

# The Trace Of Animism In Art Of Islamic Minangkabau Culture: Continuity And Change

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**Abstract:** Art and cultural behavior of Minangkabau Islam shows traces of art and behavior that are part of the religious system of animism, as in the original Mentawai tribe. Through the study of the traces connecting the artistic and behavioral entities of Islamic Minangkabau with the artistic and behavioral entities of indigenous Mentawai tribes with animism, there are aspects that continue and there are aspects that change. The continuing aspect is the choice of action ("its course") or ontological object, while what changes is the aspect of the cause of action ("its causes") or the epistemological aspect.

**Index Terms:** animism, art, culture, change, Islam, Minangkabau culture

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Minangkabau culture that resides mainly in the West Sumatra region, Indonesia and the people of central Sumatra in general, are assumed to be people from previous generations who have lived for years. Based on the results of the Bronson and Teguh Asmar excavations in the Tiangko Panjang Cave, south of Ulu Tiangko, now in Merangin District, Jambi Province, where obsidian devices are found, the C-14 calendar is around 10,000 BC [1] (Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, 1993: 182). Based on this data it can be seen that the ancestors of the middle Sumatra people have been around for 10,000 years BC. The Batak, Dayak, and Toraja people are a Proto-Malayu race coming from Southern China in the end of 2000 BC [2] (Edwin M., 1972). Their survival changes according to the dynamics of era, both sourced from the influence of the surrounding natural environment and influences from outside the environment. External influences can be in the form of new knowledge, that is, something that is just known and previously they did not have knowledge about it. Through interaction or experience gained they have knowledge about what they are experiencing. Furthermore, knowledge shapes behavior in the form of personal behavior and social behavior. Knowledge that forms social behavior is knowledge that is essentially organic in nature and its substance is the building of organic form of knowledge itself, so that it is inherent in the systemic nature of its operations to realize the goals. The systemic knowledge entity is something called culture, and that culture forms society as a whole. One form of society that has lived for generations in the central Sumatra region, especially in the West Sumatra region, is the Minangkabau community and the Mentawai community. The religion or belief system of their ancestors in the early days was to believe in animism as the religion of the original Mentawai people, and now they are Muslim; the Malay Minangkabau proverb says "Customs be based on Syara' (God's law), Syara' based on Kitabullah (the Koran); Syara' said, customary running". Even though the Minangkabau are Muslim today, traces of the animism era are still visible in their culture.



The fact as mentioned above can be questioned, why do Minangkabau people have to use crowns in the form of Suntiag made from a number of artificial flowers and leaves around their lives for generations in marriage? This question is very relevant to what is proposed when viewed theoretically based on Max Weber's view of community action - "social action", in the paradigm of symbolic interactionism quoted [3] Turner (1978) who quoted "Weber recognizes that the reality behind the macro structures of society- classes, the state, institutions, and nations - are the meaningful and symbolic interactions among actual people" [3]. This view relates to the macro structure of society according to Weber, is composed of "part" of what he called "its causes, its course, and its effects" [3]. Weber's theoretical point of view ensures that all human actions are socially necessarily connected to "its causes" (reasons or causes of action); "its course" (choices of actions), and; "its effects" (expected effects of action). Structurally these three parts are interrelated to achieve the goal, both the goal is realized (consciousness) and the purpose or effect of the behavior or the action of interaction in a shared life is not realized (unconsciousness). In the context of symbolism, the element of "its course" is a symbolic form itself the substance can be color, line, shape, or certain actions, etc. Based on the theoretical framework above, it can essentially be seen that the existence of Suntiag is maintained by the Minangkabau people as an entity that they glorify in their culture. The fact is that Suntiag has become a normative part of their "noble" life as can be explicitly observed on how they make the Suntiag

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entity as a glorified object. They don't use carelessly in life. Only at certain and special times do they use all the procedures and how they are used as part of their cultural system. When viewed theoretically based on the macro structure framework of social action in the form of treatment of Suntieng in their shared life, contained or filled with meaning that is present in symbolic interactionism as intended by Weber [3]. Within this framework, the meaning can only be obtained through interpretation. Regarding the theoretical thought of symbolic interactionism built by the macro structure, it can be ascertained that the Suntieng used at the event as part of the Minangkabau cultural marriage ceremony must have been preceded by the causes or reasons why the Suntieng was used. The part that is categorized in these reasons is the part called Weber [3] which is "its causes". The existence of these causes is syntactic with the choice of action, that is, what actions are deemed appropriate or most appropriate to fulfill the reasons referred to earlier. The choice of action in the context of this reason or cause is what is meant by "its course". Thus, the choice of action that is relevant to the reason or cause, is essentially intertwined or interconnected. The goal is to achieve the effect or intention expected by the perpetrator. Even any other effects that can arise as meaning provided by other parties, and are not realized by the actors themselves. In connection with the two links or syntax between "its causes" and "its course", it is clear that the ultimate goal is to fulfill an effect, which is something that is expected, desired, or intended, both the effect that is on the act of consciousness and the effect who are in the aftermath of an unconscious act by themselves. The consequences of this action are what is meant by "its effects". With regard to the use of Suntieng in the cultural life of the Minangkabau people as discussed earlier, it will certainly relate to two other parts of the macro structure, namely "its causes" and "its effects", while the "its course" is the use of the Suntieng itself as a choice of action. Through a theoretical thought, this can be used to explain why Suntieng exists as part of the Minangkabau culture; and the same thing is also used in the cultural life of the Mentawai people.

