

The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law : An Experience of Minangkabau Indonesia

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THE ACCULTURATION OF ISLAM AND CUSTOMARY LAW: AN EXPERIENCE OF MINANGKABAU, INDONESIA

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Abstract

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Islam as an unperceived religion from an essentialist perspective, because it is transhistorical. The reality shows that the expression of Islam in one particular geographical context is a result of the interplays between Islamic teachings and local culture. This is a qualitative study on Minangkabau customs and culture, with data collected by reviewing documents, both in the form of books, and articles. In addition, interviews were conducted with a number of Minang figures, and added to the Minang residents' experiences. The results showed that the Minangkabau customs and culture had acculturated with Islam since it was introduced to

the Minang region around the 8th century AD. Before its introduction, there were customs and cultures based on their habits. This acculturation occurs peacefully, therefore, the decisions of the traditional leaders do not cause turmoil and resistance from adat stakeholders in the region. Acculturation of Minang customs and culture with Islam takes the form of syncretism, while *adat* adapts to its teachings. When Islam with Minang customs and culture blend into one, changes occur in three forms. *Firstly*, when the custom is not in accordance with the Islamic teachings, it is adjusted, as illustrated in the Minang customary philosophy which reads, “*Adat basandi alua jo patuik, alua jo patuik basandi bana, bana badiri sandirinyo*” changed into “*Adat basandi Syara’, Syara’ basandi Kitabullah*”. *Secondly*, both customs and culture, which are in line with Islam remain preserved, such as the principle of deliberation (*musyawarah*) and consensus (*mufakat*). *Thirdly*, it led to the promulgation of Islam in a new culture that has not existed before, such as the *Khatam Al-Qur’an* ceremony for children.

Keywords: *Acculturation of Islam, Customary Law, Minangkabau.*

A. Introduction

The Minang community is most likely to embrace the teachings of Islam because this religion does not necessarily eradicate deep rooted customs or habits. Therefore, those that do not conflict with Islamic teachings are preserved (as-Suhaili, n.d.), while the contradictory ones such as usury, excessive intake of liquor etc are gradually phased out.

In the mid VII century AD, Islam was introduced in Minangkabau (Hasymi, 1981), and it was discovered that the people had some deeply rooted customs. However, immediately it was embraced, acculturation occurred between Islamic shari’a and Minang customs and culture. This is also reflected in the

Minangkabau customary philosophy: “*Adat basandi Syara’, Syara’ basandi kitabullah*” (Adat is based on syara’ (Islam), Syara’ (Islam) based on the Qur’an). “*Syara’ mangato adat mamakai*” (Islam determines the carrying out of adat), as stated in Bai’ah Marapalam, articles 1 and 2. Bai’ah Marapalam or Sumpah Sati Marapalam (The Mighty Marapalam Oath) is an agreement that was reached between two parties, the community and leaders at the Pato Marapalam Hill. This gift consists of 15 articles: 2 opening, 10 content and 3 closing articles (Mangkuto, n.d.). The initial philosophy before the introduction of Islam in the community was “custom is determined by rules and propriety or moral which is only based on truth” (“*Adat basandi alua jo patuik, alua jo patuik basandi bana, bana badiri sandirinyo*”) However, after the introduction it was adjusted to the teachings of Islam “Adat is based on Islam which is in accordance with the Qur’an” (“*Adat basandi Syara’, Syara’ basandi Kitabullah*”) (Harun, n.d.). Therefore, it was evident that customs and Islamic religion complement each other. After the Bukit Marapalam charter, the philosophy “*Adat basandi Syara’, Syara’ basandi Kitabullah*” applies throughout the Minangkabau region till date.

Subsequently, Minang and Islam became interchangeable, meaning that anyone from Minang, certainly practiced this religion, and assuming the individuals were converted, they were no longer referred to as “the Minang”. An incident occurred in the 80s, when one of the residents converted to Kristen, however at the time the individual returned to the community, the kinsmen were unbothered. Although in the evening, an old friend visited and said that the individual’s safety was only guaranteed till dawn. The individual hurried left that night. The is research is aimed to

discover the reason behind what happened and the strong conviction of the Minangkabau people towards Islam, as well as the effect of acculturation developed in Minang that kept the inhabitants busy. Based on this background, the following research question was formulated, namely through what medium did Islam acculturate Minangkabau culture? or what is the effect of acculturation on Minangkabau culture?

Several studies have been carried out on the customs and culture of Minang, some research analysts have analyzed their food, some others have reviewed their unique songs, etc. Furthermore, an article stated that Rendang is a traditional food which is one of their cultural heritages (Nurmufida *et al.*, 2017). There is also another article that relates typical Minang foods to degenerative diseases. This article highlights the traditional food that causes degenerative diseases (Lipoeto *et al.*, 2018). Isa Hidayati, Myrnawati Srie Handini, and Karnadi carried out a research on one of the traditional songs referred to as Dendang Saluang. It stated the use of Dendang Saluang as a media for character education in Minangkabau (Hidayati *et al.*, 2018).

