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SAMAN DANCE OF THE ACEH PEOPLE: IDENTITY AND ACTUALIZATION

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the Saman dance of the Aceh people that focuses on the analysis of the function of Saman that becomes the identity of the Gayo people. The identity and the actualization of Saman in accordance to the religion and customs of the Gayo people include some aspects that create the dance of the Aceh people, such as: socio-religious life, philosophies, symbols, norms and ethics. In the analysis, Saman has some values that make it as the identity of the Aceh people in the present and future life.

Keywords: Saman Dance, Identity, Actualization

1. INTRODUCTION

The Saman dance is one of the traditional performing arts of the Gayo ethnic group¹ that belongs to the Aceh people as a whole. Initially, its origin was certainly unknown due to some of the ethnic groups in Aceh that considered it as their original traditional dance. The Saman dance has many uniqueness and characteristics that can be seen literally through its dance and the socio-cultural aspect of the society that makes it different from other traditional dances. As a traditional dance, Saman is an expression of will or belief for certain purposes in accordance to the functions and aims of the dance when it is performed. The Gayo people usually perform Saman for religious events and customs. They make it as a medium of conveying intended purposes and objectives.

In preserving the traditional art, the Saman dance describes the continuity of the Aceh cultures. The history of the Saman dance related closely to the arrival of Islam in Aceh in the 13th century. It became a medium of da'wah (propaganda) in spreading Islamic teachings. Then, Saman developed into a performing art that has social cultural functions. Saman which was a result of the acculturation of Islamic cultures in Aceh in the 13th century was brought by ulama (Muslim scholars) and Muslim traders from Middle-East countries through world trade links across Central and South Asia, such as Pakistan, India and other countries. At the end, this was a medium of spreading Islam in Indonesia generally and in Aceh particularly.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAMAN DANCE

The Saman dance is a traditional dance that is performed in a seated position and closely related to the arrival and the spread of Islam in Aceh. As a major movement of Saman, *asek* (move head from left to right) is a code of dhikr practice, prayer movement, and act of resignation (slap chests). The dance is performed by more than seven people and uses the line formation and *meusekat* that are the basic pattern of the Aceh traditional dances.

In order to show the actualization of the Saman dance, the development of it will be broadly explained from the initial time of the creation until it becomes the intangible cultural heritage of UNESCO.

a) First Stage

The Saman dance has changed for overtime according to its purposes, formations, the number of dancers, structures, motions, and the message it contains. These changes are customized due to the times and the needs of the society that want Saman to be an entertainment. According to some sources, Saman initially played a role as an entertainment among the daily activities of the society. The young men expressed the joy they had by doing some motions that imitated the pattern of the folk game. Then, the motions were blended into a dance accompanied by the recited poems that contained advices, preaching and moral values, and this was the initial performance of the Saman dance.

Saman is not only about the aesthetical movements, but also the moral values it has, so that it can capture the heart of the spectators. The aesthetical movements and songs of Saman had been utilized by ulama (Muslim scholars). They smoothly inserted the basic elements of Islam, such as dhikr (the teaching of Tariqah

Sammaniyah) that was done by moving head from left to right and the praises to Allah or prayers. These elements were considered good and beneficial for human life in the context of morality because the combination of the aesthetical aspects of Saman and the religious elements would walk in harmony with the Aceh customs. Through this beneficiary, the religious ritual dance was used as a medium to convey messages of Islamic preaching in which the expression of serenity and sincerity combined with the cultural manners had become the essence of these dance performing arts.

b) Second Stage

The spread of Saman to other ethnic groups outside Gayo ethnic is the second stage of the development of Saman. It was initially performed in two forms which were Saman Tunggal (Saman Jejunten, Saman Enjik, Saman Ngerje) and Saman Jalu (Saman competitions). Therefore, the two forms of Saman were performed differently due to the certain purpose of the occasions. The shift of the two forms of Saman happened when the young men of Gayo Lues and other ethnic groups outside Gayo region started to perform "Saman Bepukes" in 1950's². It was finally known that the transmission happened when the young men of Gayo migrated to other regions and spent their free time by performing the Saman dance.

