

The ‘*Urf* Perspective of *Maanta Barih Pasaran*: Reinforcing the Kinship System through a Local Wisdom in Nagari Balingka

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Abstract

This study aims to explain the tradition of the Nagari Balingka community, Agam Regency known as *maanta barih pasaran* seen from the ‘*urf* perspective. The study applied a qualitative method with a sociology and descriptive analysis approach. The findings of the study revealed that a niece; *kamanakan*, if she was married, she was obliged to perform the tradition by visiting the house of her *Mamak*, bringing the rice (*barih*) and the cake (*kue gadang*) just in time before the Ramadhan as a way to maintain the bond and the relationship of the big family, the matrilineal system in particular. The tradition was in line with the ‘*urf* admitted in Islam. Referring findings of the study, it could be concluded that the *maanta barih pasaran* tradition done by a niece to her *mamak* helped, in general, to maintain the relationship of every member of the family since there was a bit change of in the role of a *Mamak* in Minang, and in particular to prolong the matrilineal system. The tradition which was specifically carried out by the people of Nagari Balingka was in line with the ‘*Urf* perspective.

Key words: *Maanta barih pasaran*; ramadhan; local wisdom; ‘*urf*

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memaparkan tentang kebiasaan atau tradisi masyarakat Nagari Balingka Kabupaten Agam dalam bentuk *maanta barih pasaran* menurut kajian *urf*. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologis dan analisis deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menjelaskan bahwa kemenakan perempuan yang telah berkeluarga dan memiliki anak ‘*wajib*

mengantarkan bareh pasaran kepada mamaknya, dan mamak dari anak-anak perempuannya yang sudah berkeluarga sebagai bentuk memperkuat hubungan kekerabatan untuk menyambut datangnya bulan Ramadhan dan menjaga sistem keturunan matrilineal ini sejalan dengan urf dalam ketentuan Islam. Berdasarkan penelitian ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa mengantarkan bareh pasaran kepada mamak dan keluarganya dapat mempererat kembali hubungan yang mulai renggang mengingat perubahan kondisi yang berpengaruh terhadap peranan mamak kepada kemenakannya, secara khusus kemenakan perempuan untuk tetap menjaga dan memperkuat sistem matrilineal itu sendiri. Kebiasaan ini merupakan kebiasaan khusus yang hanya dilakukan oleh masyarakat Nagari Balingka dan sejalan dengan ketentuan urf. Seandainya dalam pelaksanaan di kemudian hari membedakan antara mamak satu sama lain, dengan hanya mengantarkannya hanya kepada mamak tertentu saja, maka secara tidak langsung ketentuan urf ini juga berbeda.

Kata Kunci: *Maanta bareh pasaran*; ramadhan; kearifan lokal; 'urf

Introduction

Minangkabau ethnic is famous for its numbers of traditions, such as the *mairiak* tradition where the people eat *gulai rabuang* (type of meals made from the bamboo shoot) at the harvest time, eating *bajamba* and *bararak*¹ on weddings, *baliman*, *malamang*, tomb pilgrimages, and many more traditions in many different forms. Some of the traditions are still carried out nowadays, but some others are either performed in different ways or no longer executed.

The *malamang*,² *baliman*, and tomb pilgrimages traditions which are commonly performed to welcome the fasting month, Ramadhan, are still carried out by most Minangkabau people. Even, not only the Minangkabau people who do the customs and similar traditions are also performed by other communities, one of them is the Sasak community in Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat.³ Meanwhile, for people in Pageraji Village, Banyumas Regency, the tradition to

¹Refisrul, "Just and Tradition Most likely in the Minangkabau People," *Journal Research History and Culture* 3, no. 2 (November 2016): 773.

²Yudhistira Ardi Poetra, Ernita Arif, dan Zainal Arifin, "Upaya Pemerintah dalam Mengkomunikasikan Tradisi Malamang Menjadi Objek Pariwisata Budaya di Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," *Jurnal Pustaka Budaya* 5, no. 2 (Juli 2018): 53.