In addition, some studies were also carried out on changes in the concept of the area and old age. The first research was carried out by Ismet Fanany. It stated the concept of the realm and overseas in Minangkabau culture was reported in this study (I. Fanany, 2005). The second study was carried out by Fanani *et al.* It reported the changing concept of aging in matrilineal culture (R. Fanany *et al.*, 2014). Consequently, Bahauddin *et al.* in 2013 carried out a research on the Architecture of Rumah Gadang and it stated the influence of matrilineal culture on the architecture of the Rumah Gadang in Minangkabau (Bahauddin *et al.*, 2013).

In a broader scope, yet still in West Sumatra area, a study was made on education system in textbooks of Islamic studies at Islamic Higher Institution (Munir, 2013).

In 2017, Mhd. Isman *et al.* carried out a study on the traditional ceremony, known as Batagak Pangulu. The authors stated the local wisdom discovered in the Batagak Pangulu tradition (Isman *et al.*, 2017). Besides, a study on the market as an economic center was carried out by Nusyirwan Effendi. Effendi reported that the Market in Minangkabau served as a support for the survival of the indigenous culture (Effendi, 2000).

Nurwani carried out a study on Ilau in Minangkabau culture. The author stated that Ilau culture in Minangkabau serves as an adhesive between individuals and groups (Nurwani, 2016). Still on culture, yet in a wider scope in West Sumatra, Saputra and Busyra made a study on the tradition of “*kawin maupah*” in Pasaman District (Saputra and Busyro, 2018). Another study, Elda Fauzia carried out another research in accordance with virtual social networks. It stated the virtual identity shared by people from the same ethnicity on Facebook (Fauzia, 2018). Minangkabau at very glance also was also mentioned by Ridhwan on the influence of tasawuf in Nusantara, particularly in South Sulawesi (Ridhwan, 2017).

Based on these studies, there is no detailed research on the acculturation of Islam on the Minangkabau custom. The studies mainly focused on traditional ceremonies, food problems, typical songs as well as other aspects that did not experience the effect of Islam on the Minangkabau customs and culture.

This research is a literature study and it applied a qualitative approach. The primary sources of data are documents such as books, articles, charter or customary

agreements and laws, etc. However, interviews were also carried out on several Minangkabau figures. In addition, the author grew up in the Minangkabau region and is completely aware of the various traditional and cultural ceremonies. In accordance with the analysis provided, the research analysts studied the customs and culture of the people before and after the introduction of Islam. Therefore, the first step involved the collection of data based on Minang customs and culture, which was further analyzed by comparing it with Islamic teachings in order to make the effect of acculturation visible.

B. A Brief Overview of Islam in Minangkabau

The geographical condition of this region was carefully reviewed before a detailed illustration of the introduction of Islam in the community was stated. Minangkabau has a larger indigenous area than the territory of the West Sumatra province. Its tradition in terms of geographical conditions and boundaries is poetically stated in the Tambo as follows:

*Salilik Gunung Marapi; saedaran Sago jo Pasaman;
salingka Talang jo Kurinci, laweh alamnyo tampek
tagak; lubuak buminyo bakeh diam; sawah batumpak
di nan data; ladang babedeang di nan lereang; banda
baliku turuik bukik.*

*Dari Sirangkak nan badangkuang; hinggo buayo
putiah daguak; sampai ka pintu hilia, dari si Pisakpisau
hanyuik; hinggo Sialang balantak basi; sampai ka
aia babaliak mudiak; sailiran batang Bungkaweh; ka
dusun Tuo Ranah Piliang; Ujuang Jabuang nagari lamo;
sampai ka ombak nan badabua; ka timua ranah Aia
Bangih; lalu ka Panai Jubuah Biliak; ka baruah taratak
Aia Hitam (Batuah and St. Tianso, 1989).*

De Jong as quoted by Amir Syarifuddin stated that the region is geographically viewed in two environments, the Original Minangkabau which consist of three main regions (Luhak Nan Tigo) namely Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak Lima Puluh Kota and three migrant regions, (1) Rantau Luhak Agam, encompasses of the west coast from Pariaman to Air Bangis, Lubuk Sikaping, and Pasaman; (2) Overseas Luhak Limapuluh Kota, which includes Bangkinang, Kampar Kiri Valley, Kampar Kanan, and Rokan; (3) Monitor Luhak Tanah Datar, consist of Kubuang Tigobaleh, Pesisir Barat or Padang, Indera Pura, Kerinci and Muara Labuh. It is therefore evident that presently the larger Minangkabau customary territory of West Sumatra includes part of Jambi and Riau provinces as well as extends to Negeri Sembilan in Malacca (Malaysia). Luhak Tanah Datar is the first developed area and the center of the Minangkabau Kingdom located in Dusun Tuo Lima Kaum, Batusangkar. Irrespective of the fact that Luhak Nan Tigo has been in existence, it was only discovered after the "Tribe" was formed by breaking stones into three parts, and placing them together in Tuo Hamlet. This simply implies that even though they were separated into three luhak, they were still bound together (Batuah and St. Tianso, 1989; Manan and St. Mahmoud, 1987).

