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MEDICINAL PLANTS CLASSIFICATION OF MINANGKABAU AND MENTAWAI (STUDIES OF STRUCTURALISM LEVI-STRAUSS)

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ABSTRACT

This study In (RISTOJA, 2012) A research's in medicinal plant species discovered around 535 different types in the Simanau and Maek villages of the Minangkabau region, and in the Saibi and Bojakan villages of the Mentawai region, West Sumatra, Indonesia. Eighty twoof those were considered rare species, endangered with extinction. If the result of RISTOJA research is studied deeply, it is possible that the types of medicinal plants in vilages of the Minangkabau region can amount to thousands of species. This article, extracted from the results of ethnographic research conducted to explore how the structure of knowledge about practicing healer is not covered by the RISTOJA's research in 2012. This research result that the diversity and types of medicinal plants in Minangkabau dan Mentawai village could be classified into four groups. This classification, known as urehnanampek, while in Mentawai known as "epat ngarubeijat laggek".This suggests that the practicing healers of Minangkabau and Mentawai have the same knowledge in recognizing the different types of plants that can be used for treatment, and have knowledge about how and what medicinal plants are used. This article attempts to understand the structure of knowledge of the practicing healers in Minangkabau and Mentawai village about the types and the classification of the medicinal plants.

Keywords : *Medicinal Plants, Practicing Healer, Minangkabau, Mentawai*

INTRODUCTION

West Sumatera is one of the provinces with diverse topography, like hills, plateaus, and ocean. This condition benefits West Sumatera to be rich of plants and vegetations, which are partially utilized by the society as a traditional treatment. In fact, every group in the society has its own informational method about types of plants that could be used to heal certain disease, and this occurs as a

result of the society's earliest and original cultural development (Foster dan Anderson, 1986), (S, 1989). In (RISTOJA, 2012), about 297 medicinal plants was found when an examination of medicinal plants was conducted in two regions (Simanau and Maek) in West Sumatera. Of all kinds, 63 plants are deemed as the ones that are occasionally found. All of the plants were distinctively distributed both to dry and

moist area of various parts of the woods, farms, even villages. This fact designates that there is abundant potential of medicinal plants in numerous part of West Sumatera. The plants distribution is not solely focused on one region only.

In Minangkabau, traditional healer called dukun kampung, while in Mentawai called sikerei. This traditional healer does not only have an understanding of one or two kinds of medicinal plants, but they have an extensive comprehension towards the plants. As a traditional healer, a dukun kampung and sikerei, indeed, will have unique abilities in understanding the types of plants that can be used as medicine. Their ability about various types of plants is actually common in many ethnic groups in Indonesia, such as in Bogany communities in Sulawesi (Simbala, HEI, Rondonowu SJ, 2005), in the community of Serampas Jambi (Hariyadi, 2011), Dayak communities (Susiarti S, Setyowati FM, 2005), even in many world communities such as in Nepal (Ghimire S, McKey D, 2004), or in the Amazon community (Lenaerts, 2006).

In details, each dukun kampung and sikerei believes that every medicinal plant is considered better to cure particular disease and useful merely in certain phases. In other words, each medicinal plant can be grouped into the same classification with other medicinal plants. The only difference lies on the advantage and disadvantage of each plant. Minangkabau community name this classification as ureh nan ampek (four kinds of cure or medicine),¹ consisting of sitawa (remedy), sidingin (calmer or cooler), cikarau (refresher)² and cikumpai (solvent). Each group of these plants represents medical treatment characteristic of the illness itself. For examples, if someone is very warm, then the cooler will be used, and if an illness has to be dissolved, a solvent is used.

¹Ureh nan ampek is a term used by the Minangkabau community in NagariSimanau (Solok), while in other Minangkabau communities it also often uses the term tawa nan ampek to refer to the same thing

²Cikarau is a plant rapidly and easily grown in any place. It usually grows in a field or swampy place that is always inundated by water. Cikarau is often used as a beacon of an easy-going personality within a society.

The same pattern is also found in Mentawai, where the pattern of grouping of medicinal plants is known as epat ngarubeijat laggek, which consists of simasingin, simakasak, simamiang and simagelei. Each type of drug (laggek) has different healing properties, which essentially creates a pleasant feeling. According to Mentawai local knowledge, this pleasant feeling because sickness is an unpleasant condition, while healthy when everyone has a pleasant feeling (Tulius, 2000), and this is applied in the form of a mixture that feels sweet and must not feel bitter, as a way to fight unpleasant (bitter) taste. For the Mentawai culture, this balance pattern is important, as an application of the arat sabulungan's that they believe in.

The existence of the ureh nan ampek conception in the Minangkabau community and epat ngarubeijak laggek in the Mentawai community, is interesting to understand, as an effort to explain the basic knowledge of traditional healers when wanting to cure certain diseases. The formulation of the problem that will be answered in this article is: First, how traditional healers (dukun kampung in Minangkabau and sikerei in Mentawai) understand and classify the various types of plants around them can be used as medicinal plants, and Second, how these traditional healers classify and place this type of medicinal plant as part of the process or stage in healing certain diseases.

It is hoped that through the understanding of the structure of the knowledge of dukun kampung and sikerei, diversity of plants that are known and used in the healing process in many communities can be well identified. An understanding of the structure of medicinal plants is also expected to be able to study what types of plants will be used if medicinal plants that are supposed to be extinct and begin to be difficult to find.

RESEARCH METHODS

This article is extracted from the results of anthropological studies using an ethnographic approach, which tries to understand reality as a holistic whole. The method used is qualitative descriptive analytical type, which according to Denzin & Yvonna (1994) aims to understand the symptoms under study by not quantifying because these symptoms do not allow them

to be accurately measured. While descriptive analytical, because this study seeks to understand emotionally what traditional healers understand and believe about various types of medicinal plants themselves.