## 2.1 Religious Animism: Belief of the Minangkabau People

Religion in the view of [4] Radham (2001) is a belief system and "one of the elements that constitutes, it is belief; religion is one part of the ideological system. ..., if there is a ceremony associated with that belief, a whole religion is formed". In this view, there are two main characteristics involved in religion, namely belief as part of an ideological system, and ceremony. The belief itself is something of a mental aspect, namely in the form of knowledge, while the ceremony is a behavior that is built based on the knowledge system about the ceremony as it is preserved and stored so does the knowledge of the supporters of the ceremony. If these two substances are combined then religion is a belief that is formed into a form of ceremony. Religion as a form of ceremony is limited by the structure of the organ that builds a unified form of knowledge that underlies the embodiment of the ceremony. One of the "sources" of religious buildings is religion that is built on the belief in "spirits" or is animistic, that is: "belief that nature has soul" [5] (Encarta, 2006). In this belief, spirits or natural phenomena which are considered soulful are substances which have extraordinary powers where they take shelter. The inhabitants of the Southeast Asian region before entering the belief system or Hindu-Buddhist religion into this region can be

sure to have animism. They live offspring in almost the same natural environment and have life habits that characterize many similarities. [6] Anthony Reid explained that people in the Southeast Asian region had the same characteristics of life, especially before the influence of India (Hindu-Buddhist) entered this region. These characteristics appear in many elements in common, namely: food is dominated by rice and fish; very few of them eat meat from livestock and milk; has a tradition related to betel nut, bronze, and buffalo are great animals [6]. The similarity of such features, in general, still continues today. Everywhere in Southeast Asia, among others, it is easy to find people who use betel nut in their lives, both related to culture and for their daily needs. An example is the habit of chewing betel in the lives of Batak, Papua, Minangkabau, or Vietnamese people<sup>1</sup>, etc. In fact, betel nut is used as part of traditional objects and for ritual purposes. This fact is a continuation of, namely the habit of hosting (eating betel nut) has been going on for a long time, which is more than 3000 years ago or in the Neolithic era, until now. Likewise the use of betel nut in Malaysia: "Sirih Pinang is an important discussion and a necessity in the development of culture inherited from their ancestors". The similarity in the usurping or placing betel nut as a valuable object and the use of other objects or habits as discussed above in the lives of Southeast Asians is very convincing that the background of their knowledge system before Indian influence entered this region has the principles the same principle, which is related to animistic beliefs. The beliefs of the Mentawai people as discussed by [7] are a good example of a cultural picture before Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic belief systems entered Sumatra and specifically Minangkabau (West Sumatra). [7] explained that "based on physical anthropological studies, the Mentawai people were the closest to the ethnic groups in Sumatra who were not Muslim (Batak tribes). The Mentawai culture has its roots in the early days of the Southeast Asian neolithic" [7]. A reality similar to the Mentawai culture can also be seen in the religious life of "Orang Bukit" in the interior of South Kalimantan. From the standpoint of belief, the Bukit people recognize the existence of a number of gods, natural spirits, spirits of Datu Nini (ancestral spirits) and Hiyang Kuasa (Almighty). The spirit of nature, the spirit of ancestors, and the Almighty, dominates and maintains everything regarding flora and nature, human self and fate, and rice plants [4]. This illustrates how humans (Mentawai people and Bukit people) as weak creatures need protection from extraordinary powers outside themselves in carrying out life. The belief in the extraordinary power they view (point of view) comes from the spirits. Do the cultural or traditional behaviors that are carried out by the Minangkabau people today as a derivative of the animist ancestors still show their traces?, these traces will be seen in the cultural life of the Minangkabau people today.

## 2.2 Traces of Animism in a Marriage Ceremony

### 2.2.1 Wedding ceremony and crown

One form of Minangkabau cultural behavior is in the form of wedding ceremonies. As a form of ceremony, there are a number of parts that build the unity of its form. Among the building blocks or organs are the marriage ceremony, Ninik-mamak banquets, dressmaking, proposals, etc. All of these parts emanate from the structure of their knowledge of ceremonies, i.e. wedding ceremonies as they intended or

understood, and differ from any other form of ceremony. They have this structured knowledge and maintain it and a common guideline if there is an intention to hold a wedding ceremony. That knowledge is what they manifest as emanating from their "true" shared knowledge in their lives for generations. Clothing as part of the ceremonial structure is a complexity whose embodiment and settings have a size or a provision. The provisions are part of the "truth" of their concept of clothing in question. Among the prevalence is the existence of decoration as part of the completeness of clothing and usually in the form of flowers (floral) with certain settings intended as a crown for a bride or commonly called anak daro (virgin= bride). The flowers of the crown are usually made of zinc plates of a certain thickness and are generally colored with golden yellow and certain other colors. Flowers or often called "bungo Suntiung" (crown flowers) consist of a number of petals or flower stalks and imitation of a certain size, arranged in an arrangement arranged into a "crown" shape. Every bride of a Minangkabau woman will wear a crown as the completeness of the bride's dress code at which time the dress must be worn in the Minangkabau cultural context. Crowns which the Minangkabau people call "Suntiung" in general are now made in the form of permanent packaging. A number of flowers with artificial leaves and other possible additional ornaments are arranged by brazing on a tread or base made of zinc. Tread in a semicircular shape, the size of the distance between two ears of a certain width, above which flower stems and leaves are compiled with a certain arrangement (composing), until the Suntiung packaging becomes a crown shape that is ready to be used directly or attached to the bride's head. In the period before Suntiung was made in the form of finished package, the making of Suntiung for the bride was done manually, namely the tukang Suntiung (maker of crown) installing florets or flower stalks and artificial leaves one by one which were plugged into the hair of the bride that had been formed specifically for that. A number of flowers and leaves are arranged in the form of certain settings in accordance with the desired form of beauty into a form of a crown which they call Suntiung.



