

# MANAPA: AN EVENT TO RENEW SOCIAL BONDS THROUGH THE PERFORMATIVITY OF GANDANG TASA IN THE PARIAMAN COMMUNITY WEST SUMATERA

Asril<sup>1</sup>, Andar Indra Sastra<sup>2</sup>, and Adjuoktoza Rovylendes<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Indonesia Institute of the Arts Padangpanjang, Padangpanjang, Indonesia, ✉ [asrilmuchtar2017@gmail.com](mailto:asrilmuchtar2017@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup>Indonesia Institute of the Arts Padangpanjang, Padangpanjang, Indonesia, ✉ [andarstisipp@gmail.com](mailto:andarstisipp@gmail.com)

<sup>3</sup>Indonesia Institute of the Arts Padangpanjang, Padangpanjang, Indonesia, ✉ [adjuoktoza@gmail.com](mailto:adjuoktoza@gmail.com)

## Abstract

The goal of this article is to investigate *manapa* or *batajau* in an event to renew social bonds through the performativity of *gandang tasa* in the Pariaman community. *Manapa* (a regular social gathering with a performance) is an example of local wisdom that is implemented in a traditional manner with an aesthetical packaging. As a regular social gathering with a performance, *manapa gangdang tasa* is used to establish and renew social bonds between *gandang tasa* groups from different *nagari* (villages) in the Pariaman community. In *manapa*, *gandang tasa* groups take turns to visit each other and perform a number of their own special pieces as well as other pieces that the groups can play together. The study uses a qualitative method with emphasis on detailed observation of a *manapa* event. An interpretative analysis is used to reveal the concept of *manapa* as a formula that can act as a social bond between the Pariaman community. Through an emic approach, the research results show that the performance of *gandang tasa* in the context of *manapa* can build unity and togetherness.

**Keywords:** *manapa*, performativity, *gandang tasa*, renewing social bonds, Pariaman community.

---

## Introduction

*Manapa* is an activity involving performances by several different groups or communities in a number of different art traditions, in which groups visit other places where the same kind of activity takes place. In a *manapa* event, each group takes turns to demonstrate its skills. The primary goal of this event is to establish social bonds and artistic connections between the different groups. Some of the traditional arts that usually participate in *manapa* events are *silek*, *indang*, and *gandang tasa*. In some parts of Pariaman, such as Sicincin, Lubuk Alung, and Pasar Usang Batang Anai, *manapa* is referred to as *batajau* (Sidi Brahim, interview 5 April 2018 in Sicincin), while in other areas of Pariaman, such as Sungai Sarik, Tandikek, Limau Purut, and a number of other *nagari*, as well as in the city of Pariaman, it is more commonly known as *manapa*. In this article, the writer will use the word *manapa* to describe this particular art activity.

The general understanding of *manapa*, as explained by Bapayuang, is visiting a particular place to test one's knowledge or skills (Bapayuang, 2015: 427). This definition of *manapa* by Bapayuang emphasizes the importance of testing one's skills when visiting a certain place. This may refer to an event in which individuals or groups visit another place and compete and test their skills against the individual or group waiting for them in that place. In Pariaman, however, *manapa* in the sense described by Bapayuang is now seldom found. Nowadays, *manapa* is an activity in which a particular art or tradition is performed by a number of different groups, in turn, depending on the particular *manapa* event itself. For example, in *manapa silek* (*manapa silat*), each of the groups that has been invited to come from the various *nagari* (villages) gives a performance of *silek*. The *silek* performers are not competing against each other in this event.