Islam was first introduced in the Indonesian archipelago by Arab traders through the trade channels in Aceh because it is a coastal area. This was due to the fact that the transport route at that time was only by water.

According to historical seminar, in 1963, The Entry of Islam in Indonesia (Nusantara) occurred in Medan, in 1978, it was introduced in Aceh, and it came to a halt in 1980 after it was introduced in the archipelago from Arabia in the first and

seventh centuries AD of Hijri (Hasymi, 1981). This shows that Islam was introduced in the Indonesian territory during the era of Bani Umaiyya (approximately 14 centuries ago).

Islam was spread through word of mouth from Aceh to other parts of the country including Minang, although there is no definite historical information concerning when it was introduced in the region. However, according to the results from the seminar, it was presumed that the religion was embraced by the Minangkabau community not long after its introduction in Aceh. This is due to the fact that the region was not far from Aceh and it was also a transit area for traders because it was located on the coast. Therefore, it is logical to assume that its customs had been influenced by Islam since the first century of Hijri. According to the notes of Ph. Brans, quoted from the Alexandria Library, the Greeks that controlled Egypt had trade relations with pepper producers and Kampher, Central Sumatra (Minangkabau). In fact, it was reported that the Minangkabau inhabitants learnt to farm, mine gold and other activities from them. They were also governed by the Greece government (Mangkuto, n.d.). Therefore when Islam was introduced, the people individually had trade relations with the Muslim traders. During the reign of the Bani Umaiyyah, Caliph Walid bin Abdul Malik sent 36 merchant ships from Kufah equipped with missionaries to buy kampher, pepper and gold in Minangkabau. Their ship docked in Muaro Sabak situated on the right side of the Batang Hari river. They convinced the King of Muaro Sabak, Lokita Warman to embrace Islam. Furthermore, Lokita Warman also convinced the younger brother, King of Pariangan in Minangkabau to embrace the religion (Mangkuto, n.d.)

and since then Islam has been practiced in the region and even spread throughout Penyengat Island and Kampar area in Riau.

During that period Islam was spread both privately and individually by the traders in Minangkabau as well as to close relatives. Therefore, it is evident that its spread was gradual. It developed rapidly among the Minangkabau people because they studied directly from Aceh traders namely Burhanuddin from Ulakan, Pariaman. Consequently, when they returned to their native country, Ulakan, Burhanuddin was offered a nickname of honor Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan because they actively continued to spread Islam by establishing a place for its study (Yunus, 1979).

Besides that Islam also entered the Malacca region through the east coast of *darek* (this area is far from the coast). This was possible because Malacca is situated in the territorial boundary of Minangkabau (Syarifuddin, 1982). These three pathways, led to the development of Islam in the Minangkabau region. Furthermore, this religion united or acculturated their customs and culture as well as inspired the lives of the people at that time.

C. Customary Law in Minangkabau

Etymologically the term “adat” is derived from Sanskrit, “a” means “no”, and “datu” means objects or material. Therefore, “adat” literally means “no material”. It is understood that “adat” is “a teaching or practice that is not based on objects or materials”. This term is also derived from Arabic which implies a tendency that applies in the social rules of the community aimed to realize excellence. These rules is the main subject of the Minangkabau custom. “Adat” in Minang language was referred

to as "*limbago kato*" which is a social procedure arranged in the form of "*kato-kato*" (word). "*Kato*" means sentences with broad and profound meanings (Batuah and St. Tianso, 1989). In Indonesian, "*adat*" means "*kebiasaan, aturan yang lazim dan dituruti sejak dahulu kala*" (Batuah & St. Tianso, 1989). Therefore the Minangkabau custom is a habit that has been applied in reality from time immemorial both individually, as families, and it has merited the nation.

It was further concluded that the their custom is a teaching formulated in short expressions with profound meanings derived from good habits that needs to be obeyed and practiced by the people. This is slightly different from the studied carried out by Hanafiah entitled *Adat Minangkabau* as quoted by Djaruddin reported that *adat* is a moral code of conduct in the association, and an order in various events. Meanwhile, Nasrun stated a more comprehensive definition, its life's view with objective and appropriate provisions that encompasses the value of education, based on careful consideration (Batuah & St. Tianso, 1989). However it is reported that these customs are rules or teachings that govern the citizens, relations with the universe, fellow humans and their God.