**Fig. 3** Suntiung in the form of ready-to-use packaging

consists of arrangement of flowers and artificial leaves. Suntiung, who is ready to wear, is put on a bride in the context of a wedding ceremony. One part of a wedding ceremony that is common for the bride women to use Suntiung is in the procession (event) of the bridegroom (marapulai) and the bride woman (anak daro) walks from the bride's family home to the bride's family's house. At that time the two brides dressed in traditional customs in accordance with local customs. But in general, bride women, always dressed in custom, among others, the crown used is Suntiung, in addition to decorations in the form of necklaces made of certain material in the form of flowers with a knitted chain as

beautiful as possible. Such traditional wedding attire or clothes, both male and female bridesmaid dress, are also worn at the invitation event. At this event the two brides sat side by side at the altar to be seen in general by invited guests. Both the bride and groom dressed as traditional wedding dress shown as good or as friendly as possible, as the concept or appreciation of the censorship that they view is appropriate for this need.



**Figure 4** The bride of men and women in traditional wedding dress in Padang; Suntiung that is used by a bride is coupled with decorations made of flowers which are strung together at the bottom of the Suntiung

The tradition of using Suntiung as the crown of the bride women as described above is part of the Minangkabau culture. His presence as part of a wedding dress occupies a certain place and is a necessity in the ceremony. In the context of the wedding celebration, the use of Suntiung as part of the bride women's clothing is a must for them. Its existence is normative due to the form of clothing as such they "determine" together (consensus). These provisions, according to their dynamics, have been inherited from generation to generation and they are seen as shared property. Therefore, the presence of Suntiung with other decorations in the form of flowers and foliage (floral) as part of the traditional wedding dress became their pride as part of the Minangkabau people.

### 2.2.2 Traces of animism

The existence of Suntiung in the life of the Minangkabau as explained earlier certainly is not an entity that exists as a contemporary product. However, it is an entity that has existed since the past, although it is difficult to reveal historically. There is no "clear" information (historical sources) about the background of the presence of Suntiung which they inherited and can be understood correctly as their way of life. But what is clear is, inheriting from generation to generation becomes a necessity in his environment. Essentially, their concept of the embodiment of Suntiung which is made into a crown must be preserved for generations, and its existence is part of culture. Likewise, furthermore, there is no "clear" reason why the forms of flowers and leaves are used as accessories for traditional ceremonies? There is no "strong" reason they have as inherited knowledge. But the commonest and most easily accepted reason is, because there are "beauty" values that can be emitted from the object in the form of a crown, in line with the value given by the subject to objects in the form of Suntiung consisting of flowers and the leaves are arranged as good as possible, even though in the form of imitations. Four main symptoms can be put forward as a door to questions and explanations to trace the traces that connect the facts

described above with past values, in relation to the Suntieng tradition in the current Minangkabau culture. The four symptoms referred to are, first, related to activities (actions) that are "traditional ceremonies"; second, the crown wearer is "woman"; third, the act of making a form of objects in the form of florets or flowers and artificial leaves or other objects as a "crown" and is part of the custom clothing (artifacts); fourth is the act of choosing and making artificial "flowers or leaves" or other objects as objects arranged in a certain way as good as possible. The four aspects or doors described above are basically categorized in two ways, namely behavioral and human-made objects (artifacts); both of these are choices for "action" or "treatment" ("its course"). The behavioral aspect in question is in the form of action patterns of supporting communities that are special and repeated in the form of ceremonies. The ceremony consists of a series of activities in the context of marriage and the crown wearers are women. What's more the ceremony is a traditional ceremony. The objects (artifacts) in question are the form of flowers and imitation or other decorative objects which are also arranged in such a form of a crown called Suntieng as part of a woman's wedding dress. Both of the above appear in plain view are quite simple and easily observed in everyday Minangkabau cultural life. However, behind the visible is actually contained knowledge or values of the past that are quite "broad" as [8] views as such. "Although we can easily see behavior and artifacts, they represent only the thin surface of a deep lake. Beneath the surface, hidden from view, lies a vast reservoir of cultural knowledge" [8]. This view is convincing that behind the visible on the surface that is "simple", undoubtedly contained cultural knowledge behind the formation of such manifestations. In this frame of thought, it is seen, that the Suntieng tradition which became a habit of the Minangkabau people, must contain the values or knowledge of the past, namely the manifestation of animist beliefs such as the original beliefs of the Mentawai people, thus making Suntieng a traditional artistic entity in their lives. But now, the value of animism as a belief system and the basis of the aesthetic concept of the product, no longer lives in the Suntieng tradition as part of the Minangkabau wedding ceremony culture. To explore what lies behind the embodiment (ontology) of Suntieng as part of fashion in the Minangkabau wedding ceremony system as intended, it can be seen based on theoretical thought put forward by [9] based on the analogy between biological and cultural evolution represented by two features such as the following; "first, a tendency toward increasing complexity of forms and, second, the development of superior forms, that is, improvement or progress" [9]. These thoughts or views basically emphasize the occurrence of changes slowly (evolution) as the principle of change in biological entities from the simplest to the most complex. This thinking can be used to see the bride women's clothing with Suntieng as the crown that reaches the "peak" of the establishment today with all its complexity, so that it reaches the establishment and becomes part of the Minangkabau cultural marriage ceremony system. Based on the evolutionary thought raised above, then the over-perfection of the complexity of the Suntieng that is being crowned today surely originated from a simpler (primitive) entity in its early days. Referring to these thoughts, it can be compared to almost similar phenomena in other people's lives that are more "simpler" than the cultural life of the Minangkabau people, is the life of the Mentawai people as explained by [7]. Upon