This research was deliberately carried out in two different cultural communities namely Minangkabau and Mentawai, with the aim of comparing patterns of local knowledge about the types of medicinal plants used. Through the perspective of structuralism, the assumption is that each community will have the same structure in understanding and recognizing the types of medicinal plants used, known as the pattern of opposition binaries. The difference in structure is assumed to occur only in the placement and grouping of medicinal plants based on these structural elements.

Data were obtained through depth-interviews with 29 informants consisting of 9 traditional healers (5 traditional healers in Simanau and 4 traditional healers in Mentawai), 12 informants who understood medicinal plants (6 in Simanau and 6 in Mentawai), and 8 informants who were once the traditional healer patients (6 in Simanau and 6 in Mentawai). These informants (except traditional healers), were determined by snowball, through information provided by a research guide who accompanied the research process while in the field. Data collection techniques are carried out by combining the methods of depth-interviews with participant observation. That is, in every interview conducted, the validity (check and recheck) is always compared through observation. On the other hand, participatory observation will be compared with the validity (check and recheck) through in-depth interviews with several informants. Through this technique, data is finally obtained which is able to explain reality as expected.

Data analysis was carried out using structural and cultural analysis methods. Therefore, the first step is to find and structure of the Minangkabau and Mentawai knowledge. The structure of their knowledge is obtained through various existing literature. This step is important to read in general patterns that occur in society, because according to (Wiseman, 2007), one of the central principles of structuralism is that we do not always have to study all

relationships between objects, because everything is seen as a transformation of existing structures.

The next step is to develop a model of traditional healer knowledge related to the grouping of existing medicinal plants (ureh nan ampek and/or atau epat ngarubeijat laggek). This step was carried out with the aim of isolating and describing the models that developed and developed in the community according to the cultural values developed. At the same time, the knowledge model developed by the community was then confronted in the field to be analyzed culturally through comparative data (both through reference comprehension and through inverse questions). Through this method it is expected to find a relatively more valid model (Scheffer, 1970). Therefore, this structure compiled and discovered is done by connecting (relations) between the cultural elements that shape the pattern and structure of that knowledge (Arifin, 2018).

Medicinal Plants : A View Of Structuralism Of Levi-Strauss

Structuralism is a thought developed by Levi-Strauss that tries to understand the structure that exists in the cognitive of a person or society. For Levi-Strauss, knowledge that develops in a person's head is actually structured to form a certain pattern. This structure is what gives rise to ways of thinking and understanding something by certain individuals which then raises the phenomenon seen in front of us. The basic assumption says that human cognitive in principle is not formed just like that, despite experiencing changes due to age, education, socialization of the environment, etc., in fact there is a fixed structure that becomes the main reference for humans in thinking and acting namely cognitive structures (Scheffer, 1970).

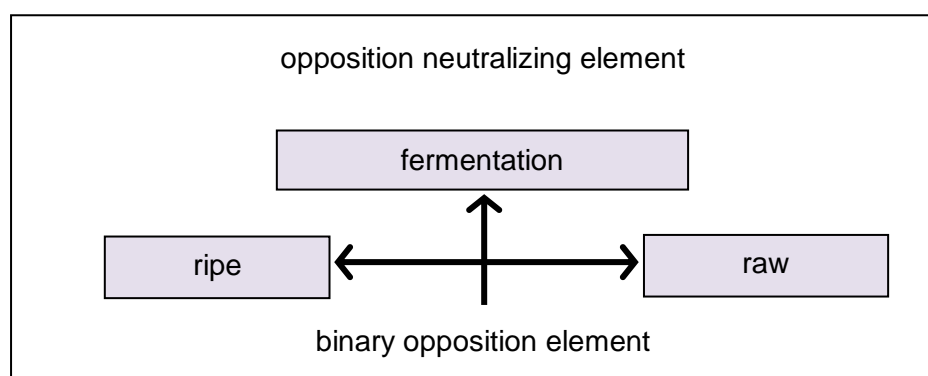
The basic principle of structure in Levi-Strauss's theory is that social structure is not related to empirical reality, but with models that are built according to empirical reality (Rahmawati, 2018). As a model, the structure will always contain elements that attract each other as a unit (Ahimsa Putra, 2001). For Levi-Strauss, the structure is formed as a combination of two or more elements that are in pairs but opposite each other called

binary opposition. The same thing was stated by (Clarke, 1981) "the binary oppositions ... revealed by the structuralists cover the whole field from a contradictory opposition to the most fragile and arbitrary opposition that could be sketched by a capricious fantasy."

This pattern of binary opposition will always be found in every aspect of life, including in the arrangement of materials (objects) that exist in human life. As an opposition, then, the two opposing elements will certainly produce prolonged conflicts,

but as a couple, the balance will always be overcome by giving birth to the third element. The existence of this third element in many societies eventually creates a balance of the two opposing elements. But in its application, this third element will not always manifest itself in real terms, but sometimes it is often seen hiding behind other objects (hidden objects), and sometimes pseudo object (Arifin, 2017)(Arifin, 2007).

