

Minangkabau Philosophical Folklore in a Multicultural Society as Indonesian Identity

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Abstract: Minangkabau is one of the ethnic groups in Indonesian archipelago that owns philosophical folklores popular among its society. Philosophical folklore is a way of life containing cultural and religious dimensions. Behind these dimensions, there is a philosophy of tali tigo sapilin (three interwoven threads) covering *ninik mamak* (tradition affairs), *alim ulama* (religion affairs), and *cadiak pandai* (intellectual affairs) that play an important role in the life of Minangkabau people. Another Minangkabau philosophy of ‘*alam takambang jadi guru*’ (nature as the root of experience or knowledge) is a laws-of-religion-and-nature based philosophy. It views natural phenomena as sources of ideas and inspirations. However, it does not mean to serve as objective knowledge of nature itself. Instead, nature serves as an analog to form set of values and set of behaviors within the context of communal living for Minangkabau society. Minangkabau customary philosophy regards knowledge as a synthesis of empirical and rational aspects. The knowledge of Minangkabau cultural folklore is based not only on physical and rational senses, but also on emotional aspect that lead to ethic-argumentative concept. The relevance of Minangkabau philosophical folklore study for art, religion, and culture lies on dialogue process done by Minangkabau society. Culture and religion are inseparable elements that constitute a way of life for Minangkabau people.

1 INTRODUCTION

Minangkabau philosophical folklore as a development in aesthetics shows multiple perspectives from its dialectic process in finding a more representative comprehension up to now. This is because of its broader dimension coverage and also its strong influential power that resulted from various connections within construction of conception on several variables of ever-dynamic life. Consequently, philosophical study perspective develops to comply its relation with multiple variables of life that keep improving. In other words, the perspective of philosophical folklore is a cultural aesthetic within an ethnic cultural group. Thus, this study uses philosophical folklore perspective in order to unravel the cultural background of Minangkabau ethnic cultural group. This perspective may reveal Minangkabau people’s responses on their bodily experience. Therefore, its element of continuity can be considered as a philosophy folklore. In that sense, folklore does not only contain aesthetic perception (values), but also sense in its broad coverage, human responses through their senses: sight, touch, smell,

taste and hearing. Aesthetics is related to human responses on their bodily experience, viewed from cultural quality embedded in human being ((Kapferer and Hobart, 2005: 1-20; Sumardjo, 2000: 33-38; Simatupang, 2013: 6-8).

Multiculturalism or “cultural diversity” is evident in Indonesia. In terms of plural society, Indonesian culture is constituted of culture of large ethnic groups and local ethnic groups inhabiting smaller territories. The current population of Indonesia is nearer to 261 million and spread throughout Indonesian islands with various geographical conditions, ranging from mountain, edge of the forest, coast, lowland, rural area, to urban area. The level of civilization varies among tribal societies. Minangkabau, one of Indonesian cultural groups, has a variety of societal structure, cultural art, politics, and economy typical to Indonesian identity. These varieties and differences show that human history is varied and full of dissimilarities. History of tradition might have been developed, reduced and added throughout time and space. Human tradition has been passed on from generation to generation. However, a tradition can be

defined and associated to another tradition that result in differences and diversity (Al Makin, 2016:7).

A concept closely related to ethnicity is identity. Though the term 'identity' is very popular and commonly used especially in politics and international affairs, the identity concept associated with ethnicity is diverse. In a society, identity can be classified into three categories, namely cultural identity, social identity, and personal identity.¹ Firstly, cultural identity appears when someone belongs to a particular ethnic group, for example, we always identify a Minangnese as a Moslem. Secondly, social identity resulted from someone's membership in a certain cultural group. This type of identity is based on age, gender, occupation, social class, and religion. Based on age, in general, young people are energetic, temperamental, reckless, and impatient; on the other hand, older people are more patient, wiser, and slower. Based on gender, males are more rational than females who are more emotional. Thirdly, personal identity is based on uniqueness of individual characteristics. A choreographer has talent, skill and preference which are different from another choreographer. Cultural behavior, voice, gesture, tone, speaking manner, clothes color, hair cut, all of these indicate someone's personal image that is different from others.¹ One's personal identity and social identity formed cannot be separated from his cultural identity. Human cannot choose in which culture he grows, eventhough when grows up, he can deny his original culture and pick another culture, yet, he is still embedded by his original culture.² This is confirmed by Claire Holt who said that "Show me how you dance, and I'll know where you are from . . ."³.