exploring these comparisons, a more convincing answer can be obtained as to what matters behind the realization of the Suntieng culture in the Minangkabau life as it is today. As is known, that the Mentawai community described by [7] based on the results of his research, especially on the island of Siberut in 1967 - 1969 on the life of the original traditions of the Sakuddei people and some surrounding groups which are the original traditions of the Mentawai people in general, among others are as such. "For the Mentawai people, everything that is called - being human, animal, plant, object, and even phenomena that appear for some time, like rainbows and cloudless skies - have soul or spirit (simögere) ... Spirit is a kind of the spiritual equivalent of everything that exists, and is an individual creature that can escape from the "rough" body and wander independently" [7]. Such a Mentawai view positions the spirits as something living as human life in the real world. The original traditions of the Mentawai people as such can be included in the category of most expert views that believe in understanding as stated by [10], that such a concept of spirit is the true core of the animism system, namely that the spirit is only related to the soul which has been freed from certain physical localities, and that the concept of the souls of animals, plants and things is formed by analogy with the human soul [10]. What if humans are happy with the beautiful things according to the Mentawai people, the spirit is also happy with the beautiful things. They are of the view that spirits are necessarily "approached" by presenting or providing something beautiful for toys for those spirits. In this case [7] explains as follows. "Toys for the spirit" (simögere people): that is the name of the Mentawai people for the decoration and wood carving they made while their religious ceremonies were being held. Such naming is based on the assumption that just like humans feel happy with toys, "spirits" - that is, the human soul and the spirits of all things that are good for humans - also feel happy at things that are all beautiful" [7]. "Everything that exists, has its own living individuality; the artistic form is not an addition to the purpose of the artistry itself, but rather an integrated part of the overall form of the object ... For the Mentawai people, the making of an artistic form is rightfully so. This is caused by a tradition, in which individual creations gradually develop steady artistic norms for all cultural manifestations ... According to them, the artistic form that has been determined by tradition for every object made, is no less important than the aspect technical aspects in determining the quality of the object" [7]. Contained in the Mentawai people's view as stated above is, that the aesthetic existence that characterizes an object with the provisions of the artistic tradition established on the object, is an important part as the importance of the technical aspects of the object itself. In this frame of concept or view, practical examples can be put forward, if the machete shaft is a technically important part of the machete's hold, then the artistic aspect as a reflection of the aesthetic concept inherited is attached to an object called the machete shaft, as important as the existence the machete stalk itself as part of the machete. The importance of the aesthetic aspect in line with this artistic realization necessitates its aim to fulfill their spiritual needs which connects the aesthetic and artistic aspects of the object to the existence of the spirit or soul of the object itself as a living thing. In the ritual life of the Mentawai people, such is how illustrated the importance of the decorations they make from plants or objects in the form of flowers and leaves or other objects. The objects are if they become certain objects of

decoration as part of the decoration of clothes that they wear at ritual events or certain celebrations. About headdresses (crowns) for example, explained [7] as such. "Male and female headdresses are also made of beads ... This type of headdress may only be worn by a shaman and his wife. During celebrations, the shamans still wear special jewelry from beads ... which are put on various amulets and hung with monkey tail feathers ... Except during the period of mourning, the Sakuddei always wear jewelry ... And besides all the jewelry mentioned above, they also slip colorful flowers and leaves into the hair, behind the ears, on necklaces, and also on the loincloth wrapped around the waist. At the time of celebration, their jewelry was very lively. The most lively of them was the wives of the shamans. In addition to highlight headbands filled with flower inserts, they also wear "crowns" (teteku ') of bird feathers, glass beads and pearl snail skin flakes that are attached to wooden slats and look sparkling every time the wearer moves" [7]. The following can be seen a picture of the "crown" headdress (teteku') attached to the shaman's wife and the headdress (sorot) of the Mentawai shamans; as well as various necklaces that they wear, as follows.



**Fig 5.** Headdress "crown" commonly used by the wife of a shaman - Mentawai people

The facts stated above contain an understanding, that the existence of artistic objects made by the Mentawai people and a part of their religious life (original belief) is a "toy" for the spirit, in essence is the essence of aesthetics that lives in their lives and is an entity that has a very fundamental role in life, which is related to the peace of life. The art (artistica objects) they make is not "haphazard", that is, as a mere art object, but more than that is, related to a belief system that is conceptualized into the aesthetic construction inherent in the religious nature of it. As is known, that belief or religion is the highest peak value in every human life. Likewise art objects undoubtedly occupy the highest value in the original beliefs of the Mentawai people. The phenomenon illustrated in the traditional life of the Mentawai people as discussed above, is also found in the traditional life of the Minangkabau people. The Minangkabau community would ideally carry out a wedding in the form of a ceremony. The ceremony consists of a series of events with all the rules they inherited from generation to generation. They make the provision as a guideline or guide in carrying out a wedding ceremony that is considered reasonable in their environment. This kind of action they do, either consciously or unconsciously, is in the context of actualizing their existence as members of the community. For the Minangkabau, it is inevitable to hold a wedding with all the ceremonial arrangements they have inherited since the past. On the one hand, the continuity of the wedding ceremony

has many similarities with the Mentawai wedding ceremony. In this case, it should be suspected that there was a connection between the cultural phenomena in the past, even though the two groups of the supporters of the community had differed cultures today. The connection in question is related primarily to the values and norms of animism in the past that have contributed to the cultural background of the marriage ceremony of the Minangkabau people whose traces are still visible today.