³I Gusti Ayu Armini, "Tradisi Ziarah dan Berkaul pada Makam Keramat di Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat," *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional* 23, no. 1 (Maret 2016): 91.

welcome Ramadhan includes cleaning the public tombs, usually one week before Ramadhan, cleaning the neighborhood, the mosque, and *mushalla*.⁴

Slightly different from the tradition done by the Pungguan, where the tomb pilgrimage is carried out a week before Ramadhan, yet, for people of Rebo Kasan, the process is held on the last Wednesday of the month of *Sba'ban* accompanied by prayers expecting to be given strength to perform fasting.⁵

In addition to the tomb pilgrimage, the people also have the *balimau* tradition as the activity to welcome the fasting month. For example, the people of Kuntu Kampar Riau do the *balimau* by bathing at the Subayang River in Kuntu village. Furthermore, still in the Riau area, precisely in Alam Panjang Kampar Regency, its people do the *balimau*⁶ by using water was previously mixed with juice obtained by squeezing some oranges. The process is done in the afternoon a day before Ramadhan in a river. The custom is similar to that performed by the people of Jada Bahrin. The river of Limbung in Desa Jasa Bahrin, Kecamatan Merawang, is the most visited river to perform the *balimau* tradition.⁷

A *balimau* tradition that is carried out by the people of Jorong Mupun Nagari Sundata District Lubuk Sikaping Pasaman Regency seems to be a bit different. The people include performing the *rupano* tradition; the marching to welcome the month of Ramadhan. This *rupano* marching includes the presence of *Ninik Mamak* and the community, as well as *Cadiak Pandai*, and *Bundo Kandung*. The march starts from *the Datuak* house to the river bank located near the mosque. When the people reach the bank of the river, they can start cleaning or bathing or the *balimau* tradition, as a way to welcome the fasting month.⁸

In Semarang, to welcome the month of Ramadhan, the people usually have the *dugdheran* tradition. *Dug* is the representative sound of a *bedug*, and *dher* is the representative sound of a cannon. The combination of *bedug* and *cannon*

⁴Fatoni Achmad dan Faiq Fauziya Putri, "Talaah Kritis Nilai-Nilai Kebudayaan Islam: Studi Kasus Tradisi Ramadhan dan Idhul Fitri di Desa Pageraji Kab. Banyumas," *Momentum Jurnal Ilmiah dan Keagamaan* 7, no. 2 (Mei 2019): 8.

⁵Yusno Abdullah Otta, "Dynamism Tradition Islam of Era Globalization: Studies above Tradition Religious Kampuang Javanese Tondano," *Sociology Reflective* 10, no. 1 (October 2015): 94.

⁶Wife Kahfi, "Tradition Bathe Balimau in Society Kuntu: Living Hadith As Historical Evidence," *Journal Living Hadith* 1, no. 2 (October 2016): 280.

⁷Herdiyanti dan Jamilah Cholilah, "Pergeseran Modal Sosial dalam Pelaksanaan Upacara Adat Mandi Balimau di Dusun Limbung Desa Jada Bahrin Kec. Merawang Kab. Bangka," *Jurnal Society* 5, no. 2 (Desember 2017): 2.

⁸Fitra Vital, "Appreciation Community Jorong Mapun Kenagarian Sundata Kec. Bottom Attitude Kab. Pasaman Towards Art Rupano deep Tradition Baarak Alcohol Balimau," *Journal Sendratik* 6, no. 2 (March 2018): 2.

sounds marks the beginning of Ramadhan. In Aceh, there is a tradition⁹ called *Meugang*, another tradition to welcome the arrival of Ramadhan, which is done by eating meat a day before the fasting¹⁰. Moreover, the Melayu Palembang people have a welcoming tradition called the *Ruwahan* tradition which is done by inviting the close neighbors to pray for ancestors, parents, families, and brothers and sisters of the deceased. Almost the same as the *tradition of Nyorog*¹¹ done by Betawi people which is to distribute gifts to family members.¹²

By referring to some of the traditions stated previously, it can be clarified that the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran*, the tradition performed by the people of Nagari Balingka, Agam Regency, Sumatera Barat, is not done by any Minangkabau people, or people from other regencies who also have traditions to welcome the arrival of Ramadhan, even though the tradition is not less interesting than the other traditions that have similar aims, in terms of its implementation, and seen from the *urf* perspective, its functions to manage the integrity of an extended family. Furthermore, this tradition is not found in other Nagari including in Nagari Koto Gadang where the religious figure such as Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi was from, whose place is directly adjacent to Nagari Balingka. Shortly, it is concluded that the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition is only performed in Nagari Balingka, which becomes the paper's focus and distinguishes this study from other studies concerning similar traditions.

The *Maanta Bareh Pasaran*, despite its similarity with some other traditions that mean to welcome the arrival of Ramadhan, ties one cultural reason. Not only is an activity done just in time before the fasting month, but the tradition is also a part of the culture. It bridges the religious and cultural practices, even though, there are no consequences given, seen from the religious aspect, if people do not perform it. However, seen from the cultural aspect, the nieces who do not perform the tradition, are addressed with the term "*tidak beradat*", a bad judgment given by the society.