This entertainment contributed in creating a new creativity of performing Saman by doing it differently from the previous forms of Saman (Saman Bepukes). Due to a number of demands of performing Saman in many occasions, this was also another factor of the shift of the Saman dance. Saman had many negative responds from the spectators at the beginning because its motions were considered uninteresting, boring and meaningless of which it only emphasized in slapping chests and moving heads from left to right continuously.

These negative responds didn't preclude the Saman performers to keep on doing their creativity of performing Saman. Even though many of the spectators insulted the motions of the Saman dance, it still had an attraction for some people who enjoy and learn to dance it.

c) Third Stage

At the third stage, the development of the Saman dance is recognized by the Saman Festival that aimed to preserve and develop Saman itself. Moreover, the festival had another purpose to encourage the Gayo people to love their culture more. The concern of preserving Saman was shown firstly by performing it at the residence of the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 1965, Dr. Syarief Thayeb (Ridwan Abdul Salam: 2011). The dance performance in fact got a big appreciation from the spectators and also gave the motivation to the dancers to introduce the Saman dance more to the Aceh people generally and the Gayo people particularly. This was the time when the Saman Festival was started initially.

Factually, the form of Saman Bepukes and Saman Festival got people's attention when they were chosen to be performed as one of Indonesian performing arts in America in 1970's³. At the moment, the Saman dancers had various length of hair. One of the Aceh dance trainers, Mr. Uki, initiated to order the dancers to grow their hair. This was aimed to give the special effect of the performance as they did the body movements and also to increase their confidence on the stage.

Saman began to known in the society by the increase of new groups that learned about and supported it as the traditional dance of the Gayo people. By the time, Saman started to known widely and took a part in various events, such as the Aceh Culture Fair (PKA) in 1972. At the moment, Gayo Lues was still a part of Southeast Aceh region. PKA was not attended only by the provincial government representatives of Aceh, but also the first lady of the Second President of Indonesia, Mrs. Tien Soeharto. The Saman dance of Gayo Lues was very interesting and gave a good impression to her. The hand movements of dancers truly showed a spectacular performance of Saman. Therefore, the Minister of Information of the Republic of Indonesia at that time, Mr. Budiharjo, gave another name to the Saman dance as "The Dance of Thousand Hands".

d) Fourth Stage

Saman was widely known when it was performed by the people of Gayo Lues in the Inauguration of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) in Jakarta in 1974. One year after that, in 1975, thirty dancers took a part in performing Saman in the 30th Anniversary of the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1991, Saman was performed in an event of cultural exchange (*muhibbah*) in Malaysia (Ridwan Abdul Salam:

2011), and three years after that, in 1994, Saman took a part again in the Cultural Performance of Gayo Lues in TMII.

Saman was not only performed in Indonesia. It had been participated internationally in many events in America, Netherlands, Spain and Malaysia in 1970's. And the Saman performance was not only done by the Gayo people, but also done by other ethnic groups. This contributed in transmitting Saman outside the Gayo region and creating a new format of Saman performance that later was called Tari Saman (the Saman Dance).

3. THE CULTURAL ACTUALIZATION OF SAMAN

In a society, arts take a part in religious or social activities (Read: 1970), and dance as a performing art also has the role. Dance as the cultural heritage from centuries ago involves the whole community to take a part in it. Dance is created due to the influence of a particular culture and its place of origin that distinguish the movements, forms and contexts of one to another. And, dance is usually functioned in both sacred and profane activities as in the religious and customary events and as a public entertainment or recreational events.

Anthony V. Shay on his article "The Function of Dance in Human Society" (1971) (translated by R.M. Soedarsono) stated that dance has four functions, which are: (1) as a reflection of social organizations, (2) as a means of ritual, secular and religious activities, (3) as a psychological express and release, (4) as a reflection of economic activities.

Moreover, Kraus (1969) stated that the functions of dance can be divided into ten groups, which are: (1) dance as entertainment, (2) dance as social gathering and group participation, (3) dance as physical exuberance and skill, (4) dance as means of social interaction, (5) dance as social affirmation, (6) dance as religious worship, (7) dance as educational facility, (8) dance as therapy, (9) dance as self-expression and creativity, (10) dance as economic activity.