In addition to *manapa silek*, one other *manapa* tradition that is sometimes held in the Pariaman community involves the traditional music *gandang tasa*. In general, *gandang tasa* in the social cultural context of the Pariaman community is more often used to support various ritual and ceremonial events, or performed as entertainment, or in prize-winning competitions known as *bapereih*. In a *Tabuik* performance, *gandang tasa* is used to create an atmosphere with a dimension of violence and frenzied emotion that triggers fighting between the *Tabuik* supporters (Asril, 2015: 74). Very rarely is *gandang tasa* used for purposes

outside this context. There is, however, one activity in the Pariaman community involving *gandang tasa* that is seldom publicized and has not yet been touched on by researchers of traditional music and performance studies, and this is the activity of *manapa gandang tasa*. The performance of *gandang tasa* in the context of *manapa* is a performance involving several *gandang tasa* groups from different kampongs or *nagari* which takes place in a particular kampong. *Manapa* is an activity that moves from one place to another, or one kampong or *nagari* to another. The requirement for a kampong to host a *manapa* event is that it has its own *gandang tasa* group. *Manapa* is an event that is intended to build social bonds between the *gandang tasa* players and between the different groups through a performance. Compared with the role of *gandang tasa* in a *Tabuik* performance *manapa* is a paradox. The tradition of *manapa gandang tasa* is an interesting phenomenon to discuss in this article, which investigates how the people of Pariaman position the role of *gandang tasa* in *manapa*, as an event to strengthen social bonds in the community.

## Research Method

The writer uses a qualitative method in this research. Data about the performativity of *gandang tasa* in a *manapa* performance was collected through careful observation. The observation initially focused more on the overall performance of *gandang tasa*, and subsequently in more detail on the playing techniques, expression, style, interpretation, and attitude or behaviour of the players in a *manapa* performance. In addition, the observation focused on the flexibility in the performance and the sense of camaraderie between the players and between different groups. In this way, the data collected was able to show the atmosphere of friendship and renewing of social bonds in a *manapa* event. In order to strengthen the data about the atmosphere of friendship in a *manapa* event, in-depth interviews were held with a number of important figures and *gandang tasa* teachers who are frequently involved in *manapa* events. An emic approach was used to explore this type of regular social gathering with a performance of *gandang tasa* in the context of *manapa*. An interpretive analysis was used to reveal the concept of *manapa* as a formula that serves to develop social bonds between members of the Pariaman community.

## Review of Sources

To date, no research studies have been carried out which touch directly upon the performativity of *gandang tasa* in a *manapa* event. A number of previous studies related to *gandang tasa* and its role in supporting various events in the Pariaman community concentrate on a discussion of the *Tabuik* ritual and the *mauluik* ritual (a ritual to commemorate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad). These include a work by Asril (2015), who writes about the role of *gandang tasa* in the *Tabuik* ritual in Pariaman, in an article published in the *Humaniora* journal, which focuses mainly on the role of *gandang tasa* in the various rites that make up the *Tabuik* ritual. The role of *gandang tasa* is to create an atmosphere that is sad, moving, joyful, solemn, fierce, or has a dimension of violence that may even lead to fighting between the supporters of a *Tabuik* ritual. In his paper, Cameron Malik (2013) discusses the musical composition *Sosoh*, a *gandang tasa* piece that is used in the *Tabuik* ritual. According to Malik, the musical composition *Sosoh* is performed in a rite which presents fighting between the supporters to create an attitude of survival in the *Tabuik* ritual, which affects the sense of survival of young *Tabuik* supporters in their attitudes toward the defence and preservation of their own communities.

Other research related to the performativity of *gandang tasa* focuses only on the *mauluik* ritual in Pariaman (Asril et al. 2018), specifically in the *mauluik* ritual in Nagari Sicincin, in Padang Pariaman Regency. The role of *gandang tasa* in the musical composition *Sosoh* in a *Tabuik* ritual has the double effect of creating an expression of excitement and also an expression of frenzied fervour. The expression of excitement is a manifestation of feelings of joy and control, while the expression of frenzied fervour is the manifestation of people becoming completely immersed in the ritual and carried away to the extent that they enter into a trance. These two expressions form the dynamics and dramatics of the *mauluik* ritual in Sicincin. Meanwhile, Febrina (2012) discusses the function of *gandang tasa* in the *mauluik* ritual in Sicincin. According to Febrina, there are four functions of *gandang tasa* in the *mauluik* ritual: entertainment, expression, social integration, and communication.

