

THE ENTERTAINMENT WORLD OF MINANGKABAU PEOPLE IN THE EARLY OF THE 20TH CENTURY

DUNIA HIBURAN MASYARAKAT MINANGKABAU PADA AWAL ABAD KE-20

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Abstract

This article discusses the entertainment world of the Minangkabau people in the Dutch colonial epoch. The world of entertainment is constructed using the historical method through the collection of written sources particularly contemporary newspapers and is equipped with books in the form of memoirs and autobiographies. The data obtained are then criticized and synchronized to produce historiography. The results show that the entertainment that developed in Minangkabau is identified into two namely traditional entertainment and modern entertainment. The traditional entertainment is entertainment that has been passed down from the Minangkabau culture, while modern entertainment is entertainment influenced by the West.

Keywords: *entertainment, Minangkabau, colonial*

Abstrak

Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang dunia hiburan masyarakat Minangkabau pada masa kolonial Belanda. Dunia Hiburan dikonstruksi menggunakan metode sejarah melalui pengumpulan sumber-sumber tertulis terutama koran-koran yang terbit sezaman serta dilengkapi dengan buku-buku berupa memoar dan autobiografi. Data yang diperoleh kemudian dikritisi dan dikronologikan sehingga menghasilkan historiografi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hiburan yang berkembang di Minangkabau terpolo menjadi dua yakni hiburan tradisional dan hiburan modern. Hiburan tradisional merupakan hiburan yang telah turun temurun dari budaya masyarakat Minangkabau, sedangkan hiburan modern merupakan hiburan pengaruh Barat.

Kata kunci: *hiburan, Minangkabau, kolonial*

A. INTRODUCTION

Entertainment is part of the lifestyle, that is about how one uses their free time to entertain themselves such as seeking the enjoyment of the entertainment per se. Entertainment is simple, whatever its type, its model, if it makes someone entertained, then it can be said as entertainment.

According to that definition, therefore entertainment is universal and

has many kinds. Playing games, visiting tourist attractions, visiting the arena and shopping centers (markets), gathering and chatting, visiting places that provide entertainment, listening to music, watching games, performances, all of which can be said as entertainment.

Furthermore, entertainment in principle is human nature, meaning that everyone likes entertainment, has the right

to obtain entertainment, and needs entertainment as a counterweight to physical needs. But there are times when these spiritual necessities must be set aside to fulfill primary needs. For the lower classes with a mediocre economic life, fulfilling the needs of entertainment is no more important than meeting the needs of life such as food, shelter, and other primary needs. Thus, the economic ability is one indicator of seeking entertainment. Economic capability is also a distinguishing factor in the entertainment of upper, middle, and lower classes as well as in the social structure of the Minangkabau community: ordinary natives, traditional elites, and modern elites. Besides that, other factors that also influence one's entertainment choices are the social environment and education (mindset).

Interaction of the Minangkabau people with other nations who came to Minangkabau had brought changes in the culture of the community, including the entertainment aspects which are the focus of this paper. One significant influence was brought by the Dutch to Minangkabau since the 19th century. The arrival of the Dutch brought a change in the entertainment world of the Minangkabau people. Minangkabau people were exposed to various types of entertainment as well as modern entertainment venues. Consequently, in the midst of society were developing two types of entertainment namely traditional entertainment and modern entertainment.

Based on the explanation above, this article elaborates on the entertainment world of the Minangkabau people, as well as analyzing how the Dutch's influence on entertainment was developing in the community, which groups were the actors of traditional entertainment and modern entertainment?

Entertainment in the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) is defined as something or deeds that can entertain the heart (forgetting sadness and so on), in other

words, entertainment can be interpreted as any activity that can entertain ones like visiting an entertaining place.

Entertainment is a daily activity that is part of the lifestyle, Sartono opines that lifestyle can be seen by referring to several aspects namely residence, eating habits, clothing, entertainment, beliefs, and solidarity (Kartodirjo & Pusposaputro, 1993). David Chaney, an expert who concerns lifestyle, claims that it is cultural forms that comprise style, manners, how to use particular items, places and times, that are in accordance with particular group characteristics (Chaney, 2004).

The traditional entertainment context that is interpreted in this writing is a variety of arts and *pamenan anak nagari*¹ which are the culture of the Minangkabau people and function to entertain. The modern entertainment is a variety of Dutch entertainment that developed in the community and became part of the Minangkabau culture.

In the historiography of West Sumatera or Minangkabau, studies on lifestyle and entertainment issues have not yet done and appreciated widely. Studies of the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the Minangkabau have received substantial attention from researchers. Among the works that discuss Minangkabau or West Sumatra during the Dutch period is a book entitled *Asal Usul Elit Minangkabau Modern: Respons Terhadap Kolonial Belanda Abad XX (The Origins of Modern Minangkabau Elites: Response to Dutch Colonial in The Twentieth Century)* (Graves, 2007) which describes the response of the people of West Sumatera to the secular education system adopted by the Netherlands, taxation policy and the planting of coffee, and the response to the government regulation that was implemented by the

¹ *Pamenan anak nagari* (anak nagari's games) are not literally games but various forms of art performances that exist in *nagari-nagari* in Minangkabau.

colonial government. Some policies that ultimately reap positive responses are the establishment of a secular education system.