Adat Minangkabau consists of four categories, the *First*, is *adat nan sabana adat* (conventional customs), which implies the universal nature of God's rules, referred to as natural laws (*Sunnatullah*) or the eternal and it is not affected by time and place. According to Minang's philisophy "*Indak lapuak dek hujan, indak lakang dek paneh*" (Not damaged by the rain that befalls and the heat that whacks) such as burning fire, soaking rain etc. Furthemore, after the introduction of

this religion in Minangkabau, the customary interpretation of *adat nan sabana* was adjusted to the teachings of Islam without eliminating the traditional norms that had been handed down from generation to generation, the philosophy was in accordance with two principles, *first* is the *adat nan kawi*, a rule based on real and lasting natural laws. The *second* is based on the norms of Islamic teachings, namely laws or regulations relating to the Qur'an and Sunnah (Batuah and St. Tianso, 1989). According to the *Tambo Adat Minangkabau*, article 14 stated that this provisions are taken from both sources of islamic teachings (*adat nan sabana adat*).

Second, adat nan diadatkan (custom that is determined based on mutual agreement) is a rule relating to consensus. The stipulation of such rules is confirmed during a traditional ceremony known as "*baralek gadang*" (great event) which is marked by the killing of a buffalo (chapter 15). This rule of customary law is compiled in the book *Undang-undang Nan Duo Puluah* (The Twenty Laws), which consists of two parts. The first section contains eight laws (*Undang-undang Nan Salapan*) relating to crime as stated in the following expression:

Tikam bunuah padang badarah. Sia baka sabatang suluah.

Upeh racun sayak batabuang. Curi maliang dindiang balubang.

Umbuak-umbi budi marangkak. Samun saka tagak di bateh.

Sumbang-salah laku parangai. Dago dagi mambari malu (Batuah and St. Tianso, 1989).

It involves as many as eight kinds of crime, namely (1) "killing with a sword" or "sharp object" (*tikam bunuah padang badarah*), (2) "burning of houses" or "buildings" (*sia baka*

sabatang suluah), (3) “killing with poison” (*upeh racun sayak batabuang*), (4) “stealing” (*curi maliang dindiang balubang*), (5) “fraud that tends to harm” (*umbuak umbi budi marangkak*), (6) “robbery” (*samun saka tagak di bateh*), (7) “moral offense” (*sumbang salah laku parangai*), (8) “nieces rebelling against their uncles (*mamak*)” (*dago dagi mambari malu*).

The second part consists of the twelve laws (*Undang-undang Nan Duo Baleh*) which is divided into two. The first contains six laws relating to the presumption of a crime committed based on mere feelings without the support of strong evidences and valid facts. The second section comprises of six laws that reviews accusations or allegations based on strong evidence. The first six are called *qarinah* law (indication) which means the proof is only based on suspicion. On the contrary, the second six laws are called *bayinah* law (proof) which means strong evidences such as witnesses and information.

Third, adat nan taradatkan (custom that has become a habit in an area) is the traditional customs which are different other regions. This rules was formulated by the tribal chief of the area (chapter 23) as stated in the customary philosophy “*lain pandang lain belalangnya, lain lubuk lain ikannya*”. *Fourth, adat istiadat* meaning custom that is practiced to realize good. This custom is established by *ninik mamak* (chapter 24). In other words, they are the rules of life relating to all activities carried out as long as there is human existence as long as they do not conflict with religion and noble character such as the ceremony of harvesting rice, playing kites after sowing rice, hunting in the dry season etc.

These four categories differs due to the varying sources and extent of usage. The highest is *adat nan sabana adat* while the least is *adat istiadat*. Conversely when these customs are applied, they need not conflict with a lesser adat, for example, *adat istiadat* need not conflict with *adat nan taradatkan*, *adat nan diadatkan* dan *adat nan sabana adat*. Therefore, the application of a customary rule need not be arbitrary, however, it is expected to follow the path that was outlined and need not contradict each other, particular the higher rules.

D. Acculturation of Islam with Minangkabau Culture

The inception of a new civilization in a place, leads to the process of acculturation or mixing between the cultures, which is sometimes in the form of syncretism. The harmonization and balancing between the two civilizations, can also be in the form of synthetism that takes the form of a unified entity, or rejection.

When Islam was introduced to the Minangkabau people, some Islamic teachings were already practiced by the people because they were in line with there existing customs. According to Muchtar Naim (1996), the similarity between Islam and Minangkabau adat takes the *synthetism* form, and adapts to the teachings. Naim further said that this happened because the Minangkabau custom before the introduction of Islam was a custom that practically did not know cosmology-occultism. Pre-Islamic customs are solely ethical and aesthetic (Mahasin, 1996). Meanwhile, Amir MS in Polemik Kebudayaan Minangkabau, stated that the mixing is in the form of syncretism in which the customs and teachings of Islam are mixed together to form a new civilization.