### 2.3 Traces of Animism at the Minangkabau Wedding Ceremony

Observing the existence of inherent adornments as part of the Minangkabau and Mentawai traditions (Madobag or Sakuddei: original belief) as discussed above, can be seen from the four sides of the equality of facts which is a continuation from the animism period up to the Minangkabau era now. First, it is equally related to or related to "ceremonial" activities (religion, traditions); second, crown users (Suntiung and teteku ') are "women"; third, making flowers and foliage or similar objects as material makers of Suntiung or teteku 'by arranging as beautifully (artistically) as possible to be used as "crowns" as part of certain fashion; and fourth, together use the material of flowers and leaves or similar, including using certain objects as objects of art or objects of beauty. The similarity which is the continuity side is as in the following table 1.

Table 1  
Continuity in the use of Suntiung and Teteku'

Continuity of Use of Clothing		
Aspect:	Suntiung:	Teteku':
1 Context	Ceremony	Ceremony
2 User	Women	Women
3 Positioning	Crown	Crowns
4 Material	Flower /foliage	Flower /foliage

From the four sides of the equation it is undoubtedly a continuation of the past and present that is still ongoing in the life of the Minangkabau community. But on the contrary there are things that change in connection with the things that continue. To uncover the things that continue and change can be seen or studied what possibilities are recorded on the existence of the tradition of the crown or Suntiung Minangkabau based on the evolutionary view discussed above. Evolutionarily positioned the religious tradition of the use of headdresses or crowns called by the people Sakuddei (Mentawai) with the teteku', as a prototype that is more "simple" than the Suntiung tradition in the life of the Minangkabau tradition which is more "complex" today. The trace of the connectedness of the existence of the crown in the past with the present condition is categorized on the continuity side and the things that do not continue are categorized on the change side.

### 2.4. Continuity and Change: The context of using the crown is "ceremony"

To examine things that continue and change will be seen based on four aspects that continue as discussed earlier, are as follows. Ceremonies in a community are not daily activities as a person does routine daily work, for example farming, carpentry, cattle herding, trading, etc. Daily activities are carried out mainly to support survival. Meanwhile, ceremonies are formal, certain, and patterned or structured activities, the implementation of which involves many people. Sociologically

felt as a shared property (in-group) community supporting the ceremonial culture. The ceremony is formed into a unified form and patterned and is an entity, basically a legacy of the past in the life of supporters, is received from generation to generation and they feel worthy of caring for and caring for it together. Supporters feel attached to the ceremony, so that at certain times or at any time the ceremony must be held, they undoubtedly hold it. Ordinary ceremonies are contextual with other aspects of culture or tradition, for example the use of *Sunti* in Minangkabau society is contextual with marriage ceremonies and not contextual with ceremonies of death, circumcision, etc. In the life of the Minangkabau people, for example, what if someone marries their daughter, after all the economic situation of the family, they almost always even though in a very simple way. In organizing the celebrate, the family will, among other things, wear wedding clothes on their married children, such as wedding dress for certain events or processions. For that reason, her clothes are clothes that are commonly worn by the bride in the context of a wedding ceremony in the local cultural environment. Such a phenomenon illustrates how committed supporters of the ceremony as members of the community to carry it out. In this activity the cultural understanding as attached by [11] Garry Ferraro stated, "Culture is so embedded in our psychology that we frequently take it for granted. We live out our lives without thinking too much about how our culture influences our thinking and behavior" [11]. Based on facts such as this it can be found, that ceremonies in certain cultures, are binding and at the same time "guarantee" a sense of shared life, so that the entity is a part of the socio-cultural life of the community supporting the ceremony. One form of ceremony is the marriage ceremony as mentioned above, the core of which is the marriage of a man to a woman and according to certain procedures. The ceremony consists of various events that make up the ceremony. One of the events in the structure of a wedding ceremony is a wedding that is held according to special provisions. For the Minangkabau people, marriages are carried out according to Islamic teachings, while for the Mentawai people who adhere to the animist beliefs, they are certainly organized according to this belief system. Of the two forms of the implementation of the wedding, there is a similar thing, is a ritualistic action regarding the transition of life phases from the condition before marriage to the condition of marriage. Such activities are ritualistic activities belonging to the rites de passage as [11] defines as quoted by [3], namely "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age" [3]. Therefore, marriage is one of the important moments in the journey of human life that is not done carelessly, and is usually held in the form of ceremonies. The wedding itself is usually not single, but it is one part of a series of events that are formed into a form of ceremony. Some events related to or accompanying a wedding can be, a specific ceremony, a banquet with a certain procedure, an event in the form of certain processions, a special event to present certain people with their own procedures, visiting programs between the bride and groom's family, various types or menus that must be provided, etc. All events that are part of a series and are an integral part of the ceremonial building are manifestations of value as a legacy of the past, both in the lives of the Minangkabau and in the lives of the Mentawai people. Its existence cannot be separated from the values and norms of other aspects of their culture. The ceremony is part of their cultural building holistically, both