Multiculturalism is a discourse that covers multiple interests of power relation. The discourse is then developed and supported by media. Diversity has existed in Indonesia for ages. However, multiculturalism is about comprehending the culture itself. Liberalisation of performing arts gives a chance to creative process. Creative process has some important things and it is correlated to creativity, innovation, initiative, productivity, and efficiency. Creativity is very personal because it appears as a result of intrinsic forces and environmental climate that enable someone to imagine and create something.

Minangkabau philosophical folklore is understood by the community through a proverbial expression pepatah petitih that complies with Minangkabau society's mindset that is metaphorical (Navis, 1983:21). Minangkabau customary philosophy based on laws of religion and nature is reflected in the proverbs adat basandi syarak-syarak

basandi kitabullah (customs rest on syarak or Islamic Law, syarak rests on the Holy Qur'an) and alam takambang jadi guru (nature as the teacher). The cosmocentric understanding of the philosophy alam takambang jadi guru is not served as an objective knowledge of nature itself, but nature is an analogue to form a set of values and behaviors in the context of communal living for Minangkabau society. Therefore, all of their teachings and life philosophies are expressed through metaphors in the form of pepatah petitih that take its idioms or sayings from the forms and features of natural life.

Cultural changes that took place in traditional society, namely the changes from closed to open society, from homogenous to heterogenous values and social norms were one of the impacts caused by globalisation. In a broader context, multicultural education helps to unify the nation democratically by giving emphasis on societal pluralist perspective of multiple lineage, ethnic and cultural group. This is certainly part of the academic responsibility to research the education system and cultural art development of the nation to be later constructed into guides and models of cultural art learning that are applicable to the real world. By reconstructing ethno-aesthetics, and then developing kind of 'grounded theory' through philosophical study, this research is intended to generate etetika aparapa as Minangkabau ethno-aesthetics.

2 METHOD

In terms of methodology, research problems are investigated by using a multidisciplinary descriptive-qualitative approach. Investigation was initiated by finding relevant literatures followed by ethno-graphic observation on art and culture in Minangkabau. In this study, data analysis was done by using Spradley (1980) 's stages of research as follow: (1) conducting domain analysis; (2) doing taxonomy analysis; (3) conducting componential analysis; and (4) doing cultural-theme analysis.

Domain analysis is a way of systematic thinking in giving or testing something to determine the relation between parts, and the relation between parts and the whole. Taxonomy analysis was done to find out the relation between components of each domain. Componential analysis was conducted in order to discover components containing systematic meaning related to cultural category. Theme analysis was carried out based on componential analysis that had been previously done to find out similarities between contrast dimensions from selected domains.

3 DISCUSSION

The arrival of Islam had completed the Minangkabau customary teachings and the philosophical saying of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* means Minangkabau customs are based on rules of Islamic teachings originated from Quran and Hadits. Garraghan gave three definitions of history, namely (1) events related to human in the past; (2) writings about things happened in the past; (3) and history as a research method (Gilbert J. Garraghan, 1957: 4). However, in Islamic's perspective of history we believe that Qur'an is a discipline that covers broader definition than Garraghan's definition of history. Therefore, it is very reasonable to consider Qur'an as the most comprehensive construction of human civilization history. Our proudness of art should be fulfilled with spirit of treasuring its practitioners' historical values, indication of the phenomena they had created, and also the intellectual experience as a discipline in analysis process. If we fail to put a historical event within a functional-evolutioner frame, our history will remain a narration or chronology (Kaplan and Manner, 2000:94). If somebody eliminates or intentionally disregards an artwork's complexity, then the best thing that art can give to us will disappear (Sedyawati, 1981: 139). In addition, an artist's obligations are related to demands for historical product and cultural-development product. If these two things are not acknowledged, arts as human resources will disappear.