Another book is entitled *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)* which has been translated into *Sekolah dan Politik: Pergerakan Kaum Muda di Sumatera Barat (1927-1933)* (Abdullah, 2018). This paper discusses how young people dominate the social and political movements in Minangkabau and the involvement of young people in matters of religion and education amid the strong grip of the Dutch colonialism in West Sumatra. The next article entitled *Cina Padang Dalam Dinamika Masyarakat Minangkabau: Daru Revolusi sampai Reformasi* (Erniwati, 2011) which explains the existence of the Chinese in the Minangkabau community, namely the role of China when Indonesia became a new country and the Chinese ethnic that were part of the Minangkabau people during the PRRI upheaval.

As for the study of new lifestyles found in the article on *Gaya Hidup Elite Minangkabau di Afdeeling Agam (1837-1942)* (Lestari, Lubis, & Mulyadi, 2017). This article describes the lifestyle changes of the traditional elite and intellectual elite. According to them, the lifestyle of the Minangkabau elite in Afdeeling Agam in 1837-1942 did not change completely, but there was acculturation between the Minangkabau natives and Western culture. In general, the lifestyle of traditional Minangkabau elites who had a colonial position reflected their status as government officials and leaders of their people. Meanwhile, the lifestyle of the intellectual elite absorbed Western culture. Nevertheless, both the traditional elites and intellectual elites continued to show characters as Minangkabau. Besides, lifestyle issues in different areas found in the book of *Perubahan Gaya Hidup dan Identitas Budaya di Kota Surabaya Pada Awal Sampai Pertengahan Abad*

XX (Samidi, 2017). He explains that industrialization had transformed Surabaya into a modern city. According to him, the change was followed by the emergence of the symbol of city modernity which was assumed to influence lifestyle changes and cause the strengthening of Arek Surabaya's cultural identity.

Themes on lifestyle issues at the global level have received considerable attention, for example, the book *Outward Appearances* (Schulte Nordholt & Aziz, 2005). This book is a collection of articles from several writers such as Van Dijk and Taylor who write about the meaning of clothing in social relations, Elisabeth Locher-Scholten who writes about clothing and food, and Henk Maier who writes about lighting (electric light adverts) in the colonial era.

From several previous studies on West Sumatera and Minangkabau and lifestyle, there has not been a specific study on entertainment, except as mentioned only as a supplementary explanation in a particular theme, therefore this article seeks to fill the void of the study.

B. RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this paper is a historical research method that covers four stages specifically heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Daliman, 2012). The primary sources exerted in this research are written sources derived from books, scientific works in the form of journals, theses, and newspapers at that time. To elucidate traditional entertainment, secondary sources are derived from books and scientific works because these themes attract ample attention from writers and artists in West Sumatera. Moreover, the explanations of Dutch-influenced entertainment in Minangkabau are obtained from the newspapers in that era such as the articles, advertisements, and photographs, as supporting information obtained from the KITLV library.

One of the newspapers that becomes a reference in this research is *Sinar Sumatra*. This newspaper is believed as one of the oldest newspapers in West Sumatera, among dozens of newspapers issued from the middle of the 19 century to the early of the 20 century as well as *Soematra Courant* which was first published in 1859, and was the first newspaper in Sumatera. In addition, there were some newspapers published namely *Padangsche Handelsblad* (1871), *Pelita Kecil* (1886), *Pertja Barat* (1892), *Tjahaya Soematra* (1897), *Soenting Melajoe* (1911). Moreover, *Sinar Sumatra* was first published in 1914 and continued to be published until the Japanese's arrival in West Sumatera. This newspaper is chosen as the source because practically every edition that was issued twice a week included information about entertainment in the ads that can be enjoyed by society. This information was intended for public and all its layers unlike some other newspapers that voiced specific themes and for certain groups of society, for example, *Al-Monier* which conveyed religious-oriented themes, *Soeara Kaoem Iboe* which delivered women oriented issues, *Soeara Koto Gedang* which presented regionalism themes and some other newspapers portrayed political issues.

The sources are obtained through literature and archival studies, including the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, the Regional Library of the Province of West Sumatera, and the University of Indonesia library. The data acquired are then criticized mainly in terms of truth, then the data are arranged chronologically and interpreted so that a complete picture of the history is obtained for later writing (historiography).

C. RESULT AND DISSCUSIONS

1. Minangkabau and The People

a. The Minangkabau Realm

Some people both in West Sumatera and outside West Sumatera, often equate the area of West Sumatera with Minangkabau, even though both have different meanings. West Sumatera refers to one of the provinces according to the administrative administration of the Republic of Indonesia, while Minangkabau is territorial according to the Minangkabau culture, whose area is much wider than West Sumatera (Rajo Penghulu, 1994).

According to Navis, Minangkabau is better known as a form of culture than as a country that has ever existed in history, the term Minangkabau no longer has the connotation of a royal region, but rather contains the understanding of an ethnic or cultural group that is supported by the Minangkabau ethnic group. In the socio-cultural meaning, Minangkabau refers to the ethnic groups that inhabit the West Sumatera region (Navis, 1984).