for the Mentawai people and for the Minangkabau people now. A form of ceremony that is part of the cultural life value of a society as such is not an incidental activity. However, its existence becomes a systemic part that is firmly rooted and inherent in the life of the supporting community. A ceremony that is part of such a culture, as is the marriage ceremony of a community, both in the context of the Minangkabau culture and in the context of the culture of the Mentawai people, is a life-valued entity formed through a long journey, in line with the life journey of the supporting community. Therefore it can be stated, that the wedding ceremony which is part of a culture, is actually a special event and not carelessly carried out. In human life marriage is something that is sacred. In Islamic teachings marriage is carried out on the basis of two dimensions, namely the divine dimension (vertical), that is, the relationship with Allah SWT, and the social dimension (horizontal), which is married by a marriage guardian and witnessed by two witnesses [12], and in line with other provisions as the application of Islamic teachings [13] (Kementerian Agama, 4: 3). Apart from that, any event that is part of a wedding ceremony (marriage) is basically custom or mere tradition. In the context of organizing a wedding ceremony that is so sacred in the course of human life, it turns out that the supporters of the ceremony make certain clothes for bridesmaid's attire. This outfit is in the form of special clothes that are designed with the completeness of patterned and repetitive ornaments. The clothes are only worn as wedding dresses in the context of the holding of the wedding ceremony. This phenomenon shows how important a ceremony is as a moment (significant period) that is deliberately provided within a specific time and space frame, so that its existence is "special" and becomes part of the cultural system of supporting societies. In this case it can be understood, that a ceremony is an activity that is full of meaning and meaning in the life of the community supporting the ceremonial culture concerned. Whatever is considered related to the continuity of the ceremony, is essentially part of something important as the importance of the ceremony is held in full by the supporting community. In such a frame of view, the use of *Sunti* for Minangkabau women in the context of a wedding ceremony is important. The same thing also applies how important the use of *teteku'* as a crown for the witch doctors in holding certain ceremonies to the Mentawai (*Sakuddei*) who adheres to their original beliefs. Based on the views and facts discussed above, it can be explained that there are similarities in the use of "crowns" (*Sunti* and *teteku'*) as part of women's fashion. This fact shows the existence of continual forms of behavior from the past. Likewise, the form of clothing that is used becomes a necessity used in the context of certain ceremonies, both in the cultural life of the Minangkabau people and in the original cultural life of the Mentawai people. Even though the Minangkabau people are now Muslim, this religion does not forbid the use of *Sunti* as a crown which is a tradition in the life of the Minangkabau people. It's just that the Minangkabau people do not give religious value to objects and the use of *Sunti* as a religious value, which is a spirit toy for the Mentawai tribe, even though Minangkabau people use it in an Islamic wedding ceremony. What if the Mentawai tribe uses the *teteku'* is part of the animism belief system, whereas for the Minangkabau the use of *Sunti* is only as decoration or merely traditional art objects, but these objects are both used in the context of ceremonies, especially wedding ceremonies.

## 2.5 The crown wearers are women: Side of continuity

The connectedness of the existence of Suntiung and teteku' as a crown as discussed earlier is also seen in the prevalence of what the crown users are. The wearer is a woman, both in Minangkabau and in Mentawai. The crown is worn and designated specifically in the Minangkabau culture as part of a woman's dress that is applied to her in the context of the inauguration of the marriage between a woman (girl) and her husband's man. The crown is worn at certain events and processions as a series of wedding ceremonies. All events held in the context of the wedding ceremony are customary. Based on this fact, it can be stated that the use of Suntiung in Minangkabau is basically only in the context of the bridal custom. In other words, the use of Suntiung in the context of adat (read= culture) is only at the wedding ceremony and is used by women as part of the bridal dress. Attached to the symbolic meaning of the bride's traditional clothing, in line with the use of the bride's traditional attire, among others is that women bride and groom have officially had the right to build their own households. Next they go to forming a household like the life of a household. The official that women bride and groom as a couple who are having a wedding, which is marked by wearing special wedding dress in such a way and each is different indicates that Suntiung is only intended for women's clothing can be seen as a picture, that the crown with a certain shape is part from the "greatness" clothes of women inherited from generation to generation. Their supporters feel it is worth maintaining, so that its existence has become traditional in the life of the Minangkabau people until now. Structurally the use of Suntiung is static, which is always a woman's clothing as part of the formal dress of the bride and groom at the wedding ceremony although in terms of dynamics there can be differences in design or ornamentation and composition. The users of the crown in the form of teteku' in the Mentawai community are women as Suntiung is the bride's clothing in Minangkabau. But the difference is, the crown called teteku' in the Mentawai tradition is worn by women not only in connection with marriage ceremonies, but is also used by women of shaman wives at certain ceremonies as explained by [7], that "The most lively of them are wives of shamans. In addition to highlight headbands that are full of flower insertions they also wear a "crown" (teteku') ..., and look sparkling every time the wearer moves" [7]. Such cultural facts emphasize that there are provisions (norms) that they set together (societies), namely how the form of a cultural dress or tradition is specifically intended for women as "greatness" clothing in the context of certain ceremonies. Included in the concept of cultural dress or tradition is the terms of use. With the terms of use, then the crown is not arbitrarily used and what the wearer is. In their culture, the users of teteku' are women, while the teteku' itself has a certain shape and differs from the crown of men. Based on this fact, the understanding can be drawn, that there is no difference in the sex of the crown wearers, my character for the Mentawai people and Suntiung for the Minangkabau, are both women.