Based on the background explained previously, the paper focuses on, first, the analysis of the implementation of the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition by the people of Nagari Balingka, Agam Regency, West Sumatra, and, second, how it relates to the kinship system in a large family, as well as whether or not this tradition can be acknowledged as an *urf* in the Islamic provisions. This study

⁹And Cahyono, "Art Show Alcohol Arakan deep Ceremony Traditional Dugdheran in Semarang City," *Harmony Journal Knowledge and Thought Art* 7, no. 3 (December 2006): 68.

¹⁰Marzuki, "Tradition Meugang deep People of Aceh," *the Harakah* 16, no. 2 (December 2014): 217.

¹¹Choirunniswah, "Tradition Ruwahan Community Malay Palembang deep Perspective Phenomenological," *Tamaddun Journal Culture and Islamic Literature* 18, no. 2 (2018): 73.

¹²Abdul Qodir Jaelani, "Tradition Nyorog Betawi Society deep Perspective Law Family Islam (Studies Betawi People in Bekasi City Javanese West)," *al-Ulum* 19, no. 1 (June 2019): 217.

uses a qualitative method with a sociological approach and a descriptive analysis to observe and interpret people's behavior in social life. The main data are obtained from interviews with the people of Nagari Balingka selected from the purposive sampling technique, using participant observation. The secondary data are journals, books, and other related writings.

Discussion

Maanta Bareh Pasaran by the People of Nagari Balingka

Nagari Balingka is located in *Lereang gunuang* Singgalang surrounded by the Bukit Barisan which is longitudes from the west and is latitudes from the south to the east. Nagari with an area of + 2,820 Ha is the capital of Subdistrict IV Koto is at an altitude of 1000-1300 M from sea level and is a mountainous, hilly and institutionalized area bordering the following Nagari; northward with Nagari Koto Gadang, a Nagari where the male parent of the great Minangkabau Islamic Scholar Sjech Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi was from, southward with Kecamatan Malalak, east of the border with Nagari Koto Tuo, the Nagari where Sjech' Aluma was from, and west bordering Nagari Sungai Landia, not far from Nagari Sungai Landia down to the 44th of Kelok 44 to Maninjau was the village where Buya Hamka from, and three *orong* namely Koto Hilalang, Pahambatan, and Subarang Sianok.¹³

Although the people of Nagari Balingka have different origins, some of them confirm that they are from Pagaruyung, the center of the Minangkabau area, while others are from Pariaman, a coastal area belonging to the Minangkabau region.¹⁴ The spread of Minangnese who are mostly from *Darek* (Pagaruyung) as the center of Minangkabau is almost the same as the spread of Minangnese to other places such as Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak Limapuluh Kota. But the spread of Pariaman people to the *darek* is different in Nagari Balingka. *Darek* is known to be culturally strong since it is the center of Minangkabau, while its regions are strong with the religion because the entry and spread of Islam in Minangkabau comes from the coastal area, but the people of Nagari Balingka still adhere to Minangkabau customs.

As part of Minangkabau, the people of Nagari Balingka adhere to a matrilineal system (the lineage is based on the mother line) with some prominent features.¹⁵ First, when a woman is married, her husband is addressed

¹³Busyro, "FEMALE IMAM AND KHATIB The Progressive Tradition of Gender Responsive Practices In Balingka West Sumatera," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 2 (2017): 541.

¹⁴"Nagari Website Balingka," t.t.

¹⁵Matrilineal kinship is natural and earlier in human civilization than in other forms because matrilineal kinship has existed since humans began their relationship with others. It was then that humans began to realize that the relationship between mother and child was a core group in society. In this core group, the child originally knew his mother only. It was his mother who nurtured him, and raised him so that his mother became the head of the family. Because in

as a *sumando*, and their children acknowledge the culture from their mother's side.^{16 17} *Second*, a man addressed as *Mamak* (the brother of a mother) is positioned higher¹⁸ serving as a person who is responsible for the matrilineal family. Third, women in this type of culture bear a very important role in their community addressed as *Bundo Kandung*. It is a name given to the mother as a puller of the matrilineal lineage that is passed down through the daughters of generations.¹⁹

In the past, a husband was not fully responsible for his wife and children, because it was the responsibility that a *Mamak* had to bear. A husband spent nights at his wife's house, but in the morning, he should return to his maternal family. Hadler describes a husband returning home every day to his mother's house to work; helping cultivate the rice fields, fields, or gardens, and even when he died, he would be buried in his maternal family cemetery. A colonial official recounted the husband's departure at dawn²⁰ when they returned to their respective original homes after spending the night at his wife's house.²¹

At this time, according to Kato, it was a shame for both families if the husband who was the *sumando* met the *Mamak* of his wife addressed as *tungganai*. This weak position was expressed in a Minangkabau proverb "*abu di ateh tunggua*", where *Abu* means "dirt", where there is a bit of wind the dirt is flown away.²²

In Islam, a husband is the leader of his family. He bears a full responsibility toward his children and his wife to encourage better changes in the family. If previously the responsibility for children was on his mother's brother or *Mamak*, it slowly changed into his father's. Likewise, a *Mamak* should

the ruling mother's household, the development of offspring is known through the maternal line and then the mother line as a calculation of the bloodline.