A theoretical review is carried out in this performance study, in order to support the discussion about the performativity of *gandang tasa* in this article, with reference to Schechner's idea about the basic structure of a performance, which consists of preparation, performance, and aftermath. In addition, Austin's performative theory is used to investigate the performativity of *gandang tasa* in a *manapa* event. These two theories are synergized with an emic approach to reveal the concept of *manapa* and the performativity of *gandang tasa* in the Pariaman community.

## Results and Discussion

*Manapa* or *batajau* in the traditional context of the Pariaman community and in its understanding today is an activity involving performances by several different groups or communities, in a number of different art traditions, in which the groups visit other places where the same kind of activity takes place. In a *manapa* event, each group takes turns to demonstrate its playing skills. The primary goal of this event is to establish social bonds and artistic connections between the different groups. Some of the traditional arts that usually participate in *manapa* events are *silek*, *indang*, and *gandang tasa*. In some parts of Pariaman, *manapa*, as it is known in other areas, is referred to as *batajau*. For example, in the areas of Sicincin, Lubuk Alung, and Pasar Usang Batang Anai, the activity known as *manapa* is referred to as *batajau* (Sidi Brahim, interview 5 April 2018 in Sicincin), while in other areas of Pariaman, such as Sungai Sarik, Tandikek, Limau Purut, and a number of other *nagari*, as well as in the city of Pariaman, it is more commonly known as *manapa*. In this article, the writer will only use the word *manapa* to describe this particular art activity.

The general understanding of *manapa*, as explained by Bapuyuang, is to visit a place to test one's knowledge or skills (Bapuyuang, 2015: 427). This definition of *manapa* by Bapuyuang emphasizes the effort to test one's skills when visiting a certain place. This may refer to the individual or the group visiting the place where they compete to test their skills with the individual or group waiting for them in that place. In Pariaman, however, *manapa* in the sense described by Bapuyuang is now seldom found, but in the past, Muslim scholars from a particular prayer house would visit another prayer house to test their skills and the depth of their religious knowledge. If a prayer house displayed a lack of knowledge or poor skills, or lost in the *manapa* contest, the prayer house would become deserted and its scholars would leave because they no longer felt their teacher was a great person. Nowadays, in Pariaman the purpose of *manapa* is not to test the skills or knowledge of the group, or to compete in such a way that leads to fighting between the groups or communities that come to watch the performance. Instead, the groups take turns to perform whatever art or tradition is being performed in the particular *manapa* event. For example, in *manapa silek* or *batajau silek* (*manapa silat*), each of the groups that has been invited to come from the various participating *nagari* (villages) gives a performance of *silek*. The *silek* performers are not competing against each other in this event. This is also the case in *manapa gandang tasa*, in which each group performs pieces that they know from their repertoire and are able to perform well.

### 1. Tradition of *manapa gandang tasa*

The frequency of *manapa gandang tasa* in the Pariaman community is irregular and not yet well organized. *Manapa* does not always happen each year; sometime it happens only once every two or three years. This is different from performances of *gandang tasa bapereih* (prize-winning competitions of *gandang tasa*) which take place every year. Each year, *gandang tasa* competitions are held between 5 and 8 times in different venues. The enthusiasm is at quite a different level from that of a *manapa* event. A *manapa* is more like a celebratory performance, and if a *gandang tasa* group from a particular *korong*<sup>1</sup> or *nagari* wishes to hold a *manapa*, they will first discuss the idea of holding a *manapa* with other members of the *kampung*, under the guidance and with the consent of the *kapalo mudo*<sup>2</sup>. There is no such thing as a periodic *manapa* event that moves from place to place at regular intervals according to the agreement of the different *gandang tasa* groups. A *manapa* event depends strongly on the initiative or desire of a particular *gandang tasa* group from a particular *korong* or *nagari*.