## 2.6. Positioning the object as a crown: Side of continuity

The crowns used by the Mentawai people (Madobag - Sakuddei) and the Minangkabau as explained earlier, namely teteku' and Suntiung, basically have similarities in form. The physical building is made of certain objects resembling flowers, leaves, and decoration or toys which are arranged in a certain arrangement, so that the artistic buildings are as

beautiful as possible according to local measurements. Objects that can be categorized as "crowns" are placed or positioned (positioning) as a complexity of customary dress code occupying headdresses and worn in certain ways. The objective can be seen visually, especially in order to realize a headdress as beautiful as possible as an artistic object, in the form of a crown that is used as part of a dress code in the context of religious or traditional ceremonies. The clothing is used for example at wedding ceremonies, both for the Mentawai [7] people and for the Minangkabau. Such actions illustrate the importance of the moment, in the form of a ceremony as a space and time to display beauty products, which undoubtedly contain values for its supporters, both for the Mentawai people and for the Minangkabau. For this need, the consequence is that they will undoubtedly realize beautiful works of art in the context of the ceremony. So that art work in the form of a crown can be realized, they will relate to the use of material that is seen as beautiful or certain material that can be used to make something to meet the expectations of beauty as an artistic product. For the Mentawai people, simply (primitively), the most accessible material is plants around the environment or any objects that have a strong stimulus to be expressed as art objects. Flowers are a material that is easily obtained and at the same time becomes the main stimulus to make imitations (imitation) it from the preparation of any other objects in line with coloring. The ultimate goal is to create a crown made from artificial flowers and leaves to become part of a beautiful traditional dress. The crown which is a work of art is essentially an aesthetic aura that is born in harmony with the cultural background and the appreciation of art that is built on its supporters. As an art product that accommodates local wisdom in line with the wisdom of creativity that grows in the environment, it is undoubtedly sourced from their respective value systems, environmental conditions, availability of natural objects, the beauty of flora or fauna around them, or any entity that is can be a source of beauty creation. Such environmental conditions will be an experience for them, and for that experience they can interpret or make it as a source of inspiration to realize art objects as they wish. [7] explained about the making of various jewelry, including jewelry on the head and necklaces worn at certain ceremonies, except during the period of mourning as quoted earlier in the Mentawai people, that the material made was the material that was around the environment and included imported materials that were they process and use it to make or support the making of art or jewelry. Obviously [7] describes the making of jewelry and including making teteku' is like that. "In addition to highlight headbands full of flower inserts, they also wear "crowns" (teteku') of bird feathers, glass beads and pearl snail skin flakes that are attached to wooden slats and appear to sparkle every time the wearer moves" [7]. All the ingredients or ingredients for teteku' generally consist of natural ingredients that are available in the natural environment of Mentawai and are not so difficult to obtain. They create these natural materials or raw materials in the form of various flower stalks and are arranged in accordance with the arrangement of materials needed, so that they become crowns (teteku') as they wish. A similar phenomenon also occurs in the Minangkabau people in realizing Suntiung as part of the wedding ceremonial dress as the use of the teteku' is a necessity for the Mentawai people at their wedding ceremony. Regardless of the economic capacity of the Minangkabau female bride family, the complete wedding dress for the bride

is the dignity of the family concerned. The use of Suntieng as a complete dress code in the holding of a wedding ceremony is a necessity for them. The consequence of that need is that they (certain parties) will make beauty products in the form of a crown called Suntieng and in the fields are able to fulfill their aesthetic and artistic desires as they mean. One thing that is directed in making Suntieng for the Minangkabau people is they make it in the form of flower arrangements along with artificial foliage or other decoration, so that materialized Suntieng as the concept of Suntieng in their cultural life. The Suntieng physical building made by the Minangkabau is in the form of arrangements of a number of artificial flower stalks made of zinc plate, plastic objects, or certain beads that are shaped in such a way as flowers or flowers, and equipped with certain decorations, can be in the form of flowers and artificial leaves. These artificial flowers are arranged by means of brazing or using adhesive and placed in a semicircular position about the size of a half circle of the head from the direction between two ears, so that they form a crown. The shape of the crown that is expected visually is giving birth to a headdress as beautiful as possible as a complete outfit that is able to meet the user's artistic desires as they need. Two entities in the form of a crown, namely teteku' and Suntieng as discussed above, basically have the same principles in their making. Both of them use flowers and leaves as aesthetic expression objects and are manifested in the form of certain artistic settings, so that they become a physical building of beauty that they can categorize as crowns. This crown is used as part of a special outfit for the fulfillment of desires at monumental moments held in the form of ceremonies. Thus, both teteku' and Suntieng are both positioned by their supporters as objects of the crown, and are part of an oversized dress worth of religious rituals for the Mentawai tribe and traditional ritual values for the Minangkabau people; there is no change in this.

## 2.7 Crown making material

### 2.7.1 Side of continuity

The supporters of Suntieng culture in the context of this conversation are the Minangkabau people, while the supporters of the teteku' tradition are Mentawai people. Both objects are positioned as crowns for women and their use is related to ceremonies. Now, the two human groups supporting the crown are separated by the culture they profess, so that socio-anthropologically they are no longer the same and separate in two socio-cultural connotations, namely Minangkabau and Mentawai. However, it should be reminded again, that the two classifications of the form of human "bonding" in the context of this conversation are referred to as the community, namely the Minangkabau people and the Mentawai people, in fact in the past they were community unity or a very simple variant of society in Southeast Asia, before Hindu-Buddhist influences entered this region. [6] explained that the Southeast Asian region was a "cultural" regional entity formed since the past before the arrival of Indian influence in the region. Based on such cultural background, it is appropriate to be found in these two societies, namely Minangkabau and Mentawai, there are "practices" which are almost the same even though the values or basic rules given to the behavior or actions are different, for example using the inside of a chicken's body for "medical" purposes or related to shamanistic purposes. Likewise, how is the use of chicken as