These two opinions, shows that Muchtar Naim's analysis are closely in line with the reality, where Islam is defined as the highest level of *adat nan sabana adat* which is based on revelation (Qur'an and Sunnah). Before the inception of Islam the community's customary philosophy reads "*Adat basandi alua jo patuik, Alua jo patuik basandi bana, bana berdiri sendirinya*", which means that Adat is based on the flow and decent, which are furthermore based on the standalone truth. This was further modified to *Adat basandi Syara', Syara' basandi Kitabullah*, which means that Adat is based on Islamic law in accordance with the Book of Allah (Qur'an). However, before the introduction of Islam came the source of adat was not the revelation "*alam takambang jadi guru*".

In the ABS-SBK concept, it is explicitly stated that the foundation of Minangkabau custom is Islam or syara'. This is also the basic concept that animates the entire customs and philosophy applied in regulating family and the Minang community life.

1. *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru (Nature is the Teacher)*

Alam takambang jadi guru is a Minangkabau customary philosophy which is illustrated in the following expression:

Panakiak pisau si Rawik (Cutter use the Rawit's knife)

Ambiak galah batang Lintabuang (Spear made of Lintabung Tree)

Salodang ambiak ka niru (Areca nut midribs made into *niru*)

Satitiak jadikan lauik (A drop makes the ocean)

Sakapa jadikan gunuang (A clod makes a mountain)

Alam takambang jadikan guru (Nature spreads becomes a teacher).

In the above expression it is clear that the Minangkabau custom was built based on the surrounding natural phenomena. Therefore, these words or expressions describe the situations and conditions contained in nature such as the rhyme structure, from sampiran to contents, which are used to describe the living conditions and situations in the ecological, sociological and anthropological environments. According to Adat Minang, humans learn by paying attention to that nature in order to acquire knowledge and experience. This is seen in a proverb: “*Gabak di hulu tando ka hujan; cewang di langit tando ka paneh*” which means that when the sky is cloudy, it indicates possible rainfall and when it is bright, there is a possibility of heat occurring. The people are motivated to learn until complete as revealed in the proverb that reads:

Baburu ka padang data (Hunting to a flat field)

Dapek ruso balang kaki (Catch a striped feet deer)

Baguru kapalang aja (If learning is not finished)

Bak bungo kambang tak jadi (Like flowers never bloom)

Pasa jalan dek batampuah (Have adequate knowledge of the road always taken)

Hapa kaji dek baulang (Endeavor to memorize lessons that are always repeated).

This saying is in line with the word of God in the Qur’an which tells people to always pay attention to the universe as stated in several verses such as, Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]: 164, Q.S. al-A’raf [7]: 185, Q.S. Qaf [50]: 6, and other things.

In these verses God explicitly instructs humans to think of the universe in order to obtain signals and knowledge. In Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]: 164, for example, God stated that the phenomena that exist in this nature start from its creation, the change of day and night, the ship that sails on the sea, as well as the rain that

falls from the sky which waters the earth and grow its plants. Therefore, it is appropriate for the Minangkabau customary philosophy to make the universe a teacher.

2. Manners and Morals

Customary Minang is associated with the daily character and behavior of people such as moral while communicating with, parents, older people and others. It is also associated with eating, drinking, speaking, and defecating habits.

Morals associated with eating and drinking, prohibits eating in a hurry, and being greedy, as stated in the following expression:

Makan sasuok duo suok, cukuik katigo kanyang (Eat as little as possible)

Jaan makan sakulek ilang, jaan minum saraguak habih, minumsaraguak pueh (Don't eat or drink greedily).

This is in accordance with the recommendation of the Prophet in the eating and drinking manner. As illustrated in the Prophets behavior, of eating and stopping before full. In the Qur'an there is also an excessive prohibition excessive eating as stated in Q.S. al-An'am [6]: 141.

In a hadith the Prophet forbade eating and drinking excessively by providing comparison between Muslims and infidels. According to the Prophet, believers ate and drank with one intestine (a little) while pagans ate used seven. This Hadith was conveyed by the Prophet during a visit by an infidel that drank seven glasses of wine.

Another example in morality is shame as stated in the following pantun expression:

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*Nak urang Koto Hilalang,
 nak lalu ka pakan Baso.
 Malu jo sopan kalau hilang,
 habihlah raso jo pareso.
 Rarak kalikih dek binalu,
 tumbuhan sarumpun di tapi tabek.
 Kok habih raso jo malu,
 bak kayu tingga pangabek.*

This shows how important shame is, in accordance with the Islamic teachings seen in the traditions of the Prophet which is explained as part of faith. On another occasion the Prophet also explained its importance, because when people loss shame, they tend to do whatever they please without remorse.