¹⁶Yasril Dolphin, "Actor Cultural deep Government Lowest in West Sumatra (Position Ninik Mamak deep Structural Customs and Maintenance Government Formal)," *Humanus* 12, no. 1 (2013): 23.

¹⁷Nofardi and Syafwan Rozi, "Application Value Tolerance escort Culture deep Implementation Law Inheritance Islam in Society Boundary di Rao Pasaman West Sumatra," *Ijtihad: Journal Discourse Islamic law and Humanity* 17, no. 1 (June 2017): 91.

¹⁸Sarmiati, "Participation Woman deep Program Countermeasures Poverty in the Minangkabau Matrilineal Society," *Journal Gender and Child* 1, no. 1 (June 2018): 11.

¹⁹Amaliatulwalidain, "Dynamics Representation Role Politics Bundo Kandung deep System Government Nagari Mother from Representation Noun Towards Representation Formal Descriptive," *Journal Government and Politics* 1, no. 1 (January 2016): 1.

²⁰Nofardi, "Marriage and Baganyi: Analysis Sociological Cultural deep Settlement Conflict of District Banuhampu Regency I have," *al-Ihkam* 13, no. 1 (June 2018): 58.

²¹Jeffrey Hadler, *Dispute No Break Matriarchy, Reformism Islam, and Colonialism in Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Freedom Institute, 2010), 9.

²²Tsuyoshi Kato, *Minangkabau customs and Migrating deep Perspective History* (Jakarta: Hall Library, 2005).

pay more attention to his wife and children. The father (as the husband/sumando) is not only at home when it was night^{23,24} as Hadler has described, but also during the day to gather and be with his wife and children.²⁵ However, despite the changes, his position remains as a *sumando* who is an outsider in his wife's kinship system.

Because the husband is a *sumando*; the outsider, he follows the kinship system of his mother as well. If a husband comes from outside of Minangkabau, then he can attach himself *malakok* to one of the tribes where he stays, but it should be different from that of his wife's mother. However, he is allowed to not do so, or keep with his origins²⁶. If a man of Nagari Balingka marries a woman who is from outside of Minangkabau, then his children are said to have no Minangkabau tribe. This is also one of the consequences of matrilineal kinship in Nagari Balingka.

Unlike the role of *sumando* (husband/father) whose relationship with his children is said to be weak, a very important relationship is the one between a *Mamak* and his nephews and nieces known as *Kamanakan*. The kinship terms in Nagari Balingka are similar to those of Minangkabau in general. The brothers of the mother are addressed as *Mamak*. The term has variations depending on how old a *Mamak* is. The oldest *Mamak* is called *Mak Dang*, the middle is *Mak Ngah* and the youngest is *Mak Etek*. While the brothers of a father are called *Bapak*, either *Pak Dang* or *Pak Tuo* is the oldest, *Pak Ngah* is the middle, and *Pak Etek* is the father's youngest brother.

The kinship system between a *Mamak* and *Kamanakan* is the relationship of a son or a daughter with his mother's brother, or a relationship between a man and his sister's children.

Referring to this system, it can be confirmed that Minangkabau acknowledges two types of kinship; the *up* and *down* system. Up means having one or more *Mamak*, while down means having some nephews or nieces who are the children of a man's sisters. Unlike a woman who has a *Mamak*; the up system, she bears no down system because she has no nephews and nieces or *Kamanakan*. Therefore, in Nagari Balingka, women will never have any nephews or nieces and will never be the mother of her sister's children. Thus, the

²³Hasliza Lubis, "Polyanders of Circle Muslim community: Studies Sociological of Neighborhoods Bunut District Range West Regency I have," *Istinbath Journal Islamic law* 5, no. 1 (Mei 2020): 5.

²⁴And Sulfinadia dkk, "Wholeness House Ladder Husband of Prison (Studies Case in institutions Correctional Class II A Bukittinggi)," *al-Istinbath: Journal Islamic law* 6, no. 2 (November 2021): 276.

²⁵Nofiardi, "Marriage and Baganyi: Analysis Sociological Cultural deep Settlement Conflict of District Banuhampu Regency I have."