The Minangkabau natural area² is divided into three parts (in a number of other sources only two parts are mentioned) namely *Darek*, *Pasisia* and *Rantau*. *Darek* or the highlands or *Luhak* is the core area of the Minangkabau realm, which is geographically an early settlement of the Minangkabau people and politically is a confederation of several *nagari* in the interior of the Minangkabau. In Tambo it is told that the Minangkabau nature has three *Luhak*, which is also known as *Luhak Nan Tigo*, namely *Luhak Tanah Datar*, *Luhak Agam* and *Luhak Lima Puluh Kota*. Meanwhile, *Pasisia* is an area along the

² Minangkabau people call their homeland the Minangkabau nature. The use of the word nature contains infinite meaning. Nature for them is everything, not only as a place of birth and death, a place of life and development but also has a philosophical meaning as expressed in the *Mamangan* Minangkabau namely *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru* (Nature Becomes a Teacher). See (Navis, 1984).

central coast of the island of Sumatra, which starts from the border of the present Bengkulu region (Muko-Muko) to the southern border of Tapanuli, while the *rantau* is an area of river flow and empties to the east which borders the Malacca Strait and the South China Sea even to Malaysia, called Rantau nan Sembilan (Negeri Sembilan).

b. Social and Culture of the Minangkabau Community

Minangkabau is one of the unique ethnic groups that adhering to the Matrilineal kinship system, mother's lineage. Moreover, the child will take the mother's tribe. In this system, the child will inherit or inheritance from the maternal line.

In the Minangkabau people, there are no clear differences in the existence of social classes, because between one group and another there is no clear divide, but by tracing back there are also differences between those who govern and those who are governed. Social groups that are categorized as the traditional elites of the Minangkabau people are the *penghulu* and *ninik mamak, cerdik pandai*, and then after Islam religion entered Minangkabau, there is the *alim ulama* group. Before the Netherlands came, the ruler held a crucial role as a traditional leader who had a genealogical relationship with the people he led, while the *ulama* had a place in the community groups in each village after the entry of Islam. *Penghulu, alim ulama, and cerdik pandai* are called as *tungku tigo sajarangan*.

The popular Minangkabau people are referred to as *urang awak* or only Minang people or Padang people. This naming appears before the pre-independence era when many Minang people migrated to Java. To establish a friendship with fellow immigrants, the words "*urang awak*" or Padang people are used in various meetings, so that it becomes popular (Indrayuda, Muasri, & Budiman, 2013). Wandering indeed is one

of the Minang characteristics, it has even become part of the Minang culture. This can be seen from the philosophy of *Karatau madang di hulu, babuah babungo balun, marantau bujang dahulu, di rumah baguno balun* (*Keratau madang* in the upstream, fruitful flowering not yet, wandering *bjang* first, at home not useful yet). It means that someone has not been useful or beneficial to themselves and other people, and their regions if not yet adventurous, adventure is considered as a process that can mature a person.

Merantau, overseas activities, is carried out by men to seek experience and are encouraged by their positions that do not have a place in *rumah gadang* and do not have the right to inheritance, so they seek a living abroad as a provision for future life in the village. The new nomads will return to their hometowns if they have succeeded, they are called "*marantau pipik*", while for Minang people who have not been successful or failed, they are almost certainly not going home because they are ashamed of the villagers, they are called "*marantau Cino*" (migrated China). Along with progress and modernity, women participate to get higher education and follow their husbands.

One of the jobs that many Minang people pursue overseas is trading. Trading has been "ingrained" for the Minang people and has become a "trademark" for the Minang people. The trade life skills of the Minang people are recognized by Lekker Kerker and De Stuers as written by Gusti Asnan (2007), that the Minang people are the smartest ethnic groups in terms of business and it seems that the Minang people are born as merchants because men or women participate in trading activities. Women sell daily necessities in the nagari market while men trade around (Asnan, 2007).

2. Lifestyle

Lifestyle as part of a culture is not static, but dynamic, it can potentially change because of demands from people who want

to make changes (elements from within) or changes due to elements from outside. This is what happened to the lifestyle of the Minang people in the early 19th century. The Minang people had absorbed elements of outside culture and developed in society so that the society was developing traditional lifestyles and modern lifestyles.

Modernization in Minangkabau had begun since the Minangkabau came into contact with Islam, but what affected the lifestyle of the Minangkabau people was Dutch influence. An ethical policy that opened opportunities for schooling for indigenous children was one way to modernize and spread ideas of progress and a path for cultural transformation in Minangkabau. After school, they could work as bureaucrats in the colonial state. They also intensively mingled with Europeans, this then became the driving factor for the absorption of Western cultures in Minangkabau society, one of which was a lifestyle.

Mestika Zed confirms this, that in West Sumatera during the transition of the 19th century to the 20th century, some aristocrats and *bumiputra* employees had absorbed new values in individual and social life that were visible from the daily lifestyle and social gatherings (Zed, 2009). The Western lifestyle practices adopted by the Minangkabau elite were most clearly seen in the use of clothing, education, food culture, and entertainment. Further details are described in the following sections.

a. Clothes

Clothing is one of the aspects of the lifestyle that is closely related to people's daily lives. Following the Minangkabau customs, the clothing of the Minangkabau people, both male, and female, were characterized by closed clothing and wearing headgear. The clothing worn by women in their daily activities was a bathing suit with scarves arranged and wrapped around the head, but some wore long *kebaya*, especially the Minang community in cities like Padang. In

traditional activities or marriage, Minangkabau women wore different clothes, which were more "luxurious", made of velvet and decorated with beads. The following is a portrait of Minangkabau women in traditional Minangkabau clothing.