In this context, the Minangkabau custom describes shame in four road categories, namely: flat, climbing, downhill, and sloping. The four ways that are likened to it are describing manners of communicating in the community, namely: (a) talking with peers called “flat road”, meaning that the way of talking does not need to be excessive, rather it is ordinary (flat), with the use of normal peer language, and always maintaining the dignity of the person invited to speak; (b) talk to an older person (boss) called “walk up”, with respect and care while choosing words, without underestimating or insulting people invited to speak; (c) the third communication pattern is “downhill,” which is commonly used to communicate with “subordinates” or those whose social strata are below the speaker such as parents to their children, leaders to subordinates, etc. In this context, although they always maintain communicative dignity, they don’t need to be too proud, and need to talk without the need for a lot of “small

talk” or *twit*; (d) the fourth communication pattern is *jalan melereng*. This is not carried out by using the direct model ie to the point or interlocutor, rather by indirect means such as allusions, or parables. This pattern is commonly used to speak to brother-in-law, *besan*, father-in-law, son-in-law, using four different lines of communication such as intonations and styles, always paying attention, polite, gentle, tolerant, etc. In this context Islam also teaches similar features in a more detailed and structured manner.

Some of the above mentioned features are courtesy and moral manners that apply to the Minangkabau people according to the rules of customs received from their ancestors.

3. Fashion

The models and forms of clothing in Minangkabau vary, in accordance with the prince’s clothes of (traditional leader), security guards (*hulubalang*), wedding dresses, daily wear, etc. In addition there are also clothes for parties according to the age level and position of someone in the community and in line with the category. All fashion models need to meet the main standard of covering the body properly as taught by Islam. Minang women wear *baju kurung* (long clothes) equipped with *sarong* or *songket* and plus headgear, which is also developed according to conditions. Furthermore, bride fashion models, are not the same as everyday clothes, while married women’s clothing differs from the unmarried which is usually w in the form of *kurung*, equipped with *sarongs* and head covering scarves. The married ones use short *kebaya* models such as in Java and long *kebaya* like in Betawi. This is intended in addition to covering genitals as well as to maintain the dignity of those that are still virgins. In addition,

women's clothing for parties is formed from *rukuk/mukenah (talakuang)* with the aim that when it is time for prayer they can easily remove it from the head. In Islam, covering aurat is a religious obligation that need to be practiced by every adherent in order to maintain the community's dignity. For example, Q.S. an-Nur [24]: 31 and Q.S. al-Ahzab [33]: 59 explains that a Muslim and Muslimah need to desist from looking at things that are not good, maintain their honor and not show their jewelry (*aurat*) except those that are commonly seen on the face and palm. In this context the Messenger of Allah provided more detail associated with the aurat of a woman besides the face and palm. This hadith was conveyed by the Prophet to Asma bint Abu Bakr during a visit in clothes which showed her aurat. This means that women need to cover their bodies in full, except face and palms.

Therefore, to realize this dress code in West Sumatra (Ranah Minang) the baju kurung with long skirts and veil, which is a Muslim clothing was introduced to all students in ranging from kindergarten to high school few decades ago.

The Minang traditional attire is in line with the teachings of dressing in Islam, with a different model, and similar principle aimed at providing priority to closing genitalia.

4. Pusako (Inheritance)

The Minangkabau realm, comprises of the High and the Low Heritages. Pusaka Tinggi is a treasure obtained from the mother's path (matrilinear), while the Low Heritage property is from business and inherited by relatives such as a child, parent, etc. (Meuraxa, n.d.).

The meeting among *urang ampek jinih* with four types of people consists of *pengulu* (*adat* holders), *malin* (*ulama*), *manti* (scholars), and *dubalang* (young generation), was carried out in 1952 at Bukittinggi. Furthermore, the Customary Law Seminar in 1968 which was carried out in Padang was attended by community leaders and clever intellectuals from various fields. It determined that *Pusaka Tinggi* managed its inheritance and Low Heritage according to customary and Islamic laws, respectively (Syarifuddin, 1982). This division of inheritance is deliberately distinguished between High and Low Heritage, therefore, there is no difficulty in solving it assuming there is a dispute in the community regarding management and ownership. Therefore, the Low Heritage property is divided according to Islamic inheritance law which is the result of the business of the deceased, such as parents, siblings, etc. Meanwhile the High Heritage assets are regulated according to the applied customary provisions because it is categorized as its property and collectively belongs to the family (*trah*) of each individual. From this *Pusaka Tinggi*, the benefits is acquired for generations by the people, and cannot be sold, except for the common interest. Its use is governed by customary rules, and the leader (chieftain) is not at liberty of using it without proper consultations. These assets are only used for mutual interests and are urgency (emergency) such as:

- a. *Rumah gadang katirisan* (the cost of renovating a Rumah Gadang),
- b. *Adat Pusako indak tagak* (the cost of crowning a chief);
- c. *Gadiah gadang alun balaki* (the cost of marriage to an old maid);

- d. *Mayit tabujua di tengah rumah* (cost of burying the dead) (Syarifuddin, 1982).