Adat bersandi syarak, syarak bersandi kitabullah is a universal philosophy of Minang. In Minangkabau, culture and society are like two sides of a coin that are inseparable. Society is a patron of culture as long as the culture is still needed and supported in societal life. It is in line with Ralph Linton's statement as cited in T.O. Ihromi that every society has a culture, and every human is a cultural being, therefore there is no such thing as a cultureless society or individual (2000:18). West Sumatra people call their homeland as Alam Minangkabau (Minangkabau Nature). Minangkabau people are well-known for their habit of *merantau* (migrate). Based on the teaching "*di mana bumi dipijak di situ langit dijunjung*" ("wherever you walk down the earth, there you hold up the sky"), they have the courage to leave their homeland to pursue their goals. Most Minangnese have the tendency to migrate. Then, they find many opportunities outside their home as they must be able to survive in new environment in search of knowledge, experience, education, wealth, career, and better living. This is in line with Al Makin's explanation in his book entitled

Antara Barat dan Timur: Batasan, Dominasi, Relasi, dan Globalisasi: "I belong to two different worlds: East serves as the essential identity and education, whereas West serves as self-development and wider networking (2015:2), that is how West studied and wrote about East (Orientalism), whereas East responded and made West as the object of study (Occidentalism).

Members of Minangkabau society are Islam believers. This religion has been accepted and united with their culture so that their livings are guided by inseparable religion and custom values. Before Islam entered Minangkabau, its society had adopted celestial belief. It can be seen from the proverb '*alam takambang jadi guru*' (nature is the teacher of humankind) that serves as a basis for building someone's characters in Islam. This proverb teaches society to continuously study the nature as well as the might of God, The Creator. Islam has taught us that people who are good at reading will get many lessons from nature.

Speaking of Islam perspective for Minangkabau society cannot be parted from the existence of a *surau* (mosque). An ideal view within religion dimension toward a *surau* has made a mosque as part of Minangnese's religious life. The most fundamental thing in Islam is that people embrace Islam because they believe in one thing, that is Allah 'God the Almighty'. Everything in Islam is centred on principal reality, which is God or Allah (Smith, 1985: 270). According to that belief, supposedly mosque is attached to Minang people's confession that Islam is above everything else.

Social and communal life in Minangkabau, viewed from religiousity aspect, cannot be separated from arts. The relation between the existence of arts implying aesthetics truth and structural thinking can be illustrated by Gadamer's opinion that arts contain truth values (Richard, 2005:92). There is something unique about Minangkabau society. In general, Minangkabau people recognize *surau* merely as a place for worshipping (*sholat*). In the past, *surau* had been a staying place for teenage boys who spent most of their time there everyday. Islamic teachings do not recognize enculturation concept in which religion often uses culture for its needs. A muslim's duty in terms of religion spread is merely to convey Islam without forcing other people to embrace it; 'for you is your religion and for me is my religion' (Smith, 1985: 292). In context of local genius, actually only local people who express their culture in order to carry out Islamic teachings. Thus, it is clear that Islamic values and norms are made ideal by Minangkabau society. This framework is supported by Ismail Raji Al-

Faruqi, that Al Qur'an actually contains fundamental principles for human to form a comprehensive culture for humanbeings (1999:2).

If we take a look at Minangkabau history, we will find diverse richness of customs and culture. Local genius of Minangkabau customs and culture based on Islamic values are the distinctive feature of this country. In addition, one of philosophies known by Minangkabau society is Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah, Syara' mangato, Adat mamakai. This philosophy seems to confirm the existence of Islam that is embedded in Minang society's daily life.