Figure 1: The framework of Structuralism of Levi-Strauss



Related to medicinal plants, it is difficult to find studies that try to understand medicinal plants and their use by using this structuralism of Levi-Strauss perspective. Most of the studies read more about the patterns of use and use of medicinal plants in the ethnomedicine perspective, namely reading the community knowledge system about these medicinal plants. In Minangkabau, reading patterns such as can be seen in (Almos, 2015) who try to provide information about traditional Minangkabau medicine with linguistic perspectives. Likewise in the study of (Hamdani, 2013) who tried to provide information about the knowledge of the Minangkabau community about the types of creeping animals commonly used as ingredients of traditional medicine. In other communities, studies on medicinal plants and their use are also rarely read in a structuralist perspective, and tend to use more local knowledge perspectives or understand the issues of rituals they perform.³

Therefore, understanding the structure of local knowledge about medicinal plants in a structuralist perspective, becomes interesting because traditional healers in many communities, it turns out, have excellent abilities in understanding the functions and benefits of hundreds and even thousands of types of medicinal plants that can be used in medicine (Arifin, 2016). Of course, each community will have different variations on the number of medicinal plants that can be used to cure the disease, and the types and properties will also have a different understanding. Although it varies, but each community has its own way of classifying the types of plants they encounter. In other words, each community has a distinctive pattern in classifying plants that are considered able to cure and which cannot cure. In the Minangkabau context, this classification system is often referred to as laughter and amputation or in several other locations often referred to as ureh nan ampek. While in Mentawai, the classification system for medicinal plants is often referred to as the term epat ngarubeijat laggek.

³ For example, see Ardina (2016) who writes about symbolic meaning in traditional medical rituals in the Kuantan community, Riau Province. See also

Sudardi (2002) about the concept of traditional medicine according to Javanese primaries

An understanding of the knowledge structure of medicinal plants, shows that hundreds or even thousands of types of medicinal plants understood by each community actually have a certain structure. This structure is often no longer realized by traditional healers, and has been accepted as is from the previous generation. But, this structure still manifests itself consciously when a traditional healer feels he is no longer able to find certain types of medicinal plants that he "should" use. Therefore, when certain types of medicinal plants are fairly rare and difficult to find (they cannot even be found), there is a tendency for a traditional healer to replace them with certain types of plants. For traditional healers, the selection of substitute medicinal plants is more done because it has a classification that is considered the same as the type of medicinal plants being replaced, so these substitute medicinal plants are also understood to have benefits and benefits that are relatively the same as the types of plants they replace (Arifin, 2016).

The basic classification of medicinal plants, in each community will have a different way. In Minangkabau, the pattern of classifying medicinal plants is based more on the expected benefits or functions of the medicinal plants. Sitawa for example, is a concept that refers to its function as an "antidote" or "persuader" so that when it is intervened (healing), the treated disease does not show the nature of rejection or resistance. Therefore, in the treatment process that requires stages, the initial activity that must be done by a traditional healer is to give antidote (sitawa) first. Only then will the treatment process be carried out by intervening in the disease that wants to be treated. In the context of the Minangkabau community, this process is often referred to as mangumpai (or cikumpai) which means recovery,⁴ so that the disease is not appear and "rampage" again. In the next process, a process known as mararau or mancikarai (or cिकarai) will be carried out which means counteracting so that the cured disease does not spread and

⁴ In everyday life, mangumpai has the meaning of slamming something until it is destroyed or killed with the hope of being irreparable. While mararau or mancikarai means roaring continuously so that it runs out of tears or energy.

does not recur. Only then will the patient be restored by giving sidingin, namely the neutralization process so that the patient's condition returns to normal as it should (healed).

In the Mentawai community, the pattern of classification of types of medicinal plants also has a distinctive structure, which is relatively different from the Minangkabau community. In the Mentawai community, the classification pattern is based on smell (beu) and taste (mananam). Based on smell (beu), the medicinal plants consist of: (1) Simamiang (fishy),⁵ (2) Simasingin (fragrant), (3) Simabutek (rotten),⁶ (4) Simakasak (pungent smell).⁷ While based on taste (mananam), the classification consists of: (1) Mananam (tasty), (2) Magelei (sweet), (3) Simaolo or Simarerei (tasteless), and (4) Mapongik (bitter). Besides four the term above, in the Mentawai community actually also knows other terms, namely simabiasa and matiet. If simabiasa refers to smell (beu), which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that is considered not to have a distinctive smell (beu), so that in certain cases it is considered to create pleasant conditions, but in other cases it is considered unpleasant. While matiet refers to the taste (mananam), which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that will usually cause itching when consuming it. Plants that are considered to be dead, can have sweet, or bitter, or tasteless, but are considered unpleasant if consumed directly. But if we can process it well, then the type of matiet

⁵ In the Mentawai community, simamiang (fishy) is a smell that is often connoted with the aroma of swamp water. For the Mentawai community the smell of swamp water is the smell they usually enjoy, so this smell does not make people finally avoid, close the nose or spit, but still considered a smell that is less pleasant.

⁶ Simabutek (beu) is a smell that is often connoted with unpleasant smell (such as foods that will stale). This smell will not always make people avoid, close the nose or even spit, but is considered to be unpleasant smell.

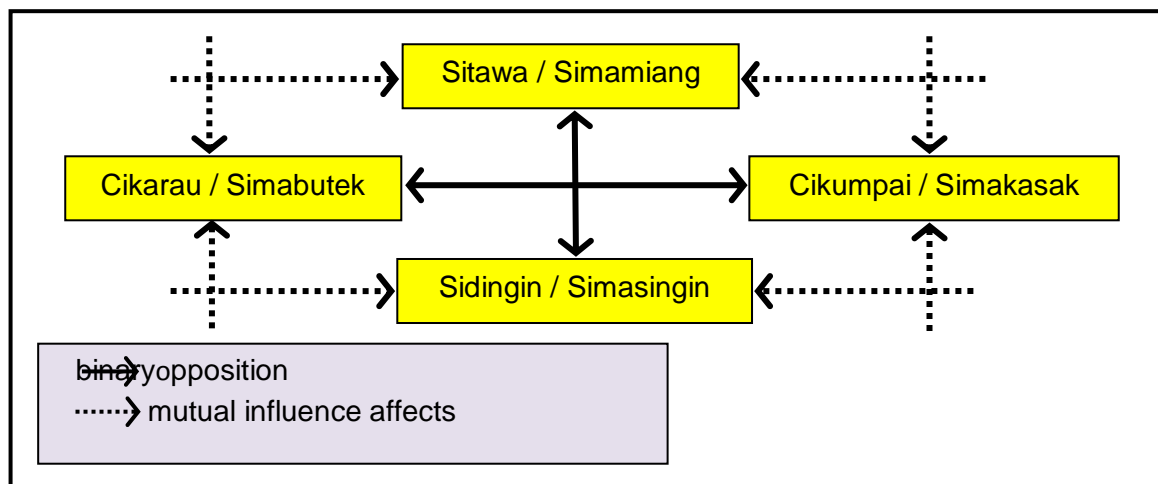
⁷ Simakasak (smell that stings) is smell which is often connoted with smell of carcass (for the rotten) or smell of perfume (for the fragrant). This smell tends to last a long time so that it tends to be avoided because over time it will make someone dizzy.

