, existing, and thriving
2.	Concept of competing	Performance presented in the form of a competition or contest, contestants perform in groups	- <i>Gandang Tasa</i> - <i>Indang</i> - <i>Mauluik</i>	Dynamic, expressive, existing, functional, and thriving
3.	Concept of Fighting/Competing	Performance presented in the form of a contest and competition, presented in groups	- <i>Tabuik</i>	Dynamic, expressive, attractive, existing, and functional

Table 2 Non-fighting, competing, and fighting/competing concepts.

No.	Non-fighting-competing concepts		
	Genre of performing art	Form of performance	Condition/information
1.	<i>Katumbak</i>	Lively ensemble, presented by a single group	Critical, almost obsolete, only two groups remain
2.	<i>Rabab</i>	Recitation, presentation of a story accompanied by <i>rebab</i> , performed by a single group	Critical, almost obsolete
3.	<i>Gamad</i>	Ensemble of hybrid music, lively and melancholic, performed by a single group	Critical, almost obsolete, no groups now really exist
4.	<i>Talempong</i>	Lively ensemble, presented by a single group	Almost obsolete, there is now one group that has undergone revitalisation

experienced a decline and have since become obsolete. The same were true for *katumbak* and *gamad*, which are hybrid musical genres that were once popular from 1960 to 1990 but subsequently failed to thrive and have ceased to exist.

The reason for this is the lack of an element of competition and the inability to compete with other musical genres. They also failed to keep up with the social and cultural changes that were taking place in Pariaman society. The competitive and dynamic principles that characterise the people of Pariaman were not responded to or matched with a change in form, packaging, content, or way of presentation in these arts. They were unable to show the necessary flexibility and creativity. This is completely different from the performing arts and rituals that have concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing, which responded well to the changes taking place in society. Table 2 shows the art forms with non-fighting, competing, and fighting/competing concepts.

The characters that appear in the show as aesthetic acts are ontologically a reflection of the daily social actions of the Pariaman people. The tendency for mass performances reflects the nature of the Pariaman people, who live in groups as a community, either permanently or temporarily. Very few Pariaman people move individually. The interaction in groups of the Pariaman people tends to mix serious things with jokes to create a dynamic and dramatic atmosphere. The distance between jokes and seriousness can be fragile so that it can cause tension, anger, attacks, and accusations, but it can also change quickly to relax and be full of laughter.

These interactions are generally marked by conversations that are filled with diction in the form of sarcasm, both rough and subtle, in the form of sarcasm and cynicism, satire, and irony. Various insinuations were practised in conversations and uttered in multiple activities in society. So that the Pariaman people are widely known as *tukang cimeeh* (mocker), who like to ridicule, humiliate, or break an idea or act in the form of insults, reproaches, ridicule, or something that demeans a person, even a group with another group.

The Minangkabau people have the habit of delivering similar insinuations. Even the Creole people in Sawahlunto, who interact with the Minangkabau people, also apply this style of insinuations in their art through

satire and irony (Pramayoza and Yuliza 2023b). What differentiates is the typical attitude of the Pariaman people, who treat insinuations as a battle and a match. Insinuations will consistently be rebuffed and avoided by those who are satirised. If the diction of insinuations is conveyed harshly, such as sarcasm and cynicism, then the insinuations will be countered and attacked back, leading to tensions that trigger anger. If the diction of insinuations is conveyed subtly, for example, in the form of irony and satire, there will be challenging and elusive dialogue.

The daily interactions of the Pariaman people are also marked in the form of behaviour, which is usually shown through attitudes and actions of mutual overcoming and competition between individuals and groups. The tendency to compete, for example, appears in fundraising for various social activities. The amount of donations given by a person or group will be squeezed out as much as possible by others with an enormous amount, and so on. If from conversational interactions emerge elements of attacking, parrying, dodging, and challenging dialogue, then from these behavioural interactions emerge elements of rivalry.

Attacking, parrying, and evading techniques are implemented in *silek*, *ulu ambek*, *Silek Galombang*, and *Indang* performances. In fact, the *Indang* performance displays formidable attacks between groups of performers to argue something metaphorically. Meanwhile, the behaviour of competing or overcoming each other is implemented as a technical contest in competitive performances, such as *Gandang Tasa* and *Mauluik*. As for *Tabuik*, there is an accumulation of conversational and behavioural interactions. Conversational interactions appear mocking each other between *Tabuik* fans as a technique to evoke anger and ferocity, which can lead to fights. Meanwhile, the rivalry is manifested in the technique of making *tabuik* artefacts as excellent and grand as possible to beat the majesty of other *Tabuik* groups.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research on rituals, martial arts, and music in Pariaman society, it can be concluded that these performing arts and rituals have concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing, and that over all they belong to the concept of *adu-tandiang*. This concept is implemented partially, with concepts of fighting and competing that are displayed clearly in a number of arts and rituals, and in a combination of fighting and competing to become fighting/competing in certain rituals such as the *Tabuik* ritual. The concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing are a reflection of the reality, social and cultural experience, and expression of the Pariaman people, who have a spirited and dynamic character which is applied to bring to life and develop the performing arts, rituals, and music in their community. The performing arts and rituals that implement concepts of fighting, competing, and fighting/competing have a flexibility that has enabled them to continue to survive up to the present day alongside the changes that have taken place in society. This is not the case with traditional arts such as *rabab*, *katumbak*, *gamad*, and *talempong*, which do not have a concept of *adu-tandiang*, and as a result have failed to survive, as they do not have the dynamics and sensitivity to respond positively to social changes in their form, packaging, content, and style of presentation.

The past life experiences of the Pariaman people since the arrival of foreign nations as traders and colonisers to their area until the political turmoil that occurred in Indonesia crystallised into a dynamic of life which is reflected in their attitude which is more dynamic, alert, familiar, and can be fierce. Everything becomes the character of the Pariaman people. Sociologically, they interact well with fellow Minangkabau people and with other communities in Indonesia, stay in touch, but are also ready for confrontation. Anthropologically, this attitude is reflected in their culture of ritual and art performances which are aggressive, dynamic, masculine, theatrical, compete, and contested. The dynamics of life experiences that have crystallised into the character of the Pariaman people to this day, produce positive values for mobility and the cultural products they produce.

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