²⁶Yaswirman, *Law Family Customs and Islam* (Field: Andalas University Press, 2006), 121.

relationship between a *Mamak* and his nephews or nieces is limited to a *Rumah Gadang* only, known as the internal relationships in the family.²⁷

Mamak is responsible for his *Kamanakan* in terms of economics, education, and morals. The portrait of the relationship between a *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan* is reflected in the behaviors. Nephews and nieces with good personalities symbolize the success of a *Mamak*, the failures of them is a shame for the *Mamak*. When a child behaves badly, it is the *Mamak* that would be questioned by society, not the father²⁸.

In addition, from the aspect of economic, a *Mamak* is also responsible for his *Kamanakan* education, as how the famous Minang saying states '*kamanakan barajo ka mamak, mamak barajo ka pangulu,*²⁹ *pangulu barajo ka mufakat, mufakat barajo ka alua, alua barajo ka patuik, patuik barajo ka nan bana, dan nan banalah manjadi rajo*'.³⁰

Meanwhile, the brothers of a father are not burdened with responsibilities similar to a *Mamak* does. However, at their mother's house, they are the *Mamak* of their sisters' children, therefore, they have the same responsibilities. The *Mamak* and *Kamanakan* relationship is not applied within the hometown only, but also everywhere. When a man from Minangkabau travels, he stays for the first time at his *Mamak* place, not at *Bapak* (the brothers of his father). This portrays how a *Mamak* and a *Kamanakan* are very close compared to the relationship between a Minangnese and the brothers of his father.

Even, to nurture this *Mamak* and *Kamanakan* relationship, the nephews are recommended to marry the daughters of their *Mamak*, or the sons of the *Mamak* should marry the nieces. This type of marriage is often believed to be more favored. The wife of a *Mamak* is called *Mintuo*; the term bears a similar meaning to mother-in-law, even though there is no marriage between the children.³¹ Thus, a niece or a nephew who is married to the son or the daughter of their *Mamak* will have a *Mintuo*, similar to the meaning brought by the term mother-in-law; the mother of the husband or the wife.

²⁷Amir Syarifuddin, *Implementation Law Inheritance Islamic Deep Milieu Minangkabau Customs* (Jakarta: Mountain Agung, 1984).

²⁸Nofardi, "Marriage and Baganyi: Analysis Sociological Cultural deep Settlement Conflict of District Banuhampu Regency I have, p. 67.

²⁹After the Minangkabau ancestors had a permanent residence, to obtain harmony, peace, order, and the welfare of the extended family, a tribal government was formed, headed by a tribal chief, *Penghulu* means base, origin, head, or leader. Amir MS, *Adat Minangkabau Pola dan Tujuan Hidup Orang Minang* (Jakarta: Citra Harta Prima, 2011), p. 67.

³⁰Nofardi, p. 68.

³¹Coentjaraningrat, *Human and Culture in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Squawking, 2004), p. 256.

In general, the responsibility of a *Mamak* in Nagari Balingka, Agam Regency is described in one Minangkabau common saying, '*kaluak paku kacang balimbiang, tampuruang lenggang lenggokkan, baok manurun ka Saruaso, tanamlah siriah diureknyo, anak dipangku kamanakan dibimbiang, urang kampuang dipatenggangkan, tenggang nagari jan binaso, tenggang sarato jo adatnya*'.³²

This proverb describes a responsibility of a man in Minangkabau; as a father, as a *Mamak*, and as a member of the society. Every region in Minangkabau admits similar responsibility for a man, the differences lay in the function of a *Mamak*.³³

As a *Mamak*, a man is expected to assist his *Kamanakan* in two conditions; first, for his nieces, the *Mamak* should supervise them in accepting the *warih nan bajawek*, and in preparing to continue the lineage. The *warih nan bajawek* means to assist in the understanding of the values of society which positions women as *the pusek jalo pumpang ikan*, the central point of the houses along with their role as a grandmother and a mother who educate their grandchildren and the children to behave accordingly and to be part of bigger communities.

Second, for his nephews, a *Mamak* should provide support about to with concerning the *Pusako Batolong*. It means preparing them to be competent in managing and developing their sources for life within their matrilineal family, so that they can be utilized and managed by every generation in the family.³⁴

The responsibility of *Mamak* toward his *Kamanakan* is not different from the responsibility of a father toward the bilateral and patrilineal society. Unlike a father, a *Mamak* will have more responsibilities if he has many sisters. Yet, the job can be easier if he has some other brothers. However, it is believed that the role of a *Mamak* has gradually changed.

One change to be highlighted is related to the life of their nieces or nephews that are handed to the *sumando*. In line with that, he also bears the responsibility toward his children and his wife even though he is the *sumando* or the outsider. In such a condition, it does not mean that he removes the previous role. It is only a matter of transition, that the responsibility now is in his own house. Yet, in a certain condition, the role stays the same, such as to ensure that his nieces will have good husbands or to manage the *old* house, the role cannot be abandoned, even though his voice is no longer as decisive as the previous.