plant is actually considered to be a nice type of plant (mananam)(Arifin, 2016).

This Minangkabau and Mentawai case shows that each community actually has a relatively similar classification pattern about various types of medicinal plants. In the conception of structuralism, each element will always be in opposition to other elements, thus forming a relatively similar structure. Following this structuralism view, the structure of knowledge of traditional healers of Minangkabau and Mentawai, appears as a form of influence from social structures (synchronic), but on the other hand also forms as interdependent patterns

that link traditional healers abilities with environmental conditions and developments (diachronic) Each of these structural elements can be traced through the binary opposition perspective, so that the conception of sitawa has the same binary position and the sidingin conception. Likewise in the Mentawai conception of simamiang we can actually see it as a form of opposition as well as a binary of simasingin. Likewise the conception of mananam is actually at the same time binary opposition with mapongik.

Figure 2 :
Knowledge Structure of Traditional Healers about Medicinal Plants in Minangkabau and Mentawai Communities



RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ureh Nan Ampek : Medicinal Plants Classification of Minangkabau

Ureh nan ampek is a general conception for Minangkabau community in nagari Simanau in categorizing medicinal plants they known and used in traditional health treatment. For other Minangkabau community, the term ureh nan ampek is commonly called as tawa nan ampek. Even though that the term is different, but the meaning of that name is principally the same, that is a label for grouping several medicinal plants utilized in the process of healing a disease. Ureh or tawa means “deplete” or “empty” or “normalize”. While nan ampek means “the four”. Hence, ureh nan ampek or tawa denotes as four medicinal plants classification used to normalize someone’s physical and psychological condition. Therefore, for people in Simanau, ureh nan

ampek is a unit that has to be completed or fulfilled when doing a treatment.

Dukun kampuang in Minangkabau reckons a treatment as an effort to normalize and maximize potentials within an object (body, thing or place), or omit obstacles that will slow down the normalization and maximizing the potentials. For that reason, ureh nan ampek does not merely be used to cure human, but things and actions too. Specifically, ureh nan ampek is given to raise potentials possessed by an object that will be cured (diureh) thus in the development, the object shall not invite such a disaster. If the thing treated (diureh) is a plant, then it is expected that the plant is not infected by any pest, insect, or disease so that it produces things or fruits (for example) maximally in the best way.

The classification of ureh nan ampek is: (1) sitawa, (2) sidingin, (3) cikarau, and (4) cikumpai. For folks in Simanau, these four

classifications (sitawa, sidingin, cikirau dan cikumpai) are sometimes used in the process of medication to denote four kinds of primary medicinal plants. Thus, sidingin for example, is not regularly used to merely call a plant frequently known as cocor bebek (*Kalanchoepinnata*Pers.), but also to identify certain group of plants functions as a “calmer or cooler”, or “neutralizer” after the treatment is accomplished.

The idea and the existence of ureh nan ampek in Minangkabau are believed to appear for a long time within the life of its society, indicated by the emergence of Sikatimuno myth, who is considered as the pioneer or the founder of the treatment using ureh nan ampek.⁸ In this myth is told that Sikatimuno is man, who is a descent of Muslim's gin. He is depicted as someone kind, generous and love to help others. The following is the story of Sikatimuno told by a dukun kampuang :

“One day, Sikatimuno plans to propose Puti Biso to be his wife. Sikatimuno knows that Puti Biso has married for 98 times with 98 different men before. All her husbands are dead when marrying her. For that reason, Sikatimuno are truly curious and that his curiosity triggers him to investigate the reason why all her 98 husbands dead.

After getting married, Sikatimuno firstly asks her wife to sleep alone in the bedroom with the reason that he is worried to wake his wife up for his habit to always go in the morning to perform Subuh prayer. Thus, Sikatimuno sleeps in the living room near to his wife's bedroom. Then, one day in the midnight, Sikatimuno sees his wife is so glowing that makes him dazzled.

Sikatimuno who has been curious for a long with his wife then sneak a peek to the bedroom. He was extremely surprised to see his wife's extended tongue that exactly looks like a snake looking for its prey. Puti Biso's tongue produces deadly saliva that will kill everything it is touched.

Knowing that awfully fact, Sikatimuno then tells his mother-in-law that her daughter (Putri Biso) is not a human, but an embodiment of a deadly poisonous snake. No wonder that all her husband died. They all have been killed by Puti Biso. Knowing the

⁸ This myth was discovered and trusted by the Minangkabau community in NagariSimanau, Solok

news, Sikatimuno's mother-in-law then asks Sikatimuno to isolate her across a sea for her action to kill her 98 husbands.

Sikatimuno then escorts Puti Biso to her isolation place across the sea. However, in the way home after escorting his wife, Sikatimuno was finally killed. His body was teared apart and separated. No one knows why that was happened. Some of his body's parts then turn into ureh nan ampek, where: (1) his lungs turn to be sitawa, (2) his heart to be sidingin, (3) his finger to be cikirau, and (4) his stomach (intestine) to be cikumpai.”