Picture 1

Minangkabau Woman in Maninjau.

Source: No author (1900). *Minangkabau vrow te Manindjau*. KITLV.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:927807>

Clothing was a *nagari* identity. Nearly every *nagari* such as Solok, Koto Gadang, and Fort van der Capellen had different wedding outfits in the form of clothes and headpiece (*Suntiang*) so that through this wedding attire one could recognize the origin of one's *nagari*.

On the other hand, Minangkabau men in their daily life wore a pair of cloth with specific patterns (*baju gunting belanga*) or Chinese pattern pants and sarong that was slung across the body and wore a *kupiah* (cap). The merchants, who usually wore batik pants, short shirts or sweatshirts and sometimes barefoot, started to dress neatly by imitating the clothing models of the *ambtenaar* (employees) namely frontman clothes (suits) because in daily life the frontman clothes considered more "stylish", one of which was worn by young

merchant Mr. Daoed Kari Sutan (Zed, 2009).

Minangkabau elites such as intellectuals wore different clothing from most indigenous peoples. They were much stylish by imitating European clothing styles, something that was *haram* (forbidden in Islam) for the lower class because the Dutch were considered as infidels. This was what trying to be broken down by one of the leading clerics, Zainuddin Labay. He did not want to get caught up in radical thinking, so he wore clothes that were out of the Minang general pattern. In daily life, a Minangkabau religious figure was characterized by wearing a sarong and a *peci*, but in his daily life as a teacher, he wore a shirt and long pants without wearing a *peci*. Zainuddin's attitude received a skewed response from the general public who thought he was deviant and heretical (Musri, 2015).

Moreover, a *Penghulu* and *Angku Damang* should be dressed following the style of the prince, namely: batik cloth, sarong, and *peci*, while the greatness of the head was worn on traditional occasions in the form of *Saluak* (a special headgear worn by the *Penghulu* in Minangkabau, made of cloth and wrapped around the head according to a certain shape), black shirt, black pants with wide and loose feet, *sampiang* (sarong wrapped around the waist of the head), belts made of cloth and silk thread, shawl (a piece of rectangular cloth to add to the headgear), a *keris* that was oversized by the head attached to the head of the head, the stems were bent to the left, a stick (made of strong black and black *kamat* wood, the tip of the stick was wrapped in silver and sandals (had a palm that has slightly elevated at the heel. However, *angku damang* dressed up by matching the traditional Minangkabau clothes with Western-style, including wearing *saluak* as a sign that he was the leader of the Minangkabau, three-layers clothing (on the inside was a white shirt with wide collar, the second layer was like

a vest and the outer layer is a coat), wearing front pants and some sort of accessories in the form of a small chain attached to the waist and outlined. The following is a portrait of the Minangkabau headman in traditional Minangkabau clothing (Nur, 1989).

On the other hand, the modern elite group was also wearing attire in European-style. During the visit of Minangkabau native officials to the land of Java, the head of the barrel wore white frontman, black coat, black shoes, and *saluak* and wore gloves and sticks (Lestari et al., 2017).

In an article entitled *Dari Baju Model Jubah Putih ke Jas: Pengaruh Modernisasi Islam dalam Gaya Berpakaian Laki-Laki Minangkabau*, Zusneli reveals that the change in the pattern of Minangkabau men's clothes, especially the elite group, occurred after the return of several Minangkabau figures from the Middle East who brought reformist ideas that a Muslim's proper clothing was a robe, not Minang traditional dress, as well as in the early 20th century when young people represented by Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (Hamka's father) after returning from the Middle East often wore suits, white collar shirts, ties, and frontmen. He got a negative stigma from the community as Westernized scholars (Zubir, 2013).

b. Education

The European influence in education in West Sumatera merely affected the middle and upper Minangkabau people. The children of nobles and indigenous elites attended secular school, some of them even went to the same school as Dutch children. Modern elites had sent their children to secular schools in West Sumatera, even outside West Sumatera such as in Batavia, for example, Rahmah El Yunusiyah who successfully went to Diniyah school formed by Zainuddin Labay, and then he also succeeded in establishing the Diniyah Puteri college.

The awareness of the importance of education had begun to be noticed since the beginning of the 20th century. Indigenous girls from nobility and merchants had been wearing Dutch-style school clothes and attending school together with Dutch children (Tanjung, 2011). This phenomenon affected the indigenous community differently. In the 1920s, it was very rare for parents to send their children to secular schools, especially for girls. They thought it was enough to send their children to traditional education institutions, namely, *surau*, if there was one, there were only one or two people, let alone the people in the villages (*darek*).

b. Eating Culture

The traditional Minangkabau community had a unique tradition of eating called *bajamba*, which was to eat in groups, each group consisting of approximately five people with a large *talam* (rice tray) filled with rice and side dishes and curry. Group members ate the meals by taking rice in the *talam* with their right hand and holding it in their left hand so that rice that falls from the mouth did not reenter the *talam*.

The Minang people had also become acquainted with the culture of eating out, in a simple context it was *lapau*, a kind of coffee shop. *Lapau* was not just a place for coffee, but also as a social space, a place to gather and exchange information. In addition, Minang people were also accustomed to visiting places to eat outside, especially on *pakau* days (a market that was held once a week). On the *pakau* days, there were many food stalls impromptu, which were built alongside makeshift stalls with wooden poles and cloth as a wall covering, also provided wooden benches were also provided. The food sold was traditional Minang food, rice accompanied by side dishes, and curry. The following is a portrait of a rice shop in Payakumbuh in the early of the 20th century.