3.1 Religion and Custom as Minangkabau Cultural Arts

Generally, there are three elements influencing the formation of traditional cultural art, as mentioned by Edi Sedyawati, namely: 1) ceremonial system of life cycle and ceremonial system of time cycle, 2) social custom, and 3) arts (Sedyawati, 2006: 429). The ceremonial system of life cycle and of time cycle are rich of ritual cultures and myth nuances as the basis and background of traditional spirit; meanwhile the social custom is the system of culture itself, set of rules or behavior patterns that become the convention of local cultural tradition. Arts in this context is media, embodiment, creative product, product or cultural work itself and not a goal.

Folk traditional games in Minang such as pamenan and pancak were preserved as lessons in Minangkabau traditional education. These lessons were taught in accordance with other lessons, such as Islam (read: Al Quran and all teachings related to it), knowledge of Minangkabau customs, and other practical lessons. All teachings were aimed at preparing Minangnese to overcome problems in life, that are getting more and more complicated, without giving up their identity as Minangnese. The practice of pancak usually started after Isya prayer. All students and teachers dressed in black training outfit called galembong pants, loose top and head cloth. Then they sat in circle and prayed together in the yard of the mosque called sasaran. This collective prayer was meant to ask protection from Allah during pancak practice so that everyone would be safe and no one got injured. Afterwards, each pair of students that were going to practice should stand face to face and give greetings to teacher and other students present. They greeted by shaking hands. Students

greeted their teacher by approaching their teacher and shake their hands. They pulled their teacher's hand on to their forehead and then put their palm on their chest. On the other hand, students greeted their fellows by shaking hands and put their palms on their chest. Then, they practiced under their teacher's guidance.

As a martial art that bases its teachings on Al Quran, pancak focuses on skills to defend, dodge, grab, strike, trick and train self-intelligence to handle situation. All skills are used to protect and defend oneself. A proverb of Minangkabau silat says that "indak ado gayuang nan indak basambuik, indak ado tangkok nan indak balapehan". It means that the skills of pancak martial art are not meant to hurt one's opponent, instead they are aimed to give lessons to one's opponent as to not do any harmful deeds to others. Therefore, the purpose of pancak is to build good relationships between people as reflected from the word silat that derives from the word 'silaturahmi' that means good relationship (Murgiyanto,1991: 276). The skills are embodied in doing a transitional move from straight position to basic silat posture, that is putting one leg in front in a low position (pitunggue). In that posture, knees are bent and body weight is supported on one leg in front of or behind the body. Sometimes in the middle of a move, body weight may be distributed between two legs in a fixed position of pitunggue. Afterwards, when both legs are in that position, two hands move to prepare parts of body like chest, head and lower abdomen by crossing them on chest, or placing one hand in front of body no higher than shoulder and another hand close to abdomen in defense position. Meanwhile, the position of head is straight and eyes gaze sharply at particular parts of opponent's body. Self-defense position is a common basic posture in Minangkabau silat, and considered as a significant cultural product because it serves not only as a fighting technique but also as an element of performing art that has inspired other Minangkabau performing arts (pamenan).

From the above explanation, we can conclude that pancak is an activity closely related to Islamic teachings, viewed from the concept underlying pancak, the ethics of conduct and also all elements that constitute pancak moves. If its concept of idea, ethics of conduct and overall elements are really comprehended in terms of Islamic meanings, then

pancak as a fighting art that has inspired various forms of Minangkabau performing arts will become one of outstanding Malay-Minangkabau-Islam cultural products. All of its objectives and guidances direct the concentration of silat player toward tauhid (Islamic monotheism). This is in line with Islamic teachings that advise its believers to synchronise his thoughts and deeds under Allah's command.

Today the above conditions have changed. However, the changes do not trigger any conflict since people have realized that arts and culture develop according to dynamics of society's life. This is in line with Claire Holt's argument that the presence of new elements in a series of cultural development does not get rid of former cultural elements. Old culture and new culture can stand side by side, be mixed, or even be overlapped (Holt, translated by Soedarsono, 1991:3). There is an argument proposed by Toynbee Arnold J that reception of a new culture is a misery and a chaos that stirs a feeling of unhappiness in someone because his traditional way of life is being threatened as it causes little or many changes (1987: 88). This is not the case in Minangkabau because in fact when a new culture enters Minangkabau, it does not change the overall cultural values of Minangkabau society. In other words, it does not totally affect all aspects of social life. Instead, it adds new facets of social life. The elements of foreign culture penetrate domestic culture unintentionally and unforcibly.