The participants in a *manapa* event are *gandang tasa* groups from *kampongs*, *nagari*, or villages in the surrounding area of the hosting *manapa* group. Usually about 10 *gandang tasa* groups take part although the number of groups participating in a *manapa* is limited only by the administrative territory of the local government. The *korong* or village hosting the *manapa* is free to invite other *gandang tasa* groups from the Pariaman area (including the Padang Pariaman Regency and the city of Pariaman). In 2015, for example, a *manapa* event was held by the hamlet of Labung in the village of Sikapak Timur in the South Pariaman sub-district of Pariaman city. The committee invited *gandang tasa* groups from in and around the Labung hamlet as well as groups from the rest of the Padang Pariaman Regency, such as Limau Purut, Palak Jua, Padang Alai, Tandikek, and so on. In 2013, Sungai Sarik hosted a *manapa gandang tasa* event which even invited the PKDP (Persatuan Keluarga Daerah Piaman) *gandang tasa* group from the City of Solok.

*Manapa gandang tasa* usually takes place in the evening, beginning after the Isha prayers and continuing until late in the night (around midnight or 1 am), in a wide, open field that is large enough to accommodate several *gandang tasa* groups. The day for holding a *manapa* event is flexible; it may be held on a Saturday evening or on another day that fits in with the weekly practice of the hosting *gandang tasa* group, which may be any day of the week. The committee provides a set of *gandang tasa* instruments (about 6-10 *gandang* and a single *tasa*) and other necessary equipment such as rattan and *gandang* beaters. The participating groups

usually bring their own *tasa*, rattan, and *gandang* beaters. In addition, the committee also provides drinks and snacks for the performers. To help the hosting group, sometimes other *gandang tasa* groups make a voluntary contribution to help cover the costs of the food, the amount of which is not specified.

There are no strict rules or procedures for the implementation of *manapa*. It is a very flexible and friendly event. This means that everything concerning the implementation of the performance and the *gandang tasa* groups participating in the event may be adapted to suit the times allotted for the performance of each group. Similarly, the order in which the different *gandang tasa* groups appear is flexible, not fixed, and may vary depending on a number of considerations such as a particular group arriving late or other conditions. The performance usually begins with a *gandang tasa* group from the village hosting the event, which may be a children's group, a young people's group, or an adults' group. If a children's group or young people's group plays, this is viewed as an opening performance or a warm-up before the main groups begin to perform. If an adults' group opens the performance, this affects the atmosphere of the *manapa* event and creates a condition that attracts a larger audience, including members of the community and also the other groups waiting to perform, who watch the performance seriously. However, this may also be the case when a children's group performs because quite often children's *gandang tasa* groups also stun the audience with their exuberant, free expression, which is characteristic of the usual happy nature of children.

The other *gandang tasa* groups that come to participate in the event bring adults, young people, and children. For the children and young people, the *manapa* performance is an important event for deepening their appreciation and improving their knowledge of *gandang tasa*, including the playing styles, expression, and repertoire of pieces performed by each group. There is usually one composition that is known and played by all the *gandang tasa* groups from the different kampongs, although there are certain differences in playing style, in the rhythmic variations of the *gandang* and *tasa*, and in the different ways used for building the dynamics and dramatics of the performance.

Today, *manapa* has also begun to emerge in another form, although strictly speaking this cannot really be called *manapa*. This form of *manapa* is a *gandang tasa* competition which contests the skills of each participating group. The tension in this competition is very high, and the expression and playing style are very different, tending to be quite serious. However, some of the *gandang tasa* groups that perform in this event are not actually contestants. They include groups such as the women's *gandang tasa* group from Tanjung Pisang, Sintuk, which often performs at *gandang tasa* competitions, and students' groups from the Karawitan Department at Institut Seni Indonesia Padangpanjang, which also sometimes perform at *gandang tasa* competitions. The goal of these groups is simply to gain more experiencing in performing *gandang tasa* and to watch the other groups competing. See photos 1, 2, and 3 below which show different groups taking part in *bapereih* events.