Management of inheritance are regulated based on customs rules and some are according to Islamic teachings such as the Low Heritage assets. Therefore, such arrangements feel very appropriate and conducive, especially for the Minangkabau people because their assets of the High Heritage are positioned as *waqf* property from the results of their efforts and a collective legacy of ancestors that has been accepted for generations through the maternal lineage (matrilineal).

It is impossible to position the Low Heritage assets, as a *waqf* property due to its unclear inheritance. For this reason, the regulation is based on Islamic teachings according to the principles built by adat namely ABS-SBK. In this context the Qur'an emphasizes in Q.S. an-Nisa'[4]: 11-12 that the distribution of inheritance is carried out after the debts which leads to payment. In Q.S. an-Nisa'[4]: 8 Allah also instructed humans to provide part of the property to the close relatives of the present, orphans and the poor before the assets are distributed. From these verses it is clear that before the inheritance is divided in accordance with the applicable provisions, the rights of others need to be issued, irrespective of the wills, accounts payable or other rights. Therefore, Islam stipulates that a dead man's property is divided, without rights to anyone. Therefore, the rules for the division of inheritance applied in the Minangkabau custom are in line with Islam.

a. Colloquy Principle

In Minangkabau custom the principle of deliberation is highly upheld as shown in the following customary saying:

Bulek kato dek mupakaik (Unite opinions with consensus)

Bulek aia dek pambuluah (Like water converging in a channel)

Elok diambiak jo mupakaik (Good decisions are taken unanimously)

Buruak dibuang jo paretongan (Something bad is discarded with careful consideration)

Bulek lah buliah diguliangkan, picak lah buliah dilayangkan (the plan is implemented upon agreement in accordance with the plan)

Rato balantai papan, licin badindiang camin (Do your best while seeking for betterment)

Elok kato dalam mupakaik (Good decisions are taken in agreement).

The proverbs provide clear and strong position of deliberation in Minangkabau customs called the substance of customary teachings. Every activity or program carried out need to be in agreement with the competent parties before taking further action. Presently, in the traditional banquet to start eating the meal need to be agreed in advance from all present. The implementation of such a system, when traced further does not help in the realization of deliberations governed by Allah in the Qur'an as contained in Q.S. Ali Imran; where God instructed His Prophet to speak politely, and gently to the people, with forgiveness and consultations. Meanwhile in Q.S. asy-Syura [42]: 38 Allah explained that those forgiven tend to respond well to the teachings, establish prayers, deliberate and invite.

b. *Khataman* Qur'an Ceremony

Every Minang child from the age of 5 or 6 need to study the Qur'an in a mosque. This recitation starts with learning the book of *Iqra*, namely the introduction of the hijaiyah letter until they are able to read smoothly. They proceed with learning to read the book of *Juz 'Amma* and after graduating, it is followed by a large book, known as the Qur'anic manuscripts of al-Fatihah which ended withan-Nas. After reading the Qur'an until the last letter, the *Khataman* ceremony is held by proficient children dressed in beautiful clothes like brides and paraded in a caravan round the village. In this ceremony the children concerned usually get prizes according to the rank of proficiency in reading the Qur'an. Apart from that they also receive gifts from the father's family (*bako*) and other relatives. This *Khataman* Qur'an Ceremony is a pride for Minang children and they tend to feel less of themselves assuming they do not have the *menamat* (*Khataman* Qur'an).

Therefore, it is concluded that among the characteristics of Minang children is clever in reading the Qur'an. With a lively Khatam ceremony, they are motivated to learn the Qur'an more diligently, therefore, it is not difficult to move them. This was also triggered by tradition, where before carrying out the marriage contract the two bride candidates were required to read the Qur'an according to the request of the *Wali Hakim* (*Pengulu*).

c. Parents Responsibility

In the matrialchat system which is applied in the Minangkabau custom the father does not take responsibility

for the child rather than the *mamak*, as the brother on the mother's side does. Household and family financing is taken from the results of high inheritance. This culture has taken root in the lives of Minang people before the arrival of Islam. However, after the inception of Islam came, the custom was not immediately abolished, and the religion sought a very wise solution as illustrated in the following customary adage:

8

*Kaluak paku kacang balimbiang,
tampuruang lenggang-lenggangkan,
dibawo urang ka Saruaso.
Anak dipangku kamanakan dibimbiang,
korong kampuang dipatenggangkan,
nak nagari jan binaso* (Meuraxa, n.d.).

The adage stated that a father (men) has full responsibility for his children, nephew and village. However, the responsibility for his children is greater than those of his nephew. This is seen in the saying above *anak dipangku* (carried) while a nephew *dibimbiang* (guided). Therefore, in this case a man also has good social responsibility towards close relatives such as nephew, or neighbors. This is also a recommendation in Islam as affirmed by Allah for people to do good to their relatives after dedicating themselves to the parents. It is also affirmed by the Qur'an that people tend to provide alms to close relatives (Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]: 83, 177, 180, and 215; Q.S. an-Nisa' [4]: 8 and 36; Q.S. al-Isra' [17]: 26).