³² Jamaris Jamna, *Pendidikan Matrilineal* (Padang: Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Minangkabau, 2004), p. 6.

³³D. N. Latief, *Ethnic group and Minangkabau Customs Problems and Time Front* (Bandung: Sky, 2002), p. 83.

³⁴AA Navis, *Nature Developed Become a Master of Customs and Culture Minangkabau* (Padang: PT. Graphics Victory Sumbar, 2015), p. 247.

Although there has been a bit of change in terms of responsibility, a *Mamak* is still asked for consideration in leading the wife's extended family. Under a certain condition such as a marriage decision, the *Mamak* bears the burden. Also, if there is a problem between her sister and her husband; the *sumando*, the role of a *Mamak* becomes very decisive.

Furthermore, In Nagari Balingka, the relationship between a *Mamak* and his Kamanakan is vital. Even, it is said, the relationship between a child and his or her cousins from the mother's side is closer than those of the father's side.

In Minangkabau, the relationship between a child and the sisters of his father is called *induk bako anak pisang*. The same goes for the relationship between a woman and the children of her brothers. Here, the woman is addressed as *induk bako*, and the children are addressed as the *anak pisang*. Thus, the woman has two types of relationship; the up and the down line. Down, where she is the *induk bako* for the children of her brothers, and up, where she is the *anak pisang* of the sisters of her father.³⁵

Maanta Bareh Pasaran is a special tradition for the people in Nagari Balingka, Agam Regency, West Sumatra. This tradition is only carried out by a married niece who already has children, to the *Mamak* of her children. It is a custom to bond her children and her brothers, as well as to prolong her relationship with her own *Mamak*, known as *saparuik*³⁶ *sapayuang*,³⁷ excluding *sasuku*.³⁸

This custom is performed to welcome the arrival of the Ramadhan by visiting the houses of every *Mamak*. During the visits, the niece would bring something.³⁹

One of the most important things brought by the niece when visiting her *Mamak* before Ramadhan is the rice, known as *Bareh Pasaran*. Even if *Mamak*

³⁵ Amir Syarifuddin, *Pelaksanaan Hukum Kewarisan Islam Dalam Lingkungan Adat Minangkabau*, p. 125.

³⁶*Saparuik* be group the one who each other Related and on generally stay deep one house. By literal *saparuik* mean people who Come from one womband be Very unit pentung from square Function. On side other *saparuik* is also Related to group the one who stays deep in one place (*house gadang*). Kato, *Minangkabau customs and Migrating deep Perspective History op.cit.*, p. 31.

³⁷When members paruk add many, some There will move from house data/house together Wed houses that new. One group house that Comes from the Expansion paruk is called sapayuang. Sapayuang Was group the that was below protection seorang penghulu.

³⁸Besides Brother man mother called *mamak kontan* with role and Changes, exist also mamak one persukuan deep one *house gadang* as long as. Mamak one persukuan this Connected by grandmother. The woman who has Brother woman, then each-each already have children anyway, good child-man and woman that already have child and descendants anyway, so relationship children with Brotherman His mother called *mamak kontan*, while a man from *home gadang* as long as aforementioned Named *mamak sapsukuan*.

³⁹Interview with Betti

already had a lot of rice, her niece would still bring the rice along with a sponge cake, commonly called *Kue Gadang*. The two items are a part of the tradition's requirement; thus, they cannot be replaced by other things, every niece should provide both of them⁴⁰

According to the tradition, when a niece visits her *Mamak* to perform *Maanta Bareh Pasaran*, her niece, who is usually with her children and husband, is welcomed by her *Mintuo* and, together, they have a feast. Here, the bond of the family is prolonged since the niece takes a part in providing the food by bringing the rice and the cake, while her *Mintuo* serves the food (even though, it is not the rice that the niece brings that is served at the feast). They have a meal that they supply together. The visit of the niece is not a burden for her *Mamak* and her *Mintuo*. When the niece and her family end the visit, usually, her *Mamak* and her *Mintuo* provide something in return, they usually give food or money.

Slightly different from *Mamak Saparuik*, for *Mamak Sapayuang*, the niece is required to bring rice only. She does not need to bring the cake. Usually, her *Mintuo* does not serve food, but simply serves drinks.⁴¹

For the nieces who have several *Mamak* who already have a family, the niece should visit each of them. Also, if a daughter has several brothers, each brother should be visited accordingly to the agreed schedule. This is the effort to prolong and perform what has been traditioned.