Photo 1. A girl playing *tasa* in the women's *gandang tasa* group from Tanjung Pisang Sintuk (Photo: Asril Muchtar)



Photo 2. Some women's *gandang tasa* group from Tanjung Pisang Sintuk performing as participants of a *gandang tasa bapereih* event in Korong Sialangan Tinggi, Nagari Gunung Padang Alai on 15 April 2018 (Photo: Asril Muchtar)



Photo 3. Some female students' *gandang tassa* group from the Karawitan Department at ISI Padangpanjang participating in a *gandang tassa bapereih* event in Korong Sialangan Tinggi, Nagari Gunung Padang Alai on 15 April 2018 (Photo: Asril Muchtar)

## 2. Performativity of *gandang tassa* in *manapa*

The performativity of *gandang tassa* will be discussed in a performance involving a number of different *gandang tassa* groups. This type of *gandang tassa* performance consists of several stages, referring to Schechner's idea that the basic structure of a performance is divided into three stages: preparation, performance, and aftermath (Schechner, 2004: xviii; see also Murgiyanto, 2016: 20-21). Preparation refers to the activities such as rehearsals to learn the pieces that are to be performed. Each *gandang tassa* group has its own way of rehearsing. Some hold regular rehearsals once a week on a particular day, which they call *mingguan gandang tassa* (weekly *gandang tassa* rehearsals), such as the *gandang tassa* group from Bukik Apik Bari, Sicincin. This group practices every Thursday evening as their *mingguan gandang tassa* activity. Other groups do not have such a regular practice schedule and usually only practice when they are preparing for an event such as *manapa*, or a wedding party, *mauluk Nabi* (a celebration to commemorate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad), and so on.

These rehearsals, which are considered the first part of the main structure of a performance, are more than simply learning the material of the pieces that are going to be performed; they are also concerned with expression, performance style or behaviour, solidarity of the team, and interpretation of the music. In connection with this, a rehearsal, according to Schechner, is essentially an effort to improve the behaviour, attitude, and technique of a performer from his day to day behaviour to become performance behaviour. Schechner refers to this improvement in behaviour as "restored behaviour". Restored behaviour is an important process in various kinds of performance (Schechner, 2013: 34-35). Rehearsals are very important for the players in a *gandang tassa* group because when they play music, they are being watched by other people. They are presenting their behaviour that has been restored or upgraded from their day to day behaviour. What the audience is looking at is not their technique of playing the *gandang* and *tassa* without any emotion, aesthetic, or improved behaviour but rather a performance in which their emotion, aesthetic, and restored behaviour comes together. When a person performs, whether he realizes it or not, he is constantly regulating his behaviour because he knows that he is performing in front of an audience and being watched by other people (Goffman in Murgiyanto, 2016: 23).

The next stage is the performance itself, or the presentation of the material or the pieces that have been rehearsed. The performance is the main part of the basic structure mentioned above because it is presented to be watched or enjoyed by an audience. Although a performance in *manapa gandang tassa* is not arranged properly like in a serious performance such as *gandang tassa bapereih*, which has very strict rules and procedures, nevertheless it can still be referred to as a performance. The elements that make something a performance, according to Simatupang, are the intention to perform (related to the players), the presentation of something extraordinary as an attraction for the audience (related to the material to be performed), and the presence of an event that brings together the intention of the players/artists and the expectations of the audience for something to watch (Simatupang, 2013: 65). In this case, the three elements are: the intention of the *gandang tassa* players to give a performance of *gandang tassa* at a *manapa* event; the presentation of *gandang tassa* as a result of the rehearsals and through a process of restored behaviour of the players; and the *manapa* event which brings together the *gandang tassa* performance as an event with the audience that comes to watch the event.

A *gandang tassa* performance in a *manapa* event is usually preceded by rehearsals by each of the participating *gandang tassa* groups, either as a regular weekly practice or in the form of more intensive preparations leading up to the *manapa*. As explained above, the performance in a *manapa* event may begin with a children's *gandang tassa* group or an adults' group. After this opening performance, the other *gandang*

*tasa* groups demonstrate their ability to play *gandang tasa*. They play using their own techniques which are based on the customs of their group, and more specifically on the way the individuals behave in the performance. Some groups perform in a manner that is full of joy, as reflected in their attitude and style of performance; some groups like to improvise; others perform in a more relaxed manner while enjoying the performance, and so on. A performance of *gandang tasa* in *manapa* does not have any competitive tendencies or rivalry. The entire duration of a performance may be 2-3 hours, depending on the number of *gandang tasa* groups participating in the performance.