This myth signifies that ureh nan ampek is a unit that supports to each other just like a human body. Minangkabau's people in Simanau (Solok), believe that Sikatimuno's lungs that turns into sitawa finally becomes panawa (an antidote) of bad things done by an evil or a demon. Next, the heart of Sikatimuno that turns into sidingin is eventually changed to pandingin (neutralizer), used to heal someone affected by a demon or an evil. Further, his fingers that turns to be cikirau is finally transformed to pararau (a defender), which will defend the gin's action so that it does not affect others.⁹ Last, his intestine known as cikumpai at the end appears to be pangumpai (destroyer) of deeds done by the gin or evil.¹⁰

Within traditional treatment perspective, sitawa is described as a medicine used as “penawar” or an antidote so that the disease cured could be prevented or interfered prior to the recovering process.¹¹ Meanwhile, sidingin is further explained as a remedy used to neutralize the body as soon as the recovering is done. Thus, the body is back to normal. As for cikirau, it is utilized to prevent or defend the disease so that it will not elicit a recurrence. Lastly, sikumpai is exposed as a medicine used to destroy or extinguish the disease.

⁹ For people in Simanau, Solok, pararau is an act when you cry and whine loudly.

¹⁰ To people in Simanau, Solok, pangumpai is an act when you throw something as strong as you can so that the thing is broken or torn to pieces.

¹¹ Within modern treatment setting, sitawa medication process can be illustrated as someone has a toothache. The sickness cannot directly be medicated before its pain reduced and gone.

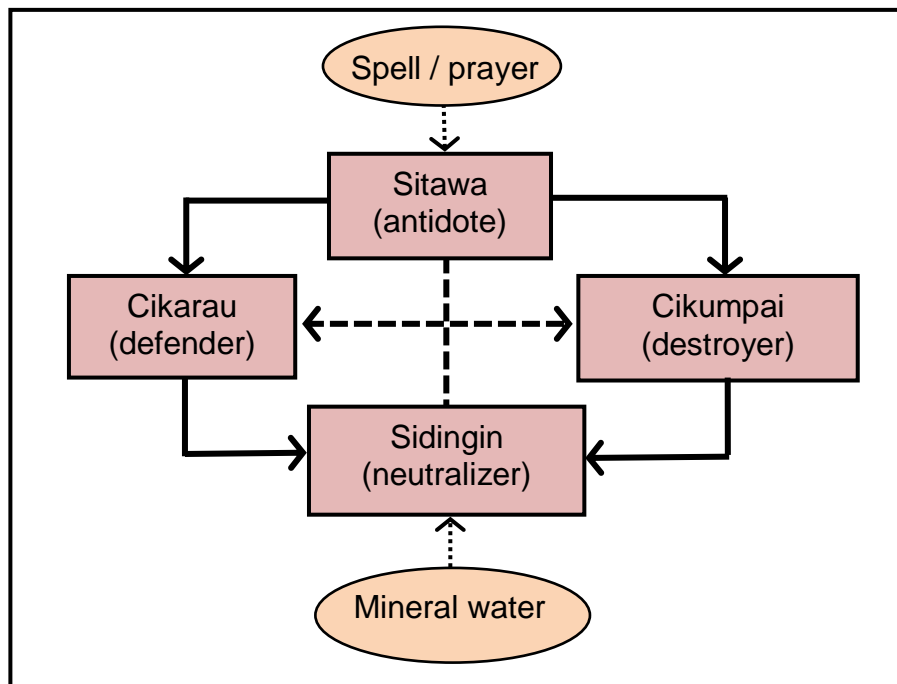
Additionally, in the context of a disease treatment, sitawa is a kind of plants (or parts of a plant) frequently used as an initial mean or way to prevent an illness before implementing the actual healing. This implies that sitawa is mostly used prior to the actual medication. First, plants categorized to sitawa (mostly in the form of leaves) are used to splash the spelled-water (prayed) to the patient's body. At times, the dukun kampuang mix the leaves into a basin (like a sink) to further splash or dab.

In cases like high fever and womb cancer, the sitawa medicinal plant is used to diagnose the existence as well as the type of the disease developed within the body. Consequently, this sitawa will typically trigger an unpleasant pain or feeling until the dukun kampuang is able to uncover the existence and type of the disease. In addition, the disease like fever, headache, or when your body is not fit, then the sitawa will be commonly mixed with other medicinal plants to be directly used in the treatment process.

A dukun kampuang also often uses ripe and old pitulo seed or oyong (*Luffa Cylindrica*) to identify whether the patient knows the flavor of the seed. The patient's description about the flavour of pitulo seed is the earlier and major source of information for dukun kampuang to determine the disease and the type of medicinal plants appropriate to be given. If the patient has already felt painful around his stomach (womb cancer) or head, the pitulo seed will still be given to understand about how serious it is the illness he had.

“For a normal people (healthy people), the pitulo tastes bitter. But, for sick people, the taste could be various. It may be delicious or bitter but they could still eat it. What even more dangerous is when someone is no longer able to taste the bitterness of the pitulo seed. This designates that the person is abnormal and has a very severe disease. If he can taste the bitter of the seed, then the disease is not too critical.

Figure 3.
The Structure of Medicinal Plants of Minangkabau Community



As a plant's name, sitawa itself is the name of a local plant called pacing tawa (*Costus speciosus* (J. Koenig) Sm.). In Simanau, Solok, pacing tawa could be found in the interstice of trees around the village or in the wildings around the paddy field. Though this is not a type of decorative plants,

some people even use it as a one. Moreover, as a group of medicinal plants, each dukun kampuang uses dissimilar type of sitawa. One of them is pisang-pisangan (*Musaceae*) type. The unripe fruit or heart or the plant's part looks like umbut and the leaves will be used.

The other plant also commonly used is certain type of orange (Citrus).