However, only seven aspects of Minangkabau customs are described and this is used as evidence of Islamic influence in the Minangkabau tradition. These seven aspects are categorized into three. The *first*, are those that existed before the inception of Islam and in accordance with the

teachings such as consensus and deliberation that existed since the ancestors of the Minang people, which have been passed on from the ancestors. This is similar to the Minang philosophy, which is popular as follows “*alam takambang jadikan guru*”. This philosophy has been valid since Datuk Perpatih Nan Sabatang and Datuk Katumanggungan. It is also similar to the shameful nature rooted in the Minang community. *Secondly*, the customary rules that are adapted to Islamic teachings after its inception are inheritance problems and kinship systems or parental responsibilities. *Thirdly*, the rules that are enforced after Islam are similar to the *Khataman Qur’an* ceremony.

In addition to the customary issues, the influence of Islam in the Minang proverbs and rhymes contain Islamic teachings such as the birth of Prophet Muhammad, etc. Similarly, ordinary rhymes such as advice to children, and love are also influenced by Islam as shown in the following example:

1. Proverbs: “*Rajo adia rajo disambah, rajo lalim rajo disanggah*” (The just king is worshiped (respected), while the unjust is denied/not obeyed).
2. Pantun advice to children:

Wahai anakku Umi Salamah (O my daughter Umi Salamah)
Dengarkan sayang pitaruah ayah (Listen to my words)
Taat ibadah kapado Allah (Be obedient in worship)
Iman di dado jan barubah (Have faith in your heart and don’t change).

Sumbahyang sayang jan baranti (My dear child, pray not to leave)
Dari mulo iduik sampai mati (From birth to death)

Di akhiraik ayah mananti (In the afterlife dad is waiting for you)

Di padang mahsyar di pangkal titi (In the Mahsyar field at the *Shiratal Mustaqim* bridge gate).

3. Love Pantun

Abang dulu mangkonyokamat (*Azan* first, then *iqamah*)

Takabia mangkonyo sumbahayang (Takbir before starting to pray)

Bacarai Allah jo Muhammad (Split God from Muhammad)

Baru baranti kasiah jo sayang (It's how the love ended).

Balam Sipatu dari Judah (Sipatu birds from Jeddah)

Hinggok di ateh kayu Jati (Perched on a teak tree)

Mahadok kabaruah juo (Also facing towards the valley)

Lah izin dari Allah (God has been permitted)

Lah rela dari Nabi (Blessed by the Prophet)

Baa adiak batanguah juo (Why don't you respond to my love).

The strings of words used in the proverb above are clearly Islamic teachings such as the word “fair” and “wrong” which comes from the language of Islam or the Qur'an. Similarly, these rhymes contain high Islamic values, even though the pantun, uses Islamic languages despite not utilizing the languages.

The description shows that the influence of Islam is strong in the Minangkabau custom, and dominant as the foundation of the traditional building. In the fourth level of adat, it is clear that the teachings of Islam are placed at the foundation. The Minang customary rules are not allowed to deviate, or contradict Islamic teachings. Therefore, it is not

strange for Minangkabau culture to accept Islam as a spiritual foundation, as stated by Usman Pelly (Mahasin, 1996). The reception theory developed by the invaders which stated that a new Islamic law is applied, accepted and enforced by customary (Syarifuddin, 1982). This is stated as follows “*Syara’ mangato adat mamakai*” interpreted according to the reception theory of syara’ (Islam) is passed through a traditional institution. This means that before the inception of syara’ (Islam), adat was already used as a traditional philosophy and the principle of mupakat as described above, which already existed before Islam came to Minangkabau.

Base on those principles, the Minang people adherence to non Islamic religion or *murtad* was not identified. Therefore, assuming the issue occurred, there is a possibility of throwing it away from the Minang custom and entire communities. Although there is life in the middle of community, they do not care as stated in Minang proverb, “*Dibuang sepanjang adat.*” This strong sanction of law really effected to prevent the Minang people to do somethings out of the teachings of Minang custom. Therefore, it was difficult to determine the Minang, because people were encouraged to carry out activities contradicting the custom. In reality this model of law sanction is very effective to prevent the Minang peoples from criminal activities.

E. Conclusion

Minangkabau adat has undergone a process of mixing with Islamic teachings with the acculturation process in the form of Synthetism. This means that it is the custom and culture of Minang that adapts the teachings of Islam. This mixing is carried out in three categories, with the first not in accordance with Islamic teachings. In the second, the custom

and culture that are in line with Islam are preserved, while the third emerges a new coal culture to exclude Islam. This research analyzes the Minang customs and culture associated with Islam. Further studies need to be carried out by looking at the influence of Islam on specific customs and culture such as the problem of clothing, traditional ceremonies, etc.

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