The music that is used in performing Saman is a vocal music. Therefore, Merriam (1974) presented ten functions of music, which are:

(1)the function of emotional; (2) the function of aesthetic; (3) the function of entertainment; (4) the function of communication; (5) the function of symbolic representation; (6) the function of physical response; (7) the function of enforcing conformity to social norms; (8) the function of validation of social institution and religious rituals; (9) the function of contribution to the continued and stability of culture; (10) the function of contribution to the integration of society.

Due to this, the writer combines the opinions of Anthony B. Shay, Kraus and Merriam that discuss about the Saman dance and its musical accompaniment as one of Gayo's cultures. The existence of Saman, due to its social functions, becomes the actualization of the Gayo people as a whole.

a. The Function of Entertainment

The Saman dance as an entertainment dance is one of performing arts. Saman is created to celebrate a ceremonial event in a certain occasion to give a festive and fun atmosphere. As an entertainment, Saman is enjoyed with joy and aesthetic pleasure. The joy that people have for enjoying the dance comes from the connection between the dancer and the dance itself. Whereas, the aesthetic pleasure comes when someone enjoys the performing art and has a good feeling of it (Sumandiyo: 2006). Moreover, the pleasure can comes subjectively and senselessly from the taste and the aesthetic value the dance has. And, this feeling can give benefits and values of 'good' and 'beauty' according to the rules and traditions of the Gayo people.

The feeling of joy for enjoying the satisfying dance performance makes the people of Gayo put Saman as an entertainment that contains the values of good and beauty. As a beauty, Saman gives a meaning through the poems as the music component of the dance and the meaningful pattern of motions, so that the Saman dance is not only a common entertainment. The values of good and beauty in Saman make it an integral part of life. It means that wherever the Gayo people live, they still bring Saman with them.

For the Gayo people, Saman is always performed in many events they make. People come freely and happily to watch the Saman performance on the events. If someone knows *Beseuman* event is being held in one village, they will come out to celebrate the event in droves. The absence of other entertainments in Gayo Lues also makes Saman as an expected one. Even though nowadays the people of Gayo Lues have the improvement of living, traditional performing art is still the prima donna. It is also because the values of good and beauty of Saman make it not a general entertainment for them.

As an entertainment, Saman is usually performed in celebrating the two days two nights event of the Islamic holidays (as for *Saman Jalu*), the birth commemoration of Prophet Muhammad SAW, wedding ceremonies, circumcision

festivals or the events of naming baby and other national important events (as for *Saman Bepukes*). Moreover, harvesting paddy as an important event in the village is also celebrated by the performance of Saman as the expression of joy because of the increased production of rice. Thus, the village groups will invite others to dance Saman together (as for *Bejamu Saman*).

The Saman competition is also one of entertainments for the society besides the other forms of Saman. This competition is also called the Saman Festival that is performed on the event of the Anniversary of Blangkejeren or the events of the Ministry of Tourism. The Saman competition has caused some changes in performing Saman as in the time of performing it, the movements, the poems, the floor patterns, the judges, and even the dancers (nowadays Saman is not only performed by men, but also performed by women). These changes are not matters for the people of Gayo Lues as they are very tolerated with the creativity that the performers have made in performing Saman. However, the gender in performing Saman is still a matter for them as they still believe that the dancers must be all men. Even, these changes make Saman become more popular although the way in performing it is sometimes different from one group to another. It also means that the changes contribute in creating the variations of performing Saman as one characteristic of traditional arts of Gayo Lues.

b. The Function of Socio-Cultural Integration

Saman is not only an entertainment. As another function, it is an integration of the people of Gavo, even the people of Aceh. This integration is very important for the unity of a general understanding as it creates a custom of one society. Through Saman, the integration can also create a contribution of the unity of the Aceh people generally and the Gayo people particularly. Regarding to the function of art as a contribution for the community integration, Merriam explains it:

"Music, the, provides a rallying point around which the members of society gather to engage in activities which require the cooperation and coordination of the group. Not all music in thus performed, of course, but every society has occasions signaled by music which draw its members together and reminds them of their unity (Merriam: 1974)."

According to Merriam, one of the functions of music is as a means of society gathering. The kinds of music that are played usually invite the members of the society to engage in activities and work together cooperatively. Through music, its members are drawn to enjoy the event together, and remind them of the importance of their unity.