In Minangkabau society, sitawa's function for diagnose a disease or soothe a pain, sitawa used is not only in the form of medicinal plant. In several occasions, dukun kampuang in Simanau uses spell, or both spell and sitawa. Before being used, the sitawa is firstly bewitched. Unlike medical treatment happening previous years before, the spells used by dukun kampuang nowadays are often correlated to their faith as Muslims. Thus, the spells used are associated with the verses within the Qur'an or words frequently suggested to utter in the Islamic teaching. The words and verses are then integrated with traditional spells that the dukun kampuang used to get from their ancestors.

Next, as for sidingin, it is frequently used as a mean to neutralize or recover physical condition of someone. Similar to sitawa, the term sidingin is a local name of cocor bebek (*Kalanchoepinnata*Pers.). It mostly grows near the fields and is often planted by the society around their houses. To community in Simanau, plants grouped into sidingin and are often used are sipuluik or sticky rice (*Oryzaglutinosa*Lour.), and kacang padi (*Phaseolusradiatus*Linn.). They have to be firstly cooked before being consumed. Moreover, there are plants that do not need to be cooked and could be directly eaten. They are tebu udang (*Saccharumofficinarum*L.) and particular type of orange (*Citrus sinensis* Osbeck). Besides plants, community in Simanau also use mineral water as sidingin. It occurs for sidingin's function as a "cooler" or neutralizer. This then tacitly suggests that sidingin does not only consist of plants but everything that is able to neutralize our body when we are sick. That is why food and drink like water and oranges are believed and deemed to arise a better feeling and useful for the body just like sipuluik or the sticky rice.

Then, type of medicinal plants that belongs to cikarau and cikumpai are the ones which are often used as a recovery. For Simanau community, cikarau and cikumpai plants tend to have unusual physical appearances like thorn, stink, sting, tastes too sour or too sweet or if not well processed and used, it may poison or even kill us. According

to dukun kampuang in Simanau, the single matter distinguishing cikarau and cikumpai is the physical look of the plant. Cikarau medicinal plants tend to be watery and grow in swampy and moist areas. For example, certain kind of oranges that are sour like asam kapeh or lime (*Citrus aurantifolia*Swingle), or asam sundai (*Citrus amblycarpa* Ochse). So do various type of turmeric (*Curcuma*), particular type of starfruits like balimbiang tunjuk or belimbing wuluh (*Averrhoa carambola* L.) and kincuang or in some areas is known as kecombrang (*Etlingera elatior* (Jack.) R.M.Sm.).

In contrast, cikumpai medicinal plants do not relatively contain much water and tend to grow in dry and humid areas. A few medicinal plants included to cikumpai are akar ilalang (*Imperatacylindrica*P. Beauv.), adas manis (*Foeniculumvulgare*Mill.), kapulaga or cardamom (*Amomum cardamomum*Willd.), kepencong or kepayang (*Pangiumedule*Reinw.), kumis kucing (*Orthosiphon grandiflorus* Bold. Ex K. Heyne), lagundi (*Vitex trifolia*L.) and mahkota dewa (*Phaleeiamacrocarpa*Boerl.). The use of cikarau and cikumpai medicinal plants is differed in each dukun kampuang, depending on the learning they got from the previous generation. In general, each dukun kampuang in Simanau comprehends and acknowledges the equal advantages of medicinal plants grown in their region.

Epat Ngarubeijat Laggek : Medicinal Plants Classification of Mentawai

In the Mentawai community, the system of grouping types of medicinal plants known as the epat ngarubeijat laggek. In the Mentawai community, the grouping of medicinal plants is a little more complicated which bases groupings based on smell (beu) and taste (mananam). In many cases, types of diseases that are relatively mild (such as headaches, or scratched wounds), then grouping tends to be based on smell (beu), while for types of serious illness (such as childbirth, vomiting) and supernatural (such as trance), tend to be based on taste (mananam). However, for certain types of diseases that are considered mild but understood as a form of supernatural disorder, or otherwise a type of serious illness (such as fractures) but understood not

because of the supernatural, then there is a tendency for medicinal plants to be used to use a combination of taste and smell.

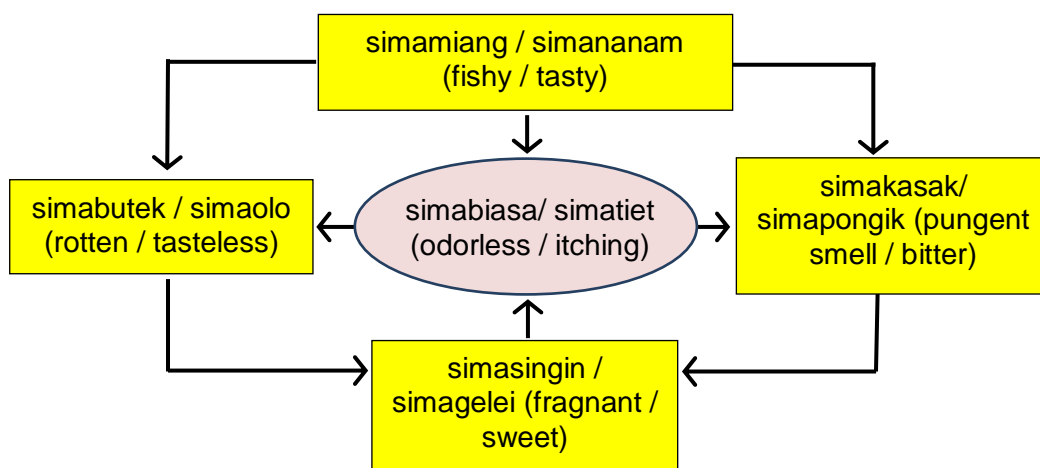
Based on smell (beu) there are 4 types of groupings known as: (1) Simamiang, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a fishy smell which is considered to create conditions that are very unpleasant and tend to be avoided. (2) Simasingin, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a fragrant smell which is considered to create pleasant conditions. (3) Simabutek, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that is considered to be smelly (tends to rot), thus creating unpleasant conditions. (4) Simakasak, is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a piercing smell, or a very fragrant, very smelly, or very fishy smell, so that it is considered to be able to create an ultimately unpleasant condition. Besides the four terms above, the Mentawai community also knows other terms, namely simabiasa, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a scent that is considered not to have a distinctive smell, so in certain cases it is considered to create pleasant conditions, but in other cases fairness is considered unpleasant.