Meanwhile, the elite community was familiar with Western food and

Western eating culture. They often got invited to attend peer gatherings in government. At the banquet, they were introduced to European-style food and sat at a circular table surrounded by chairs that range from 4 chairs.

2. Entertainment

Entertainment is human nature. Everyone likes entertainment, has the right to get entertainment, and needs entertainment as a balance to physical needs. But there are times when these spiritual needs are set aside to meet primary needs. For the lower classes with a mediocre economic life, fulfilling the desires of entertainment is not more important than meeting the needs of life such as food, shelter, and other primary needs, so the economy is one indicator in seeking entertainment. Economic capability is also a distinguishing factor in the entertainment of upper, middle, and lower classes or the social structure of the Minangkabau community, including ordinary natives, traditional elites, and modern elites. Besides that, other factors that also influence one's entertainment choices are the social environment, and education (mindset).

Entertainment that developed in the Minangkabau people was divided into two namely traditional entertainment and modern entertainment.

a. Traditional Entertainment

Traditional entertainment that is analyzed in this writing is the variety of arts and parchment of *pamenan anak nagari* (young people's games, meaning that they are not games but various forms of art performances that exist in the villages of Minangkabau) which are the culture of the Minangkabau people and function to entertain, while modern entertainment is a variety of Dutch cultural entertainment that developed in the community and becomes part of the Minangkabau culture.

There are various forms of tradition-based performing arts that grew and

developed in the Minangkabau community. The traditional arts were partly influenced by outside cultures such as the influence of Islam Syiah and Western influence. According to Navis (1984), this was due to traditional art being open, by the people and for the people, following the democratic system of society, and supporting the philosophy of togetherness between humans. Some of the tradition-based performing arts that developed in the community that are quite popular as entertainment are *Rabab Pesisir*, *Bakaba*, *Salawat dulang* and *Randai*. The following discussion is a clearer illustration of the types of traditional Minangkabau entertainment.

1) *Rabab Pesisir*

Rabab Pesisir is a Minangkabau traditional art activity in the form of performance art. This art is held in the martial arts arena, at weddings or coronation ceremonies. *Rabab Pesisir* performances are also carried out around the city. The performers stay in one city for several nights, make a show. They will move to another city when the number of spectators comes to their show decreased. The time of the show is usually done at night after the evening prayer and ended before the dawn prayer.

The main market for *Rabab Pesisir* is the people in the villages. In rural life that lacked entertainment, the *Rabab Pesisir* show is entertainment that people had been waiting for. But unfortunately, this show was more liked by parents, while young people do not like this entertainment, even if there are young people who are seen in the *Rabab Pesisir* show. It happens that they accidentally come to the venue and only watch at the beginning of the performance, whereas parents usually come to the venue to deliberately watch *rabab*, from beginning to end (Ermyanti, n.d.)

2) *Bakaba*

Bakaba is one of the most popular forms of entertainment. *Bakaba* is a speech theater

that tells a variety of Minangkabau epics and legends by only using vocal art as an attraction (Sukmawati, n.d.). Arts performing that is similar to *Bakaba* is *Basijobang* (a story conveyed by the accompaniment of a musical instrument played by one person to tell the story of *Anggun Nan Tongga*) and *Barabab* (a performing art that uses the *Trigon* as accompaniment music) and *Bagurau* (a combination of *saluang* and *dendang* music that is played by contains poems so often also called *saluang jo dendang*).

3) *Randai*

Randai is a game performed by many people. They play in a circle, while slowly making small steps they sing in turns. Before singing, they make *pencak*³ movements with steps forward, backward, inwardly reducing the circle then coming out again. Sometimes they kick, hoof, and hit with their hands. After that, they walk around while singing. All *pencak* movements are guided by one of them. First, a person sings a *pantun* or a piece of the story. In each last sentence, they repeat in a group. After singing a piece of the story or some rhymes, they return to the *pencak* movement. And after singing a story, they then sit in a circle to rest.

While having a break, they are shown to the center of the circle their respective skills such as *pencak*, dance, or whatever games they can demonstrate. The demonstration of the skills is not brought to all or all at one break. This is because, in a *randai* performance, the stories that will be presented are generally long so that it can only be finished in one story, so there are four or five breaks during the night. At each break, the other games are shown as the performers (Navis, 1984).

³ Pencak is a game performed by two people fighting a martial arts style. Pencak dance is a movement that resembles pencak, both in movement and in principle. The difference with pencak is that the physical players facing each other do not touch.



Picture 2.

Randai Performance in Padang Panjang, 1990
Source: Nieuwenhuis, C. (1900). *Vechtkunst, vermoedelijk randai te Padangpandjang*. KITLV 9874.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:784722>

4) *Salawat Dulang*

Salawat dulang is one of the Minang traditional arts that developed in the Minangkabau cultural area. *Salawat dulang* was initiated by many Minang Islamic scholars who studied religion in Aceh, including Syech Burhanuddin. When returning to Minangkabau (Pariaman) and preaching, Syech Burhanuddin was reminded of the Acehese art whose function was to entertain as well as the media for preaching, namely the Rebana team. Syech Burhanuddin then took the *talam* (tray) or *dulang* (dish) used to eat and beat it while singing *dawa* poems (missionary endeavor) (Meigalia, 2013).