part of the original Mentawai ritual as explained in this way. "The ceremony before the tattoo is done only for families who are tattooed. Usually done by slaughtering pigs or chickens that will be used to eat with large families (parurukatngungu). That's where forecasting from the heart of a pig and chicken intestine whether showing signs of good and bad that can determine whether the tattoo can be done or not. Because in the work process will affect the predictions" On the other hand, it can also be seen that, as a community that lives in a tropical forest environment, it is no stranger to the lives of the Minangkabau people or the Mentawai community that there are various flowers or plants that look beautiful. Every day they can deal directly with various forms and types of flowers that live in the natural environment in which they carry out life. Even in the traditional life of the Minangkabau people there are those who need flowers, such as the seven kinds of flowers required by a shaman to fulfill certain medical requirements. Likewise how important are flowers as beautiful objects in relation to the religious system or the original belief of the Mentawai people, that is, beautiful objects for "toys" for the spirit. On the other hand, what is similar is that when Mentawai people live depend their lives traditionally on the forest or plant palm trees and tubers, for example, taro (gette') [7], so do traditional Minangkabau people live dependent on agricultural activities, both rice farmers and farm farmers. These conditions will shape their lives as a whole ecosystem related to local environmental conditions, thus crystallizing into their anthropological life which includes both the professional and material aspects. The fact that the formation of ecosystems on human survival in certain natural environments as discussed above, is a natural in every life of a socio-cultural group. In fact, it will also be inherent in the formation of certain characteristics or phenomena that are born in the realization of how the relevant human acts with the local natural environment to carry out their lives. Likewise the familiarity of people or people living in tropical forest environments uses plants that are easily obtained in the local environment for certain purposes, both for ornamental plants and other needs. The need for flowers for decoration or for any other purpose, among others, can be seen from the original religious system of the Mentawai people, namely the need for beautiful objects for toys for the spirit. Their religious system which necessitates it cannot avoid the availability of objects that they view beautifully in the local environment. Their lives are basic in the context of the need for beauty during the life of the "murba tribe religion", namely "the tribes who even lived in this century, but still civilized in ancient times" [13], both the life of the Mentawai people and the lives of the ancestors of the people Minangkabau now, we can be sure that they will use the beautiful or nice flowers or leaves available in the local environment for various purposes. The need can be to fulfill the desire to fulfill the needs of decoration or other needs related to the substance of beauty, or other functional needs as explained by [7] how the original life of the Mentawai people is like that. "Some types of plants are very important intermediaries. According to traditions handed down since the days of the ancients, the spirits of the ancestors, the spirits of certain plants ... can be persuaded to continue the request expressed through spells, and fight for the request to be granted. As an intermediary, each type of plant has a specific function that is specific; this specificity is often related to the shape of the plant in question... There are hundreds of such intermediaries, and many of them carry a similar function" [7] In



the traditional life of the Minangkabau people, for example, it is common to plant flowers in the grave. They inherited this custom that is after the burial ground (*tanah badan*) was completed as the end of the funeral process, they planted flowers on the ground. The flowers that are commonly planted are pudding (*graptophyllum pictum*), frangipani (*adenium*), and roses (*rosa*). In general, people in the countryside planted flowers in the new cemetery. Although they do not know or have a clear reason related to the planting of flowers, but the habit is still maintained today. Such facts, namely the use of flowers in special conditions such as in the cemetery, medicinal herbs, and especially for the maker of the crown of various forms of flowers and their leaves are the side of the equation that continues (continue) from the time of animism to the Islamic Minangkabau. But in this case, there are certain changes, namely the use of materials and manufacturing technology.

### 2.7.2 Side change

The cultural phenomenon or tradition of the Minangkabau people in using various forms of flowers along with the leaves of the crown maker in the form of *Sunti* as discussed earlier, actually there are changes that occur, namely changes in the material or material making the shape of flowers and artificial leaves. Now *Sunti* is made of zinc plate iron or material of modern industrial products and is shaped and arranged to resemble flowers and their leaves, making them more complex. Its manufacture uses certain technologies of modern technology products along with the use of artificial colors. In the Mentawai people making *teteku'* using natural ingredients and done in a very simple way (primitive) takes place traditionally.

TABLE-2  
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CROWN USE THE CULTURE OF THE MINANGKABAU AND MENTAWAI PEOPLE.

Continuity and Change in the Use of the Crown							
No	Aspects	Minangkabau			Mentawai		
		<i>Sunti</i>	Material source/ technology	Background	<i>Tetelu'</i>	Material source/ technology	Background
1	Context	Ceremony	-	Custom	Ceremony	-	Religion
2	User	Female	-	Custom	Female	-	Religion
3	Positioning	Crown	-	Custom	Crown	-	Religion
4	Material	Flower/ leaves	Modern product	Custom	Flower/ leaves	Natural material/ primitive	Religion

### 3 CONCLUSIONS

The cultural life of Minangkabau ancestors based on animism still shows traces in Minangkabau society today, even though they are Muslim. The connection with the past is more evident in the continuity of choice of actions (its course) or ontological objects in the form of behavior and art objects that they maintain as part of the current Minangkabau culture, but there are things that change in principle. The choice of action (its course) or ontological object which is a surface rule, in the form of behavior and art objects, is basically an entity that continues from the animism era to the Minangkabau religion in Islam. The surface rule is a provision (norm) in the form of a crown made of flowers along with leaves, usage in the context of a ceremony, basically unchanged even though in terms of complexity it changes from the simplest to a more complex form. Changes in the surface aspect are more visible in the manufacturing technology factors and the availability of modern products, as well as the material objects used do not

conflict with Islamic teachings. The fundamental change is in the basic law (basic rule), namely the aspect of its causes or epistemological aspects related to the religious system. If for the native Mentawai tribe, religious animists act based on their loyalty or obedience to the persuasion of spirits using art as a religious system whereas for the Minangkabau there is no religious value they give. For them the use of crowns and as objects of art is customary and worldly (profane).

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