While grouping based on taste (mananam), consists of: (1) Mananam, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that is considered to have a good taste or create pleasant conditions for the body after consuming it. (2) Magelei is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a sweet taste, where the sweet taste will influence the condition of the body after consuming it. (3) Simaolo or simarerei is a type of plant or part

of a medicinal plant that is considered not to have a special taste, so sometimes it is often called tasteless. For some Mentawai community, consuming plants that have a taste of maolo or marerei is considered not to have a direct influence on the body, except to make the body become fresh, eliminate hunger and thirst. (4) Mapongik is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that has a bitter taste after consuming it, so that it is considered to create unpleasant conditions after consuming it. Besides these 4 groupings, it is also known as the matiet term, which is a type of plant or part of a medicinal plant that will usually cause itching when consuming it (such as taro, kepayang, and cashew). Therefore, plants that are considered dead, can have sweet, or bitter, or tasteless, but are considered unpleasant if consumed directly. But if you can process it well, then the type of matiet plant is actually considered good (mananam).

In the context of the treatment of a disease, simamiang (fishy) and/or mananam (tasty) is a type of plant (or plant part) that is often used as a medium to request the help of good spirits or as an antidote to the presence of evil spirits. Therefore, the type of simamiang plant is usually not considered a cure but rather as a medium for healing. While mananam plants are usually more used to identify a person's type of disease. Usually, if someone considers the type of food (or plant) to be unpleasant (even) unpleasant, then this traditional healer indicates someone is sick or is being disturbed by an evil spirit.

Figure 4. The Structure of Medicinal Plants of Mentawai Community



One type of plant that belongs to the simaming group, and most often used in the treatment process is the type of bekheu or kembang sepatu (*Hibiscus archeri*), whose smell tends to not smell (simabiasa) but approaches fishy (simaming). In treatment activities carried out by traditional healers, these types of plants are often tucked into the ear and are considered as one way to counteract the bad things or angler the good things. While the types of mananam plants that are often used are plant species (or plant parts) which are often consumed every day, such as sago, rice or rice, and bananas.

While plants that are considered simasingin (fragrant) and / or simagelei (sweet) groups are plant species (or plant parts) that are often used as an effort to restore one's physical condition to return to normal or pleasant. In the Mentawai people's traditional health philosophy, fragrant smell and sweetness are smells and flavors that make a person feel happy and happy. Therefore, plants which are considered as simasingin and/or simagelei tend to always be used as recovery drugs so that someone can return to normal life (healthy). One of the most common types of plants included in the simasingin and/or simagelei group is the type of khole or sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), toitet or coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), and poula or palm (*Arenga pinnata* (Wurmb.) Merr.)

Simabutek (rotten) and simakasak (pungent smell) and/or simaolo (tasteless) and simapongik (bitter) are plant species (or plant parts) that are often used in an effort to cure diseases that attack the body.¹² In the context of medicine, the use of plants that are considered simabutek and simakasak and/or simaolo and simapongik, are often very much determined by the type of disease to be cured. If simabutek and simaolo plants are usually used to cure ailments or are considered not too dangerous, then simaolo and simapongik plants are usually used for types of diseases that are considered severe and need special treatment.

Plant species (or plant parts) like kiniu saelu or temulawak (*Curcuma xanthorrhiza*

Roxb.), abangan or ambacang (*Mangifera foetida* Lour.), baggli-baggli or pacing trawar (*Costus speciosus*), karasiau or pasak bumi (*Eurycoma longifolia* Jack.) are some types of plants that are considered to have a pungent smell (simakasak). The smell is considered stinging (simakasak) and sometimes has a foul smell (simabutek), so in the treatment process, the presence of this type of plant often makes patients feel uncomfortable and even vomiting. Therefore, in the process of treatment, the presence of simakasak and simabutek plants is often juxtaposed with fragrant-type plants as a form of neutralizing later. But in the knowledge of sikerei of Mentawai, simakasak and simabutek plants are considered to have high efficacy to treat certain types of diseases.

Some types of ferns such as salab simabulau (*Athyrium esculentum*) or sibakat laggai (*Angiopteris evecta*), are plants with a taste that is considered bland taste (simaolo) but is considered to have a scent that is considered to be slightly rotten (simabutek). While plants such as sikukuet or ginger (*Hornstedtia* sp.), osap or resam (*Gleichenia linearis*) are considered plant species with bland taste but have a scent that tends to sting (simakasak). However, not always plants that have a bland taste (simaolo) will be associated with a foul or stinging smell. Plant species such as sikopuk or kencur (*Kaempferia galanga* L.) are considered to be plants with maolo flavor but with a fragrant smell (simasingin). Likewise with plant species such as sikukuet or ginger (*Hornstedtia* sp.) is considered as a plant with a tasteless taste but has a fragrant smell and tends to sting.

Besides the four main types of grouping of medicinal plants above, in fact the Mentawai community also recognize other types of grouping namely simabiasa, or types of medicinal plants which are considered odorless, as well as types of simatiet grouping (tasteless but causing itching). In the context of medicine, this type of plant that is considered to be the simabiasa and simatiet group, is usually a type of plant (or plant part) that is used to treat a relatively mild type of disease and does not require continuous treatment (such as dizziness, fatigue or fatigue, stomach ache, etc.) Therefore, this type of simabiasa and/or simatiet plant is sometimes positioned as a

¹² The use of the term recovery is more due to the understanding of traditional healers, the disease sometimes remains attached to one's body and one day will reappear when the trigger is raised

type of companion plant in the recovery process.