In history point of view, such penetration of culture is called penetration pacifique, meaning 'penetrating peaceably' (Kontjaraningrat, 1990: 245). Many changes that occur in human-self and his surroundings, in which each change is always followed by new forms, are the result of mixture and blend between the old and new forms. The changes in social norms and values give impacts on artistic life in Minangkabau, or according to A.A.M. Djelantik, the condition is called assimilation. The encounter between two cultures of acculturation leads to a new culture, called enculturation. In Indonesia, the acculturation process happened by chance and unclearly, accelerated by urgent situation (such as colonialism), yet slowed down by conservative beliefs held by its societies.

Basically there is a mainstream that spontaneously accepts foreign elements of culture,

particularly which are beneficial according to people's opinion. During the process, there is a reaction caused by their inharmonious feeling towards the foreign culture. Sooner or later the inharmonious feeling is replaced by a custom that they consider appropriate. Social system consists of human activities that interact, connect and socialize to each other from time to time, according to certain patterns which are based on general customs. The result of the activity itself is shaped through internalization as deepening that makes somebody as a member of society (Kuntowijoyo, 1987: 43). Speaking of social life and society in Minangkabau, we cannot separate society's religious aspects from their daily lives. There are some uniqueness about Minangkabau society.

Minangkabau customary norms were shaped by tali tigo sapilin namely: alua-patuik, anggo-tanggo, dan raso-pareso. These norms are crystalized in Minangkabau custom and used in various custom considerations. These three things are like stove for custom 'cookery' and custom leaders are like its fire. All custom leaders must understand and comprehend the three norms so that their customary leadership can 'cook' sense of fairness and prosperity for their groups. Javanese philosophy implicitly describes the relationship between micro, macro and metacosmos that goes in line with Indonesian mystical culture way of thinking known as teachings of tribuana or triloka namely alam niskala, sakala-niskala and sakala (Dharsono, 2014:66).

In artistic process, visual image plays a role as a medium to bridge conscious and unconscious mind, to record and present symbolization of someone's past, present and future. Visual manifestation appears in the narrative, symbolic and metaphorical forms (Tridjata, 2014: 200). As Randai art that in the past functioned as a medium to deliver Islamic teachings, played by nine males, later is known as Tari Bujang Sambilan (Interview with Dt. Indo Marajo, 58 years old, Head of Randai in Nagari Tambangan Padang Panjang). Bujang Sambilan dance combines pencak silat fighting art and song with Islamic teaching lyrics. After bujang sambilan dance developed, story elements were added and developed into Randai Dampieng. Randai Dampieng is a sequel from bujang sambilan dance that originally was developed in a mosque and now it is performed in a field or an arena.

With added story elements, randai is not only a dance but also a folk theater that tells story from kaba Minangkabau. Religion does not restrict Randai players. They do not have to be devoted Moslems. However, the majority of Minangkabau people is Moslem. Therefore, it is not impossible if the Randai players are all Islam believers. With religion underlying it, religious-themed stories are enclosed. In religion perspective, art (aesthetic) is needed as a verse in hadiths said that God loves beauty or aesthetics and art.

Minangkabau people are so persistent in preserving their customs and practising Islamic teachings that they put forward adat bersandi syarak-syarak bersandi kitabullah. In its realization, both customary and religious activities, related to traditional art performance, involve many rituals containing animism and religio-magic elements basically contradict with the principal teachings of Minangkabau custom and Islam. Although Islam had given a new paradigm for Minangkabau people at that time, old tradition could not be detached right away. In other words, the elements of local genius culture of animism and dynamism are still attached to it until now. For example, saluang sarumpak traditional art that exist and develop in Taeh Simalanggang Kabupaten Lima Puluh Kota (Payakumbuh) Sumatera Barat, is seen as a ritual-magic music performance (Sina, 2012: 186). As was explained by Kuntjaraningrat that magic in its practice is an effort and action performed by human to influence his surroundings beyond the capacity of human logic and knowledge system to achieve his goals and desires (1987: 62). Furthermore he explained that in the past or pre-Hindu era ritual and sacred ceremonies were performed as an action based on magical power (Soedarsono, 1985: 2).