*Manapa* in and around the district of Sikapak (in the city of Pariaman), and in Limau Purut, Padang Alai, Palak Jua, Barangan, and the surrounding areas (Padang Pariaman Regency), always includes one particular composition that is considered important, namely *Alihan Anam*. This piece has a high level of complexity and is rich in rhythmic motifs and patterns. In compositional terms, it is made up of rhythmic motifs and patterns that reflect the dynamic and dramatic considerations of the performance and are attractive both to watch and to hear. In a *gandang tasa bapereih* event, this piece is used as the compulsory piece that every group must play in the contest. Below is an excerpt of the notation of *Alihan Anam*, written by Susandara Jaya.

Alihan 1

The musical notation for Alihan 1 consists of two staves: Tasa (top) and G Tambua (bottom). The time signature is 2/4. The notation is divided into several systems, with measure numbers 7, 13, 16, 6, 12, 18, and 22 indicating the start of new sections. The Tasa staff features complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth notes, while the G Tambua staff has a simpler, more rhythmic accompaniment. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the 22nd measure.

Alihan 4

After several of the *gandang tasa* groups have performed, the host asks a number of important *gandang tasa* figures and *gandang tasa* teachers from various areas to perform together. This makes the atmosphere of the event more serious and is usually the climax of the performance. The appearance of these important *gandang tasa* figures and teachers is a form of appreciation and at the same time an important and valuable lesson for the younger players. The *tasa* player serves as a role model in a *gandang tasa* performance. A highly skilled *tasa* player will be watched closely by his juniors, who pay attention to his technique for playing the *tasa*, the ways he presents different rhythmic variations by beating the rattan stick on the *tasa*, and the ways he positions the different rhythmic patterns between the rhythms of the *gandang*, creating dynamics and emotion, and directing the tempo of the music while controlling the performance. The *tasa* player is the leader in a *gandang tasa* performance, and he understands well every detail of each piece that is played. In addition to the *tasa* player, much attention is given to the *gandang* players, in terms of their togetherness, their communication of emotions through the rhythmic patterns, their dynamics, improvisation, and how they combine or treat the different rhythmic patterns of the *gandang*.

An important note about the visual aspect of a performance is that when the *gandang tasa* players perform in front of an audience, they indirectly correct or improve their behaviour as an example of the restored behaviour mentioned above. The expression, emotion, and interpretation of the music played is reflected through the players' style, attitude, and playing techniques. They follow the structure that applies to a *gandang tasa* performance. This structure refers to all the elements that make up a *gandang tasa* performance, each of which plays a role that together creates the overall performance, and this includes non-technical elements such as interpretation, expression, and emotion. It is not possible for their restored behaviour to appear suddenly or spontaneously in a performance; this behaviour is formed through the rehearsal process. In a performance the players do not present their day to day behaviour like when they arrive at the *manapa* arena prior to the performance.

All that the *gandang tasa* players present as a result of their restored behaviour is recognized as the performativity of each the different *gandang tasa* groups. According to Austin, performativity is the behaviour or actions presented through a performance. Austin stresses that speech must be followed or accompanied by action (performance) (Schechner, 2002:110). In a performance study, it is not possible for a performance event to be born only through speech, without being followed by action in the form of a performance. This is what takes place in the performance of *gandang tasa* in a *manapa* event, where the performers are doing what they have pledged to do, namely to perform in the *manapa* event. When they play *gandang tasa*, they are in fact bringing into reality a performance.