CONCLUSION

For traditional healers in Minangkabau and Mentawai community, each plant in principle has benefits for each treatment, depending on which type of plant is included in the classification. For traditional Minangkabau healers (dukun kampung), this grouping pattern is based on the knowledge that the disease has heat, so that the type of healing plant is understood as a cooler that is expected to neutralize the heat conditions. In contrast, for traditional Mentawai healers (sikerei), the pattern of grouping of medicinal plants is based on the principle of balance, where one another cannot destroy each other and always support each other.

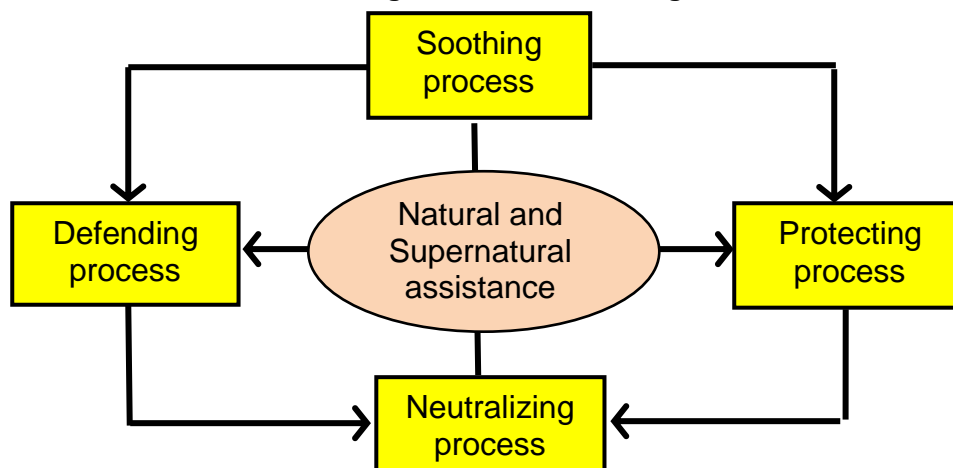
In Minangkabau and Mentawai communities, the pattern of knowledge these medicinal plants finally made hundreds and even thousands of types of medicinal plants then identified following the pattern of belief, which in general, types of medicinal plants are finally grouped by type, shape, smell and taste of these plants. This pattern of grouping of medicinal plants tends to be unconscious and has been structured in their knowledge system (deep structure). In the Minangkabau community, this knowledge structure is known as the term ureh nan ampek, while in the Mentawai it is known as epat ngarubeijat laggek. Structurally, this classification shows us that the local conceptions of the Minangkabau and Mentawai community are relatively the same, which positions disease

as a living thing, so the healing activity of the disease must be carried out in the form of "friendship" between disease and the body itself.

The similarity of the structure between the Minangkabau and Mentawai community can be seen from how to conceptualize disease as something that is alive, and unites with the human body. Therefore, to dukun kampung's understanding, a disease must be treated as a living object that needs to be soothed. In details, dukun kampung in Minangkabau and sikerei in mentawai reckon that this matter is associated with equilibrium principle that consider human, nature, and spirit as a union that ought to support, protect, and help one to another.

For this reason, the treatment of diseases through the concept of sitawa (Minangkabau) or simamiang (Mentawai) is one form of conception that places disease as a living thing that needs to be persuaded before intervention. Likewise with the existence of the mantra (prayer) performed in the treatment process it also shows the importance of friendship between humans, nature and spirit. For this reason, the treatment of diseases through the concept of sitawa (Minangkabau) or simamiang (Mentawai) is one form of conception that places disease as a living thing that needs to be persuaded before intervention. Likewise with the existence of the mantra (prayer) performed in the treatment process it also shows the importance of friendship between humans, nature and spirit.

Figure 5.
Chart of the Medicinal Plant Healing Process in the Minangkabau and Mentawai Society



Traditional healer also understands that disease and the body are a unity, so that the intervention carried out on the body is understood to affect the balance of the

relationship itself. Therefore, the existence of *sidingin* (Minangkabau) or *simagelei* (Mentawai) is not only understood as a form of recovery of the sick human body after being treated, but also as a form of "friendship" between disease and body so as not to interfere with each other. Through this conception, it is expected that between disease and humans will give birth to a balance of mutual respect, mutual help, help, and not mutually hostile to each other, to destroy each other.

Likewise when intervening (healing), traditional healers will always understand that not all diseases are negative and must be destroyed and removed from the body. In certain cases, the disease is considered to continue to dwell in the human body, so the only way is to "make peace" with the disease so as not to relapse and hostile to the human body in the form of "sickness". For this reason, the recovery process through the conception of *cikarau* (Minangkabau) or *simabutek* (Mentawai) and conception of *cikumpai* (Minangkabau) or *simakasak* (Mentawai) is not always understood as an attempt to eliminate the disease. relapse again.

This shows that equilibrium is a key word in the conception of traditional healers, both in the Minangkabau and Mentawai. The balance here is not only interpreted as a process of balancing (equilibrium) between sickness and health, or between heat and cold, but also meaningful as a process of normalizing the pattern of relationships before and after interventions with one another. Libration in this context is shown through the concept of *sidingin* (Minangkabau) or *simagelei* (Mentawai) which means the process of "persuading" so that the disease does not "make a rebellion" when intervened. On the one hand, this intervention process "must be done" because the disease has damaged the balance in the body, as well as the intervention carried out must be done in a gradual manner so that the balance of the disease is not disturbed.

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