Minangkabau as one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia is the only tribe that adopts matrilineal system. Every newborn in the group will automatically be a member of his or her mother's group family because the lineage is determined according to mother's family. In addition to its matrilineage (matriliny) system, there are other distinctive features of Minangkabau ethnic group. Among other things, Minangnese are being known as devoted moslem and having a tendency to migrate (merantau). With the rise of globalisation and

modernization currents flowing into Minangkabau society nowadays, restoring the function of a mosque as it was is hardly possible. Making a mosque as an institution that build children's Islamic characters and personalities are quite possible to be done today. Instead, we could maximize any role held by a mosque today. For example, we can fill the mosque with various Islamic activities. It seems that today the activity in a mosque is limited to Quran learning instead of Islamic-character building. It is a collective hope that a mosque can regain its role to build Minang children's Islamic personalities. The nuance of religiosity seems to be faded in Minangkabau people's daily life. By maximizing the function of a mosque to develop Islamic characteristics, we expect to restore the nuance of religiosity.

The principal teaching of Minangkabau custom has many things in common with that of Islam. The power of custom and religion as stated in the proverb "adat bersandi syara', syara' bersandi kitabullah". Custom and religion are inseparable views for Minangkabau people. In Islam, art (aesthetic) is highly needed as is stated in hadiths.

إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَمِيلٌ يُحِبُّ الْجَمَالَ (الحديث)

Meaning: "Allah is beautiful and loves beauty"

3.2 Mosque and Gadang House as Minangkabau Cultural Art

Speaking of social life and society in Minangkabau means that religiosity and society are conjoined in daily life. For Minangkabau people, a mosque is not only known as a place for worshipping God. In the past, a mosque was a living place for teenage boys. In a mosque, they spent most of their time to learn how to recite Quran and its tafseer, hadith, aqeedah, religious service, muamalat and other Islamic materials. In a mosque they learn about petatah petitih (proverbs and sayings) of Minangkabau custom, fighting arts, randai and other Minangkabau culture and arts. They were taught and prepared to bear burden and responsibility in the future.

Mosque in Minangkabau did not only serve as a worship place but also play many important roles in social life of Minangkabau society. Thus, a mosque

can be regarded as a social institution for Minangkabau people. Institution, as defined by Kondjaraningrat is a particular norm system to organize a series of steady-pattern actions to meet particular needs of people in a community. A mosque in relation to its function as an important institution for Minangkabau society has played its role in social life. A mosque serves as an educational institution for teenagers in Minangkabau and a media for spreading information to public. Undeniably, a mosque held a strategic role in shaping Minangnese' characters.

Some well-known figures of Minangnese today are those who had received education held in mosque. Although nowadays a mosque is still a place for children to learn how to read Quran, its role in building the characters of Minangnese children today is not as significant as in the past. To comprehend these changes, we should consider the situation and condition faced by today's society. Today, globalization and modernization currents have flooded in heavily and greatly affected Minangkabau people's life all over the country.

In addition to surau, Islamic boarding school has managed to survive in the middle of time advancement. Islamic boarding school persists to maintain itself from cultural penetration that is degrading religious and traditional aspects of rural society's life. Uncontrollable cultural transformation has given negative impacts on traditional culture. As its consequence, some traditional arts are starting to perish such as ungkapan sisindiran, petatah-petitih, sajak, puisi rakyat, kawih, beluk, dan pantun. The degrading traditions need to be overcome by preservation, development and maintenance. Whereas in its golden era, literary art that was expressed through oral traditions held significant roles in the life of rural society as media to deliver cultural values, ritual functions attached to cultural ceremony (Supriatna, 2009: 230). As is confirmed by Prof. Yus Rusyana that both oral and written literary arts are aimed at giving both education and entertainment at once (1981: 51).