This tradition is carried out by the nieces until their daughters have a family as well. When her daughter already has a family, her duties and responsibilities have been completed then, it is continued by the daughters. In Nagari Balingka, if the women only have sons, then the tradition goes on. Her sons cannot replace her in doing the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran*.

The niece visits her *Mamak's* house and her brother's house (*Mamak* of her children) before the arrival of Ramadhan by performing the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition, while the *Mamak* together with his family in Ramadhan (usually a week before Eid) visits his mother's house, if the mother is still alive, if she is not, then the visit is done to the oldest sisters'. It is usually called *Maantaan Pabukoan*. When doing so, *Mamak* also invites his nieces who have previously carried out the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran*. There, they break their Ramadhan fasting together.

If a niece does not perform *the Maanta Bareh*, usually *Mamak* and her family will not also carry out the *Maanta Pabukoan* tradition. Thus, there are fewer opportunities to strengthen the big family bond because the relationship is built by mutual visiting, gathering, and meeting in person. Traditions have a big impact on maintaining a relationship between each family member. In Islam,

⁴⁰Interview with Four

⁴¹Interview with Asniar

a relationship known as *silaturabmi* is made by building good communication, and one of the ways is by visiting relatives.

The relationship between *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan* is very important for the people of Nagari Balingka, particularly for the Minangkabau people. The relationship is managed by traditions. Its people should not violate the relationship, especially when the traditions are performed before performing Ramadhan fasting.

Another effect created due to the lack of communication between a *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan*, and if this is not immediately fixed, it may lead to the possibility of not sharing both good news or bad news *kaba baiak bahimbauan* and *kaba buruak bahambauan*. Thus, each person will not be aware of any issues that might be problems for the family.

For people of Nagari Balingka who stay away from the region, the tradition is usually not done, therefore, the gathering is usually done during the Eid al-Fitr, at the mother's house.

The *Maanta Bareh* tradition is a response to the changes in the roles of a *Mamak*. Due to changes, a *Mamak* has fewer chances to meet his nieces since at the same time he is the *sumando* who bears responsibilities toward his own family. Then the tradition is meant to manage the relationship between a *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan*, though it is unlikely what existed in the past, where a *Mamak* visited his *Kamanakan* quite often, every after performing the *Jumaat* prayer at the very least.

To anticipate the situation where a *Mamak* rarely meets his *Kamanakan*, to manage the matrilineal system in Nagari Balingka, the *Maanta Bareh* tradition should always be carried out. There lies a big hope that the lineage system exists, the relationship is stronger even though the traditions are not performed the way they were used to be performed.

In general, the people of Nagari Balingka, particularly, the Minangkabau people, many of them no longer depend on the *pusako* treasures managed by the family. Since many of them have their own business, or they can earn without depending on *harta pusako*, the family property, the opportunities to meet the relatives, especially between a *Mamak* and his *kemenakan* are becoming less. Thus, the tradition is urgently needed to ensure, that despite being busy, *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan* will always have chances to gather.

Besides, since the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition is performed just before the fasting month, it opens the opportunity for mutual forgiveness between *Mamak* and his *Kamanakan*, for mistakes that are made in the previous years. Then, every member of the family knows other people in the family better, the family is closer. If the communication is not maintained, there are possibilities

that the member of the big family does not know each other, understand that they are relatives.

The tradition is highly recommended. If any other months are not possible, then taking Ramadhan moment is a perfect time to maintain the relationship, by mutually visits. The exception is when the people are away, yet if they are around Bukittingi, Padang Panjang, and Payakumbuh, the traditions should be performed as a way to maintain the family relationship and the matrilineal system.

'Urf within the Establishment of Islamic Law

'Arafa - ya'rifu is the origin of the word *'urf* which means something that is recognized and known by others.⁴² *'Urf* linguistically means something that is considered good and accepted by common sense, while as a term, it means an act that offers happiness when it is performed, accepted by the society, and logic. Referring to the definition, it is understood that *'urf* occupies a very important position as a basic consideration in establishing law.⁴³

Furthermore, it can be implied that some elements of the *'urf* are the habit in society, both in the form of words or actions, and the habits are not based on the rational inevitability because it is merely a tradition. Although some believe that *'urf* and traditions are different, *'urf* is seen as more specific, and they are applied as a result of contemplation and experience, while traditions belong to routines. However, the Islamic scholars do not distinguish between the two.

In general, *'urf* is divided into several forms; its materials that are commonly performed with words actions deeds, its scope whether it is general or particular, and its evaluation, whether it is good or bad seen from the *'urf shabih* and *fasid*. The use of the word *walad* is contained in surah an-Nisa' verses 11 and 12 concerning the inheritance for the male and female children. Meanwhile, in the Arabs *'urf*, the inheritance is only for male children. This is one of the examples of *'urf*. In addition, the habit to take a friend's cigarette without asking is not considered stealing, which is another example of the *'urf* action.