The performativity of *gandang tasa* in *manapa* is not only limited to what is visible on the surface of the *gandang tasa* performance itself. More than that, it includes the expression and the way each group presents itself, which also portrays the habits or customs that generally prevail in each kampong or group, or in the behaviour of each individual. The joy, togetherness, improvisation, and other aspects displayed by the group are all aspects of the performativity of *gandang tasa*. A more important aspect of performativity of *gandang tasa* in the context of *manapa* is to develop the social bonds between the different *gandang tasa* groups. The manifestation of performativity of *gandang tasa* as an event to renew the social bonds between the groups is presented through the joint performance in which the groups play in turn and the event is regulated only by loose rules, placing more emphasis on togetherness and friendship than on differences. The coming together of the groups in this even develops friendship that is built on the basis of flexibility, not by following and deferring to a performance that is organized by the host. *Manapa* has no competitive tendencies and is not a contest. It is not possible for these social bonds to be formed if the players do not attend the event and take part in this joint performance. The more often a *manapa* event is held, the more often *gandang tasa* can be performed together by different groups, thus renewing and developing stronger social bonds.

The aftermath generally refers to the activities that take place after the performance has finished. The groups will return home to their own villages and the host of the *manapa* event will tidy up the performance arena, place the *gandang* and *tasa* back where they belong, and so on. The aftermath is not only limited to the activities after the performance, however, but also includes another important activity – the evaluation by each group and by the host of the *manapa* event. The host evaluates the *manapa* event in terms of its implementation, service, the groups that attended, and even the arena where the performance took place. Meanwhile, each of the participating groups evaluates how well the players managed to perform the material they had learnt, which parts need more improvement, which parts lacked expression, how well they performed together as a group, how ethical and aesthetical the performance was, and any other important lessons they learned from the performances of the other groups.

*Manapa* indirectly presents two things: it demonstrates the ability and skills of each group and it enables the groups to learn from the techniques, strengths, and weaknesses of all the other *gandang tasa* groups that performed. As stated by Ajo Nasir from Cubadak Air:

“*Manapa* is needed to „test“ the mental ability of children when they perform together with many other groups. They indirectly also learn from the strengths of the other groups and can also see their own weaknesses. On returning home from a *manapa* event, we discuss anything valuable we have learnt and any shortcomings that need to be improved so that in the future we can give a better performance.” (Nasir, interview, August 2017 in Pariaman).

In addition to the host group and the other participating groups, during a performance members of the audience also make their own judgement of the groups that perform. Usually the audience will comment about the different performances as they drink coffee in roadside stalls. They will comment about the performances that were good and those that still had many flaws. Members of the audience who have a good understanding of *gandang tasa* will also comment about the pieces played and the playing styles and techniques.

### **3. *Manapa* as a regular social gathering and an event to renew social bonds**

A *manapa* event that involves a number of *gandang tasa* groups from different kampongs will continue to be hosted in turn by the different groups involved in the event. Hence, the groups visit each other’s kampongs and this becomes a kind of *arisan*, or a regular social gathering, with the performance of *gandang tasa*. There are no stipulations about the need for designing a fixed schedule or making it a periodic event; it depends entirely on how ready the group is that is to host the next *manapa* event. *Manapa* is a performance event which has the ability to encourage *gandang tasa* groups to continue or maintain the existence of *gandang tasa* in the community. From the way that *manapa* is implemented in the form of a regular social



gathering, it can be viewed as an indirect way of developing the social bonds between the *gandang tasa* players.