Salawat dulang performance usually takes place at night, after the evening prayer, around 21:00 until dawn. The performance is held in commemoration of Islamic holidays such as the birthday of Prophet Muhammad SAW, Isra` Mi`raj, Nuzul Quran and the Islamic New Year. Besides, *salawat dulang* also displayed in *alek nagari* activities (*nagari's* events). *Salawat dulang* cannot be performed on the ground or in the open space like other performing arts, but in a respectable place in the Minangkabau community, namely the mosque and *surau* (smaller than

mosque). *Salawat dulang* performance is carried out by two people who will hit *dulang* (a special kind of pan) while performing *salawat* (Islamic blessing singing), they sit usually on a mattress provided by an audience called *pale-pale*. Some well-known *salawat dulang* groups are Arjuna Minang, Gas Beracun, Sinar Berapi, Alang Babega dan Langkisau (Meigalia, 2013).

b. Modern Entertainment

In addition to traditional entertainment, there are also other entertainments resulting from an outside culture that was developing in the Minangkabau community such as gathering at *Societeit* (ball house), watching *komedi stamboel* and Malay *toneel*, watching horse racing, watching football matches, watching music performances, visiting music markets and watching a movie. These entertainment spectators are broader, ranging from all levels of society, men and women, young and old, indigenous communities (lower-class and elite-natives), Indonesian communities, and European communities. For further information about modern entertainment is described in the following discussion.

1) *Societeit*

Societeit was a distinctive entertainment hall of the Dutch people that was built in the early of the 20th century. *Societeit* originated from the habit of Europeans who liked to gather to reduce boredom and fatigue in carrying out the routine of daily life, therefore they gathered in an entertainment house called *Societit* and holding various entertainment such as parties, singing, dancing, drinking and chatting (Samidi, 2017). Some *Societeit* in Padang were *De Eendracht*, *Societeit Ons Genoegen*, and *Societeit De Club*.

Societeit De Eendracht was a special full-blooded Europeans' gathering place. The routine entertainment activities took place in the evening with the same pattern

from time to time. *Societeit* visitors sit in chairs surrounding the tables. Visitors of *Societeit De Eendracht* were more heavily populated by military men, so another *Societeit* was built specifically for civilians named *Burger Societeit* (a ball house for civilians) located near the small Belantung road (now Jalan A. Yani). In 1898, the ball house was moved to an area near Muara Batang Arau and changed its name to *Societeit Ons Genoegen*. Besides *Societeit De Eendracht* and *Societeit Ons Genoegen*, there was also *Societeit De Club*, located on Jalan Dipo. *Societeit* visitors were generally Indonesian-Europeans or other Dutch people who were black or brown and lowly army members and most Indonesian-Europeans who had been born and raised in Padang. See (Amran, 1988).

Not only Europeans but also indigenous people had *Societeit* named "Medan Perdamaian". They used the *Societeit* as a gathering place, as an entertainment room and a place for deliberation and consensus (Suryadi, 2015). For example, one of which was as reported in the *Sinar Sumatra* daily dated May 7, 1938, that on the evening of the 29th and 30th April 1938 the *Jaarbergadering* from Leden *Societeit* Medan Perdamaian Minangkabau (MPM) had been held in Fort van der Capellen.

2) Watching Football Match

Nowadays, soccer is a popular sport, but it turns out that this entertainment was introduced by the Dutch in advance in 1904 in Batavia and later also introduced in Padang. The soccer field used in Padang was the Plein van Rome field (now the Imam Bonjol field). At first, this sport which also became entertainment only belonged to Europeans, but over time, the indigenous people got the chance to jump into football, not just to be spectators, but also to form football associations.

According to the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* report in 1908, there were 17 football clubs in Padang. They were European/Dutch clubs, Malay clubs,

Keling clubs, Arab clubs, and Chinese clubs. European/Dutch clubs included Sparta, Vios, Thor, at Fort de Koek (Ster van Agam), Padang Pandjang (Sport Staalt Spieren, and Sawahloento (Zwarte Diamant), while Malay clubs included Madjoe (Fort de Kook) and Vogel, (Padang Pandjang), SSS club. Long before the match was held, the information was issued in the local newspaper which was the club that was competing, the time of the match, and the location of the match. People who liked football had prepared themselves to watch football on a predetermined day, especially if the one competing was an indigenous soccer club. There was an example of an advertisement for a soccer match in Padang.



Picture 3

Football Match Ad in Plein van Rome
Source: *Sinar Sumatera*, 1938

3) Watching *Komedi Stamboel*

Komedi Stamboel was a kind of amusement that played around in a large tent cloth filled with benches for the cheapest classes. Before entering the tent, the spectators would be given a libretto which was a paper that contains a story that will be shown in a *stamboel* comedy. The performance was started by the *stamboel* orchestra playing *Polka Mazurka* and ended at 12 noon with the accompaniment of the song *Wien Neelandsch Bloed* (Susanto, 2005).