The concept delineation of Merriam exactly describes one of the functions of Saman Gayo. Among the functions of Saman, the writer considers the main function of it which is to give a contribution to the integration of society. The Gayo people consist of some ethnic groups, races and social groups. They categorize themselves into groups due to their similarities. As the result, there is always a social conflict among them when they do their activities, including arts. However, on the other hand, they also realize the harm that can happen as the result of the social conflict. Therefore, they need an integration that is based on the social spirits: "Unity in Diversity."

Saman as one example of the cultural ethnic arts is able to contribute in creating the integration of the Aceh people that is heterogeneous. The contribution of Saman to social integration closely relates to the ethnicity and the flexibility of the Gayo people. Moreover, it can also give a distinctive cultural identity of the Gayo people among the various ethnic groups of Aceh. And if this integration happens in a wider scope, then togetherness and mutual needs of human beings will make them reflect themselves as a social being in this world.

c. The Function of Cultural Continuity

Saman as a celebration of religious activities of the Gayo people, which is always performed in the Islamic holidays, is a regular entertainment that automatically becomes a continuity of the Gayo culture. Consciously or unconsciously, this activity has been passed down through generations until now. This also makes the young generation to replace the old one and get involved in performing *Bejamu Saman*. The old generation that still gets involved as mentors passed down not only the art of Saman, but also the rules and norms of it.

In *Bejamu Saman*, the Saman dance that is performed in a certain competition is different from the one of the Saman Festival. It becomes a cultural revitalization and takes a part in efforts to preserve the Gayo culture. The Saman competition as one of the efforts to preserve and continue the Gayo culture is a competition that offers a prize for the winner. The competition can create a new creativity in performing Saman and somewhat has showed the values of the Gayo traditions in new improvements and creativities.

The growing of the Saman dance groups in one village has made them not only practice it for common events, but also push its members to practice the various forms of Saman for the religious and national events. People initiatively contribute to make the event festive and successful.

d. The Function of Aesthetic Comprehension

The concept of aesthetics in an artwork is a process of raising it into the level of beauty according to the background of the artwork. Aesthetics can be also interpreted as having the appraisal of beauty. Appraisal is a process or act of assessing something or someone. According to Sumardjo (1999: 142), "Value is a basic matter that is commonly found in ethics (goodness), truth (logic), and aesthetics (beauty) besides justice, happiness and excitement. Hadi (2006: 15) stated that:

"As well as beauty, pleasure is also relative for human beings. Pleasure has a connection between the object and the human. A person feels happy because the object of beauty satisfies his taste. If the object can cause the pleasure of mind, which is the only connection to soul, then it must be something beautiful."

According to the theory, it can be assumed that the aesthetics of dance lies in the dance itself that can cause the aesthetical experience as someone feels happy and amused when sees it. However, the aesthetics of dance is not only judged based on the pleasure it causes. It can also be judged from various aspects. Khant in Dharsono (2007: 13) stated that there are two types of the values of aesthetics:

a) Aesthetic value or pure value.

The pure value means that the aesthetics of the artwork is truly a pure beauty. The pure aesthetic values in fine art are in lines, shapes and colors. While in dance art, they lie in motions, tempos and rhythms. And when it comes to music art, they lie in sounds of metrum and rhythms, and as in theatrical performance, they are in dialogues, spaces and motions.

b) Extra-aesthetic value or additional value

The extra-aesthetic values (or the outer aesthetic values) which are the additional values lie in human forms, natures, animals, handwaving, performances and so on. The beauty that can be enjoyed through those elements is called the outer aesthetic value or additional value.

According to the understanding, the aesthetic comprehension in Saman can be seen from the suitability of the artwork in accordance to the ethics of the Gayo Lues people. The ethical aesthetic values are described in accordance to the religious norms and customs of the community, while the logical aesthetic values are described based on the pure aesthetic values which are in motions, music poems and patterns of dance creation.

In many cultural activities, Saman is expressed through the aesthetic comprehension. Motions, poems and vocals in Saman are done with a deep comprehension aesthetically in order to get the expected purpose. Therefore, the aesthetic comprehension in performing Saman must be done orderly, politely and decently.