What makes *manapa* interesting as an event to develop social bonds is that when a *gandang tasa* teacher teaches and coaches *gandang tasa* groups from different *nagari* and the players in the different groups do not know each other, this event provides an opportunity for the teacher to introduce the different groups to each other. This is described by Ajo Kaman, a *gandang tasa* teacher from Palak Jua Barangan, Kecamatan VII Koto Sungai Sarik, who has taught numerous *gandang tasa* groups, ranging from children's groups to groups of young people and adults, in various place in the Padang Pariaman Regency, and even in Pekan Baru. Many of his students do not know each other because of the distance between them. They are able to meet each other at *manapa* events (Ajo Kaman, interview 15 April 2018 in Padang Alai). Another problem that appears is that although Ajo Kaman teaches the same piece, for example *Alihan Anam*, to the different groups, there is no guarantee that they will be able to play the piece to the same level or standard or in the same way. According to Ajo Kaman, there are always differences in their playing techniques, styles, and expression. For example, his students from Palak Jua (Ajo Kaman's own kampong) are very different from the group he teaches in Buayan Lubuk Alung (about 40 km away), because the piece *Alihan Anam* is not a piece that is familiar to the children or people of Buayan. On the contrary, in and around Palak Jua, *Alihan Anam* is very well known by the general community so his students in Palak Jua have a greater appreciation for the piece because they often see and hear it performed. This level of appreciation has a strong influence on the way they play and interpret the piece. Therefore, a *manapa* event provides a good opportunity for these different *gandang tasa* groups to learn from each other and to improve their playing skills. They exchange and share their experiences about playing and *manapa* functions as a regular social gathering because they visit each other and build stronger social bonds between the different *gandang tasa* groups.



Photo 4. Ajo Kaman (age 68), a *gandang tasa* teacher from Korong Palak Jua Barangan who teaches numerous *gandang tasa* groups of all ages, from children to young people to adults. The groups he teaches often take part in *manapa* events in various places and also host *manapa* events. (Photo: Asril Muchtar)



Photo 5. *Gandang tasa* players demonstrate their skills as they perform the piece *Alihan Anam* (Photo: Asril Muchtar, 2018)

## Conclusion

The performativity of *gandang tasa* through its performance is manifested in joy and togetherness and in a sense of freedom that is supported by the performance of various playing techniques, styles, expression, interpretation, improvisation and behaviour of the players, who perform in a condition of restored behaviour. In the context of *manapa*, performativity behind the performance is the message conveyed through the event, which is to build the social bonds between players and between *gandang tasa* groups. The manifestation of performativity of *gandang tasa* as an event to renew social bonds is demonstrated through the joint performance in which groups perform in turn without any strict rules or any competitive tendencies, focussing more on togetherness and friendship than on differences. Through this joint performance, all the *gandang tasa* groups can learn from each other, exchange their playing experiences, and improve their skills. *Manapa* is a regular social gathering because the different *gandang tasa* groups visit each other and develop the social bonds between the groups. *Manapa* is a concept of local wisdom in the community for developing social bonds through the traditional music of *gandang tasa*.

## Acknowledgement

The researchers would like to acknowledge the Directorate for Research and Community Service, Directorate General for Research and Development, Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education the Republic of Indonesia that have funded this research.

## References

- Asril. (2015). Peran *Gandang Tasa* dalam Membangun Spirit dan Suasana pada Pertunjukan *Tabuik* di Pariaman di Pariaman. *Jurnal Humaniora*, Volume 27, Number 1, p. 67-80.
- Asril., Sastra, A.I., and Rovylandes, A. (2018). Performativity of *Gandang Tasa* in the *Mauluik Ritual* in Sicincin, Pariaman, West Sumatra. *Art and Design Studies Journal*, Vol. 67, p. 15-23.
- Bapayuang, Y. M. (2015). *Kamus Baso Minang*. Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Ilmu.
- Febrina, C. (2012). Fungsi *Gandang Tambue* dalam Upacara Maulud Nabi di Nagari Sicincin Kecamatan 2 X 11 Enam Lingkung Kabupaten Padang Pariaman. Thesis, Karawitan Department, Performing Arts Faculty, Padangpanjang: ISI Padangpanjang.
- Malik, C. (2013). "Musik Sosoh Untuk Membentuk Sikap Kebertahanan Dalam Upacara *Tabuik* di Pariaman Sumatra Barat". Thesis, Ethnomusicology, Surakarta: ISI Surakarta.
- Murgiyanto, S (2016). *Budaya Pertunjukan dan Akal Sehat*. Jakarta: Fakultas Seni Pertunjukan IKJ and Senrepita.
- Schechner, R. (2002, 2013). *Performance Studies: an Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Schechner, R. (2004). *Performance Theory*. London and New York: Routledge.
-