Komedi Stamboel first appeared in 1891 in Surabaya, pioneered by August Mahieu. The nickname "*stamboel*" was

thought to originate from Istanbul along with the themes raised in the show coming from stories in the Middle East such as the *Seribu Satu Malam* (Thousand and One Nights). Various methods were used to attract more diverse visitors, from distributing leaflets, holding tombola (lottery), to flying blimps (Cohen, 2006).

The influence of *Komedi Stamboel* in Surabaya also affected Padang. According to Rusli Amran, *Komedi Stamboel* was very popular in Padang, even villages such as Sawahan, Kampung Jawa, Belakang Tangsi, Pondok, and even Mudik Market had their own comedy groups. Some comedy groups that often performed in West Sumatra were Indra Bangsawan, Sri Dermawan, The Indra Tjahaja Ratoe Company, Komidi Kasim, Komidi Permata Stambul and Sri Sumatra (Amran, 1988).

The spectators of *Komedi Stamboel* turned out to be not only indigenous people but all layers of society including foreign Easterners and European societies. Doris Jedamski revealed that the *Komedi Stamboel* drama reached out to all ethnic and social circles living in colonial cities and beyond so that it could be said that *Komedi Stamboel* manifested the initial expression of ethnic unity that was in the same entertainment (Jedamski, 2008), as well as in Padang. The spectators consisted of various groups, including the assistant resident and his wife who participated in watching the *Komedi Stamboel* at Pasar Gadang (Amran, 1988).

4) Watching Music Performances

Watching music performance was one way for city residents to spend their free time and look for entertainment. Some music groups like *Hawaian The Smiling Players orchestra* and *Muziek club Petit Advendo* often performed at entertainment programs at elite parties in the city of Padang including *Societeit* (Suryadi, 2011).

After the emergence of orchestras initiated by Europeans, the natives also formed music groups such as the “Si

Doela” music group, a legendary music group that was widely invited and used to enliven various activities carried out in the crowds involving indigenous communities.

In addition to singing music groups, Minang people enjoy the music of Malay Minang such as Gamad music. This *Gamad*⁴ music is closely related to the cultural identity of the ethnic Nias in West Sumatra. They apply *Gamad*'s music in a dance called the Balanse Madam Dance. Minang people took part in the development of Gamad music. They adapted the musical instruments to the local music culture with Minang language poems that were full of lamentation. They are sung with a waddle and with a variety of rhymes, while the Nias people are applying them through Balanse Madam dance.

At the beginning of its development, *Gamad*'s music was performed clandestinely. There were only two places to perform *Gamad* music according to the Dutch government's permission, namely in Sri Darma (now the Bagindo Azis Chan building) and around building (now a Juang 45 building in the Mudik Market). In subsequent developments, *Gamad*'s music began to be performed at weddings.

In the third decade to the middle of the 20th century, the passion for art in West Sumatra was increasingly seen from the presence of several orchestras of the *Penghibur Hati* music led by Sutan War Bustami and the Gumarang Orchestra which pioneered modern Minangkabau music. The phenomenal songs from the orchestras were *Kaparinyo*, *Dayuang Palinggam*, *Nasib Sawahlunto*, and *Ayam Den Lapeh* which were then recorded in the form of LPs (PH) and broadcasted by Nirom radio (Dutch East Indies).

⁴ *Gamad* is music that developed in Minangkabau due to the influence of Portuguese' music. *Gamad* music uses typical Portuguese instruments such as the Violin, Accordion, Saxophone, Trumpet, and Drum.

5) Watching Horse Racing

Entertainment that competing farm animals is popular entertainment in the community, such as the *pacu jawi* (cow racing), *pacu itiak* (duck racing), and *pacu kudo* (horse racing). The most phenomenal and classy racings are horse racing.

The horse racing was developed by L. C. Westenenk, a resident assistant as a horse racing tradition in Padang by making a horse racing field in Agam (Suryadi, 2017). After that, several horse racing fields were also built in several other areas such as Fort de Kock, Padang Pandjang, Fort van der Capellen, and Payakumbuh. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the tradition of horse racing began to be held periodically and rotating once every two months in several cities in Sumatra.

Information about horse racing performance is obtained through the newspaper which is one of the main sources of information in the community because the interest in reading in West Sumatera had increased, therefore educated people were suspected of knowing the advertised information and conveying it to the wider scope of the community. The advertisement pervaded the schedule for the performance and the location of the performance. The following are examples of some advertisements for horse racing that were routinely held in several regions in West Sumatera.



Picture 4.
Horse Racing Ad in Bukittinggi (West Sumatera)
Source: *Sinar Sumatra*, July 1920.



Picture 5.
Horse Racing Ad in Pajacoemba
Source: *Sinar Sumatra*, 30 April 1941.



Picture 6.
Horse Racing Ad in Fort van de Capellen (Batusangkar)
Source: *Sinar Sumatera*, July 1941.

Horse racing spectators came from various groups, ranging from the upper classes to the lower classes, religious leaders, indigenous elite figures to white people. The racetrack was crowded with visitors if the activity was held after the harvest period so that people had the cost to come to the racetrack, if the activity was held before the harvest period, then the racetrack tended to be quiet.

On the day of the horse racing event, the spectators came to the arena before the race began. The Dutch occupied the seats of the stands that had been provided on the left, right and back of the Dutch authorities, whereas for ordinary people who had money, they could rent a bamboo-roofed straw stands, sitting on benches made of bamboo provided along the edge of the field by residents who own the land. However, for ordinary people and did not have money, they came with packed

lunches, they could stand jostling on the edge of a racehorse with an umbrella under the sky, sunbathing.