Rumah gadang (big house), a traditional house of Minangkabau, was intended for woman and toddlers only. Teenage boys only interacted with their family at noons and went back to the mosque in the evening.

Randai is another Minangkabau traditional art known as pamenan anak nagari. Minangkabau

custom is rich of a variety of arts. Thus, customary leader would provide everything needed to art development. Rarely found a group of society that did not have arts whether it was dance, randai or silat. There would be plain and quiet without arts. In randai, older generation likes to relate custom and religion. They would not like any art that did not include religious matter in it. It seems that in general the elder generations like randai, yet they would criticize remade randai that did not comply with norms run in Minangkabau. However, that did not mean that randai in Minangkabau has not developed according to the era, yet its developments are in line with the cultural dynamics of customary norms exist in its supporting society.

Minangkabau customary norms were shaped by tali tigo sapilin, namely: alua-patuik, anggo-tanggo, and raso-pareso. These norms are crystallized in Minangkabau custom and used in various custom consideration. They are like stove for 'ripen' the custom and its fire is customary leaders. In archaic Sundanese manuscript there was tri tunggal (trinity) principle that consists of resi (religious leader), rama (leader of rural society) and prabu (king of all areas). Every customary leader should have understood and comprehended their ruling areas so that their leadership could bring out justice and prosperity to their people (Suhaenah, 2014). Whereas for Minangkabau children in general, they have to understand alua-patuik, anggo-tanggo, and raso-pareso in order to uphold their identity and limitations in social life. According to Minangkabau custom, art is a refreshment from custom that is elaborated in Act of IX Pucuk (Undang-Undang nan IX Pucuk) constituted by: 1) Act that requires people to comply with rules of King or tambo; 2) Act that requires people to comply with rules of customary leaders or limbago; 3) Act that requires people to comply with rules of religion or syara'; 4) Act that requires people to comply with rules of clothing or dandan; 5) Act that requires people to comply with rules of games or pamenan; 6) Act that requires people to comply with rules of feast or badunie; 8) Act that requires people to comply with laws or hakekat; 9) Act that requires people to comply with rules of natural greatness or hadits. The Act of IX Pucuk consists of four pucuk specifically intended for art and five pucuk for custom and religion. Therefore, the Act is like a

taman sari (cultivated park) of Minangkabau arts. Here, grows and blooms the flower of custom, namely art (Jamal, 1985:16). According to Law in Hindu conception, the relationship between human (microcosm) and nature (macrocosm) is the relationship of equality. Human body consists of eight elements which are divided into five rough elements, namely earth, water, fire, air and ether and three soft elements such as logic, manner, ego. Therefore, the universe is referred to as macrocosm while human is microcosm (Arsana et.al., 2014: 116).

The existence or position of a mosque unified in Minangkabau culture is evident as every nagari owns at least one mosque. A mosque in a nagari is considered as a nagari mosque into which men come every Friday to do Friday shalat. Its existence in terms of norms is closely related to requirement to establish a nagari. To establish a nagari, it should has a mosque first according to Minangkabau society perspective. Furthermore, regarding the requirement to establish a nagari, one can see LKAAM which in traditional term is called babalai bamusajik (LKAAM, 19987:50). It means that to constitute a nagari, it should have a balai or balairung and a mosque.

Such traditional rules indicate the close relation between mosque and Minangkabau society. A mosque serves two functions which are firstly, as a worship place to fulfill human religious needs and secondly, as a cultural, custom and social institution. As Islam believers, Minang people ideally see mosque as a worship place. This is also general view held by most moslems as stated below:

A mosque is a sacred place. Therefore, all saying and bearings conducted inside it should also be sacred, motivated by taqwa. Thus, not all activities can be done inside the mosque... personal errands are not allowed. The activities permitted to be done in a mosque are those related only to prosperity and socially unified wellness of Muslim people around the mosque, religion matter, humanity, public mutual interest, and other principal or primary matters (Gazalba, 1989: 135).