Performing Saman orderly means that the structures or stages of the performance are done correctly, whether it is the learning process, the preparations (as for *Saman Jalu*), or the performance of the dance itself. The opening vocal hum is sounded first solo by Syech (the vocalist and leader of a Saman troupe) and followed by other dancers with both hands between inner thighs and heads down. The dancers have to realize that the discipline of performing Saman is a requirement of a total performance. The discipline also relates to the principles of the Gayo philosophy which are in accordance to the social relations the society has to live orderly, harmonically, respectively, freely, but still bound to the society.

The politeness of Saman means that all acts have to be based on the norms of Saman. The movements that do not violate the rules and customs of the society, *kerawang* costumes (traditional Gayonese clothes) that symbolize the Islamic prayers as the basic foundation of Islam and the patterns of flexible motions become the important politeness aspects that have to be kept.

Performing Saman decently means that the lyric of poems does not contain words that can insult someone. The lyric is the manifestation of the feeling of joy that contains respects and wishes that show the sincerity of the society to the audience. The act of being decent in performing Saman can also be seen in the opening of the performance as the dancers greet the audience and chant *mmm...La ilaha il Allah* to worship Allah.

And through the Saman performance, people can learn about customs, norms, politeness and manners, and also understand the way of the Gayo Lues people's living.

e. The function of Medium of Da'wah

The word 'media' in arts has a meaning of medium, ingredient or material which is used by the artist to create an artwork. As in literary art, 'words' are the medium, while in vocal or music arts, it is tones. In fine art, the media are

lines and colors, and in theatrical performance and dance art, the artist uses many media, or it can be called multimedia (Sumandiyo Hadi: 2006).

Regarding to the understanding of grouping arts, it can be stated that people tend to group them based on the media each of them used. People's understanding of the media of which used by Saman are grouped in three art forms which are motion art, vocal art and fine art. The motion art in Saman can be seen from the dance composition. The composition consists of the kneeling position as the beginning of *saleum* motion (greet) that has a meaning of respects, wishes or all motions of the dance. The motion or the dance composition reveals human expressions through the rhythmical and beautiful body movements. The kneeling position is not a general sitting position. It has the element of art in which when it is combined with the motion of swaying body and the rhythmical Gayo songs, it gives an aesthetic value of the dance. And, this is considered as an art. The motion and faith.

The vocal art in Saman has a benefit as medium of da'wah and information. This is in line with what Allah says in the Quran: "(O Prophet), call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation..." (Q.S. An Nahl, 16: 125). Since a long time ago, when the spreaders of Islam came to Gayo Lues, they utilized Saman as a medium to convey the messages. This can be seen from a verse of *dering: "mmm oi lesa, oooi lesa, oi lesa, lesalam alikum, sigenyam myan e lallah, mmm oi lesa.*" The Islamic greeting is obviously used in that verse of *dering*. Moreover, the influence of Islam can also be seen in another *dering: "nyana e lalah.*" If we analyze this *dering*, it means *illallah, illallah* from *la ilaha illallah* that has a meaning 'there is no god but Allah'.

Dering and its meaning have been passed down through generations. At the beginning, there are only words which are not so clear in *dering* and it contained the religious messages. However, recently, the way in pronouncing the words has been clear enough to understand and it does not change the basic principles of *dering*.

f. The Function of Communication

Basically, art has an aim to be communicated. Art expresses the emotions and values. There are two elements of communication in art which are the element of the artist/creator and the element of the audience or spectators. These two elements emphasize that the feature of art as human expression will make the communication become a touch of emotion. The touch of emotion conveys the impression and subjective experience which are the message and experience of the artist to the audience. (Sumandiyo Hadi: 2006).

This communication is a dialogue which is conveyed through the artwork of the artist to the audience. The artwork that is meaningful and contains the communicative message is inspired by the precious experience of the artist that comes from the creative imagination. The low or the high aesthetic value of an artwork is judged initially by the communicative ability of the artwork. Therefore, art has a function in determining 'the general value of an artwork in society' (Abdullah: 1980/1981).

Through this communicative understanding, the communication of Saman scopes 1) the lyric of songs that has more characteristics rather than verbal communication with language, 2) the interactions or motions to enhance the atmosphere of performing Saman, 3) the greetings and introductions at the beginning of the performance. Thus, the communication of Saman is an expression of imagination in dialogue process. The structures of performing Saman which are the performance, poems, songs and costumes are the connection or communication between Allah and His creation as a sign or a symbol. The meaning of the whole performance is a symbol of obedience, solemnity and sincerity of human in doing His commandments. Therefore, it can be concluded that the whole performance of Saman is a collaboration of communication and aesthetic value that creates an interesting performance which contains messages of God to His creation.