Before the horses were released on the racetrack, L.C. Westenk gave a speech. In his remarks, Westenk often stressed that horse racing activities were a form of government concern for the Minangkabau culture, therefore he freed the display of local art shows and customs such as gambling and cockfighting which had become a habit for the community. After Westenk finished his speech and immediately the trumpet was sounded, a sign that the race would start soon, the native spectators cheered and shouted the horses and jockeys they were the mainstay of.

Horse racing activities and racetrack for several community groups had different meanings. For horse owners, this activity was a prestigious place to show off horses and introduced themselves as great horse owners. For the native elite, horse racing activities were an arena to show off their social status, while for the indigenous people below, horse racing activities were merely interesting entertainment. Watching horse racing was a matter of pride and also riding the prestige of the indigenous community because they could watch entertainment along with the elite.

For teenage couples, the racetrack became a place to meet, mingle, or just to chat, because at that time it was very embarrassing when men and women met in the *nagari*. The story of a teenage couple's meeting at a horse racing arena was told by Hamka in *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijk* which tells the meeting of Zainudin and Hayati at the Padang Panjang racetrack. It is told that Hayati sitting in a stand was anxiously waiting for Zainuddin's arrival.

On the other hand, some Minangkabau political figures made the horse racing arena a place to meet other figures (a kind of meeting) to trick the Dutch, because in this racetrack the Dutch people found it difficult to spy on figures

who were suspected of making plans to hold resistance against the Dutch because of the large number of visitors. This case occurred when Minangkabau leaders met on Bukit Ambacang to formulate a strategy regarding the planned Tax rebellion in Kamang in 1908.

The racetrack was also a place to define a regional identity for the community. At the racetrack, jockeys wore clothes in a different color from each other. It went without saying for the rules of the colors: the colors of the flag namely yellow for Batusangkar, Yellow-Red for Solok, Red for Agam, Yellow-Blue for Padang, Yellow-Green for Pariaman, White-Yellow-Blue for Sawahlunto, Blue for Payakumbuh and Green for Padang Panjang. Some spectators also took hold of the flag following the color of the Jockey's flag, so people would see the area from which the Jockey and the audience came from. Like a race arena today, the racetrack was also not spared a gambling arena for some people. They guess which horse would win the race. The following is a portrait of a horse racing spectators at Bancah Laweh, Padang Panjang.



Picture 7.

Spectators at Horse Racing Arena in Padang Pandjang

Source: De Joung, Michiel van Ballegoijen. (1935). *Publiek bij Paardenraces te Padangpandjang*. KITLV 52876. <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:706077>

The picture shows a number of spectators standing on the side of the court

and several people standing in the stands. From the clothes they wore, it can be pointed out that the spectators standing in the stands were white people and Dutch officials, while those standing in the field were ordinary indigenous people. The crowd pressed closer to the edge of the field when the committee announced that the race would start soon and the spectators were asked to stay away from the runway. At the same time, security officers came with rattan and drove away from the viewers who were getting closer to the horses running, while those on the hill, feel free to watch the horses that would race, even from a distance.

6) Visiting the Night Market

In addition to developing the tradition of horse racing, L. C. Westenenk developed a night market tradition at Fort de Kock in 1907. This night market was inspired by *Jaarmarkt's* activities held in Surabaya on May 21, 1905, by a Controller named J. E. Jasper and became a pioneer in similar activities. *Jaarmarkt's* success in Surabaya was followed by other cities in the Dutch East Indies, but with a different name, namely in Bandung called *Jaarbeur*, in Semarang called *Pasar Malam*, in Batavia called *Pasar Gambir market* and in Fort de Kock called *Pakan Malam*. At the night market, there were various types of local arts and entertainment such as opera, *toneel*, open-air cinema, and accompanied by exhibitions and promotions of local products and products of folk crafts and agricultural products. Night market activities usually lasted 1 to 2 weeks.

The night market was an arena where people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds met. Night market visitors were not only indigenous people but also Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans, especially by Dutch officials at the local level such as Resident.

Chinese and Arabs who came to the night market occasionally bought souvenirs from residents' handicrafts,

while indigenous people came to the night market to have fun, enjoy food from various menus, admire the latest technology on display, observe cultural performances, fireworks, and open cinema performances (Cohen, 2003). The following is a portrait of *Pakan Malam* at Fort de Kock in the early of the 20th century.



Picture 8

Pakan Malam in Fort de Kock

Source: Tuinenburg. (1907). *Passr malam Fort de Kock*. KITLV 1402134.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:846537>

D. CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the world of entertainment of the Minang people is getting "richer" with the presence of Western-influenced entertainment through Dutch penetration so that in the Minangkabau people there are traditional entertainment and modern entertainment. The presence of modern entertainment introduced by the Dutch does not necessarily turn off traditional entertainment because the actors of both entertainments tend to be different. Economic ability and social status are the benchmarks for one's entertainment choices, meaning that the elite and the indigenous people usually have different entertainment consumption and preferences. Indigenous people due to their social status and economic limitations are quite satisfied to enjoy traditional entertainment, while for the indigenous elites, their social status, and their

interaction with the Dutch expose them to modern entertainment.

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