The ideal perspective within religious dimension on mosque has put mosque as part of Minangnese religious life. This was driven by their belief that one

upholds Islam as his religion only because he believes that Allah is ‘the Almighty and Capable of Everything’. Everything in Islam takes God or Allah as the center of primary reality (Smith, 1985: 270). Therefore, a mosque is highly valued as Islam is above all matters for Minangkabau people.

As authority shifted, the functions of a mosque as symbol and cultural asset are slowly fading (Hanani, 2002:115). Previously, a mosque was regarded as a social institution for holding numerous roles such as educational institution for Minang teenagers, and as media of information for all people. Social institution, according to Koentjaraningrat ,is a norm system specifically intended to organize a series of steady pattern behavior in order to meet particular needs of a person in society (1990: 167).

The delevelopment of social life in Minangkabau more or less will affect the development of traditional arts. In other words, societal life, social structure and set of values also give impacts on art life. The development in terms of structure, forms and relationship between art and its society show that human journey is not static, it keeps going through changes along with the dynamic process of surrounding cultures. The Javanese culture perspective on this matter is called catur marga ‘four ways’ that describes a journey of human life from the day he was born, lived his life, got his success, until the day he died (Hadiprayitno, 2014: 33). Therefore, in human life, culture is continuously and dynamically going through development and improvement. Thus, culture as a totality of mind, taste and human work will go along at a dynamic movement of human life so that all forms of culture is within this changing movement (Koentjaraningrat,1982: 11)..

4 CONCLUSIONS

In Minangkabau, initially art was used as a media to deliver religion teachings and refine set of values in societal life. Art has significant roles in society, with its complex functions. Eventhough some may feel that art only gives entertainment, art is also used in various occassions, such as in socializing government programs of development, family planning or fund raising. It means that art is used as a communication medium. In academic setting such as ISBI Bandung, art practitioners can be the ‘agent of change’ because they have acquired experience and operational or technical skills. Dance students can dance, karawitan students can play traditional instruments, theatre students can act, and visual art students can draw.

These agents of change obviously have gained three powers that include: pathos (sense sensitivity), logos (logic), and technos (skill, technique). However, another aspect that defines a success in developing creative moment in society is 'social behavior' closely related to ethics or socializing norms. These four aspects could become power for 'agents of change' to give motivations to other practitioners in their own field.

There are two kinds of custom elements according to Minangkabau people, first, the permanent and second, the temporary. The permanent is called 'nan indak lapuak dek hujan, nan indak lakang dek panah', (not mouldy because of rain, not shattered because of heat). Those elements fall into category of 'adat nan sabana adat' (custom that is truly custom), whereas other elements belong to category of 'adat nan teradat, adat nan diadatkan dan adat istiadat' that can be changed. The category of truly custom that is not mouldy because of rain, not shattered because of heat is called cupak usali that means laws of nature or truth coming from Allah. Therefore, the philosophy of Minangkabau custom is based on natural laws that ensure Minang custom to exist as long as the nature does. Custom and nature are life lesson for Minangkabau people. Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah is custom or norms of law based on syarak, whereas syarak and kitabullah is Al-Quran. As for alam terkembang jadi guru, it means that there are many verses of Allah scattered all over the universe and only those who think can read them. Adat bersandi syarak, syarak bersandi kitabullah is a universal aesthetic concept of Minang.

The presence of Islam amidst Minangkabau people eventually go deeply, quantitatively and qualitatively, so that Islamic values become the ideal foundation of its culture. In Minangkabau, in terms of structure, mosque is part of kenegarian institution system. Minangnese knowledge system based on Islamic values finally is able to get rid of values based on previous beliefs or religions, either Budha-Hindu or animism (except for inland natives who inhabited forest). In fact, Islamic teachings have been absorbed by most Minangnese and made an ideal fundament for their culture. Basically, their knowledge system ideally framed and guided by Islamic teachings in almost all aspects of their life. Although some conducts did not reflect Islamic deeds, those might be seen as a tradition that did not contain any religious essence.

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