'Urf, as a common custom prevailing in society, usually takes the head nodding as the sign of agreement, and head shaking as a sign of disapproval. Meanwhile, *'urf* as a special custom, is only done by a certain group of people such as the matrilineal system done by Minangkabau people. Lastly the *'urf*

⁴² Iim Fahimah, "Accommodation Culture Local ('Urf) deep Understanding Jurisprudence Scholars Mujtahidin," *Miqani: Discourse Law, Economics and Religious* 5, no. 1 (2018): 12.

⁴³ Moh Najib, "Reestablishing Indonesian Madhhab 'Urf and the Contribution of Intellectualism," *Al-Jamiab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, no. 1 (2020): 172.

shabih and *fasid* deal with the good or the bad evaluation. 'Urf *shabih* refers to the actions which are repeatedly done, and accepted publicly, and the practices do not contradict to beliefs stated in the religion. Conversely, the actions are contrary to the religious practices, manners, and rules, they belong to the 'urf *fasid*.

Maanta Bareh Pasaran: a Local Wisdom in 'Urf Perspective

Interesting that the people of Nagari Balingka harmonize the cultural values of Minangkabau and the religious values in Islam by carrying out the *maanta bareh pasaran* tradition. The people also refer to the saying '*indak lapuak dek bujan, dan indak lakang dek paneh*', that the harmony made by the tradition is dissimilar to the issues of *harta pusako* that cause huge differences among the Islamic scholars.

A visit to *Mamak's* house by bringing the rice and a sponge cake or the *Maanta Bareh* tradition aims at maintaining the closeness of family relationships, as well as mutual forgiveness among the member of the family. From the cultural view, a niece that carries out the tradition *Bareh Pasaran Manjunjuang Kaki* is considered to implement what is demanded by the culture. This is a form of harmonizing the culture and religion, even though the traditions practiced at the end of the fasting month, or the cultural practices during Eid al-Fitr are performed differently.

Nagari Balingka consists of three *orong*, and each *orong* has one mosque that is named accordingly to the name of the *orong*. They are Pahambatan mosque, Subarang mosque, and Koto Hilalang Mosque. The three mosques in each *orong* function as to how a mosque is used every day, but, during Eid day, in Nagari Balingka, which mosque is as a place to perform Eid al-Fitr prayer is referred to the managed schedule. They are set in turn.

On Eid day, if the men perform their prayers at Pahambatan mosque, the women will perform their prayers at Subarang mosque. On the next Eid day, the men will perform their prayers at Subarang mosque, while the women at Koto Hilalang Mosque. On Eid day, men and women perform their prayers in different mosques. In the past, they used to have female *kebatib* also, but now they have male *kebatib* for female prayers. In this case, the people of Nagari Balingka rely on

Maanta Bareh Pasaran also belongs to both '*urf amali* because the tradition is in form of actions, and '*urf shabih* since it does not contradict any Islamic laws.

Besides, the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition can be put as the special '*urf*.⁴⁴ It is special since the tradition is only performed by the people of Nagari

⁴⁴Ach. Maimun, "Memperkuat 'Urf dalam Pengembangan Hukum Islam," *al-Ahkam* 12, no. 1 (Juni 2017): 26.

balingka. More specifically, it is only done by the married nieces to their *Mamak* or the brothers of their mothers.

The principle that highlights customs can be regarded as laws and something which is decided based on the 'urf is equal to something decided based on the *Nash*.⁴⁵ They become the references in applying the traditions because they are relevant to the life of the people of Nagari Balingka.

Conclusion

The *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition which is carried out just before the Ramadhan has been a cultural practice for the people of Nagari Balingka over time. It aims to unite the family through special gatherings, thus, ignoring the tradition can result in inharmony within a family. As a matter of fact, the *Maanta Bareh Pasaran* tradition should be encouraged to be performed to welcome the arrival of the fasting month, as well as an effort to prolong the relationship in a big family. Even more specifically, traditions that try to harmonize customs and religion are including urf 'amali, urf sahiih, and urf khas. It is said that urf 'amali and urf khas, because this tradition is a special act carried out by the nieces of Nagari Balingka, while urf shahiih can be seen from the point of view of its implementation that no one violates religious rules and the purpose is very good considering this tradition is carried out before the month of Ramadan.

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⁴⁵Abi Hasan and Khairuddin, "View 'Urf Towards Money Pekhanjangan deep Marriage Step over Older sibling Womb," *Istinbat Journal Islamic Law and Economics* 20, no. 1 (2021): 186.

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