4. SAMAN AS AN ICON

As a traditional art of Gayo ethnic, Saman is the identity of the society. The identity is the main point of the subjective fact that connects dialectically with the society. The identity is formed by the social processes that have an influence from the social structures. At the end, the identity is maintained, modified or even reformed by the social relationships.

As the identity of the Gayo people, Saman has been introduced and taught since childhood, in which during the time, the children learn and practice the forms of Saman. The practice of doing Saman also happens to the young people. As for the older people, they teach and watch Saman to the younger people. Ihromi (1981) stated that cultures belong to one society through a learning process. And this also happens to Saman. It has attached and become a part of the Gayo people's life, so that Saman belongs to the society forever.

The older people are responsible in introducing Saman to their sons since childhood. They cross both of their hands from laps to chests as well as swaying heads. If their sons follow these movements, they will be very happy for it. The crossing-hand movement is a very simple basic movement that can be imitated by the children, so that it becomes the

initial learning process of Saman to the children. The parents' support for the continuity of Saman through this learning process will increase the motivation of the children to continue and perform Saman.

Since childhood, they have already learned Saman in the process of play. During the play, they sit together in a tight row to dance Saman. And for the grown-ups, they do Saman during their activities. When they meet and gather in one place, they will spontaneously sit in a tight row and do Saman with the accompaniment of the Saman songs.

Meusaman is not only done during the process of play or another activity, but also introduced in schools. Schools are also a place to practice Saman, increase the skill of performing it, and create new motions based on the students' creativity. The popularity of Saman among the people of Gayo makes the children answer spontaneously the question of whether they know Saman or not. The children will sing and make the crossing-hand movement on their chests and pull them down slowly to laps. The popularity of Saman among the children is also followed by the young and older people. In *bejamu Saman*, the young men will compete in performing Saman, while the groups of children and teenagers perform Saman to make the event more festive. As for the older people, they will become mentors and give advices to the new patterns of Saman that are created.

As a collective performing art, Saman is not only performed as an entertainment for the Gayo people. The government also makes Saman as the cultural heritage that needs to be preserved. The development of Saman is also done by the government. They support the performance of Saman in Saman festivals. The government and the local institutions are fully responsible in competitions of performing Saman that are followed by the students of elementary schools (SD), secondary schools (SMP and SLTA) and general residents of the villages in Gayo Lues (Sulaiman: 2008).

The existence of Saman festival has made the forms of Saman become various in one side. However, on the other hand, it is utilized to admit another form of Saman from another region that is very different from Saman Gayo. The shifts of Saman can be seen from the performance of Saman that is done by women recently. Even in one performance, Saman was done by putting the female and male dancers in an interval sitting position. Moreover, in another occasion, there was a Saman performance that had the accompaniment of the external music or the vocalist (Syech) did not blend into the group.

There are some factors that have caused the shifts of Saman. They are the number of demands in performing Saman as the material of some events, the spread of the Gayo people to other regions, other ethnic groups that learn Saman and the similarities of the sitting position among the Aceh traditional dances. These factors are considered to change Saman into a new format in which for every traditional dance that is done in kneeling position in a row as well as slapping chests and swaying head in time with the shifting rhythm, is called the Saman dance.

The shifts of performing Saman in various creativities do not preclude the Gayo people to keep on performing Saman in many occasions. The government's support encourages them in preserving Saman by performing it in many events and documenting it in written forms and video records. The Government of Gayo Lues District together with the society also put an effort in preserving Saman Gayo as a cultural heritage of UNESCO. UNESCO accepted and conducted a research about Saman. Then, it was found that Saman is the traditional performing art of Gayo ethnic that has already grown among the society and become the entertainment for them.

UNESCO announced that the Saman dance has its origin from Gayo Lues, and it made the society become more concerned with their traditional performing arts. This also inspired a mass Saman performance with 5050 Saman performers that consisted of children, teenagers and adults. This mass performance has confirmed Saman Gayo Lues as a traditional performing art of Aceh Province, so that if someone watches the Saman performance, he can be sure that it belongs to the Aceh people.

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