

BETWEEN QADAR AND IKHTIAR: RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MANANGKA HUJAN TRADITION IN PADANG PARIAMAN

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Abstract

This study examines the *Manangka Hujan* tradition in Nagari Sikucua, Padang Pariaman Regency, which continues to be practiced within various customary and religious contexts. Commonly perceived as a rain-regulating ritual, this tradition raises theological questions concerning the relationship between human agency (*ikhtiar*), divine decree (*qadar*), and God's absolute sovereignty. The study aims to analyze how local religious leaders interpret the concept of destiny as embedded in the *Manangka Hujan* tradition. Employing a qualitative research design, data were collected through in-depth interviews with religious leaders using a snowball sampling technique and analyzed through the interactive model proposed by Miles and Huberman. The findings reveal that religious leaders generally interpret *Manangka Hujan* not as an attempt to manipulate divine will, but as a form of human effort situated within the domain of *qadar mu'allaq*, which allows for change through prayer, ethical intention, and reliance upon God (*tawakkul*). They maintain a clear distinction between *qadar mubram*, which is absolute and unchangeable, and *qadar mu'allaq*, which is conditional and responsive to human endeavor. This study contributes to the discourse on contextual Islamic theology by illustrating how theological concepts of destiny are negotiated and rearticulated within local Islamic traditions, thereby enriching scholarly understandings of the dynamic relationship between religious doctrine and local wisdom in Minangkabau society.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji tradisi *Manangka Hujan* di Nagari Sikucua, Kabupaten Padang Pariaman, yang hingga kini masih dipraktikkan dalam berbagai konteks adat dan keagamaan. Tradisi ini kerap dipersepsikan sebagai praktik pengendalian hujan, sehingga memunculkan persoalan teologis terkait relasi antara *ikhtiar* manusia, *takdir* (*qadar*), dan kemahakuasaan Allah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana konsep *takdir* dipahami dalam tradisi *Manangka Hujan* dari perspektif para tokoh agama setempat. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara mendalam menggunakan metode *snowball sampling*. Data dianalisis dengan model interaktif Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa para tokoh agama memaknai *Manangka Hujan* bukan sebagai upaya menentang kehendak Allah, melainkan sebagai bentuk *ikhtiar* manusia yang berada dalam ranah *qadar mu'allaq*, yaitu *takdir* yang bersifat kondisional dan dapat berubah melalui doa, niat yang benar, serta sikap *tawakkal*. Mereka juga menegaskan pembedaan antara *qadar mubram* yang bersifat mutlak dan tidak dapat diubah, dan *qadar mu'allaq* yang membuka ruang bagi peran usaha manusia. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada pengembangan teologi Islam kontekstual dengan menunjukkan bagaimana konsep *takdir* dinegosiasikan dan dimaknai dalam praktik keagamaan lokal, sekaligus memperkaya kajian akademik tentang relasi antara ajaran Islam dan kearifan lokal dalam masyarakat Minangkabau.

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of Islam in the archipelago did not erase long-established local traditions, but rather encouraged a process of cultural integration known as acculturation. Koentjaraningrat explains that acculturation is the process of gradually accepting new cultural elements without eliminating the original cultural identity (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). In this context, religion and culture can coexist and influence each other because both contain values and symbols that function in the social life of the community (Wahyuni, 2018).

Indonesia, as a country with high cultural diversity, shows that local customs are not always contrary to Islamic teachings. Various traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation often contain religious elements that serve as social and cultural legitimacy. These traditions reflect the process of assimilation between religion and culture, as seen in customary practices in various regions, including in West Sumatra (Purwanti, 2013)

West Sumatra is one of the regions in Indonesia that still maintains a strong traditional lifestyle based on the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (customs based on Islamic law, Islamic law based on the Holy Book). This value is reflected in the social life of the community, which continues to uphold customs and traditions in line with Islamic teachings. One region that demonstrates the continuity of this tradition is Padang Pariaman Regency, particularly Nagari Sikucua, which to this day still preserves various cultural heritages of its ancestors amid the tide of modernization.

Nagari Sikucua is an administrative area divided into four korongs, namely Korong Bungo Tanjung, Korong Sungai Janiah, Korong Lansano, and Korong Durian Kalok. These korongs serve as the smallest administrative units in the nagari government structure and play an important role in managing the social, cultural, and religious life of the community. Each korong is a space for various social activities and local traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. One of the traditions that is still practiced by some of the people of Nagari Sikucua is *Manangka Hujan*, which is a traditional effort to delay or divert rainfall so that it does not occur at certain times and places, especially during weddings and other traditional and religious activities. The continuation of the *Manangka Hujan* tradition demonstrates the strong role of local customs and beliefs in the lives of the Nagari Sikucua community to this day (Administrator, n.d.).

Manangka Hujan is a tradition that aims to prevent rain from falling at a specific time and place, especially during weddings. The *Manangka Hujan* process generally begins with a request from the event organizer to someone who is believed to have spiritual abilities, known locally as a rainmaker. After receiving the request, the rain shaman makes certain preparations in accordance with local customs, which may include determining the time of implementation, reciting prayers, and using certain media or symbols. This practice is carried out with the belief that through these efforts and prayers, the rain can be delayed until the event is over. The people of Nagari Sikucua interpret the *Manangka Hujan* process not as an attempt to control nature absolutely, but as an effort to support the smooth running of the event so that it can take place properly and merrily (Azwin, 2024).

A more common term for this tradition is rain shaman. Rain shamans are still a profession or service used by some communities for specific reasons. In practice, rain shaman services do not have a fixed rate. Based on information from informants, the

compensation given is generally known locally as cigarette money, with an average range of around Rp200,000, which is then supplemented with gifts such as cigarettes, sugar, and coffee. These gifts are understood by the community not as professional wages, but as a form of appreciation and reciprocal custom for the services provided. This pattern of compensation reflects social relations based on trust and local customs, so that the practice of *Manangka Hujan* is placed more as part of cultural tradition than as a formal profession with a fixed payment system.

The people of Nagari Sikucua interpret the tradition of *Manangka Hujan*, or rain shaman, as someone who stops or moves the rain to another place so that the event location does not get wet (Azwin, 2024). The position of rain shamans in Nagari Sikucua is like that of ordinary people. However, those who are called rain shamans in Korong are those who have special skills in their field. Usually, these skills are passed down from generation to generation. Alternatively, they can also be sought from someone who is trusted as an expert in their field.

The tradition of *Manangka Hujan* in Nagari Sikucua has mythological and magical values, which are often difficult to understand rationally. The people there believe that rain shamans are effective in preventing rain at their events, even though this raises dilemmas regarding God's destiny. The term "manangka" refers to the role of humans in influencing the weather, which can lead to the assumption that humans have power over nature, disregarding God's will. Destiny as God's decree encompasses all aspects of life, including natural phenomena such as weather, which reflect His power (Gulen, 2011).

Misunderstanding the concept of destiny can lead to deviations in religious attitudes, including in responding to cultural practices such as rain dancing (Gulen, 2011). Imam Al-Ghazali emphasized that human effort does not contradict destiny, because effort, prayer, and cause and effect are also part of Allah's decree. In *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*, Al-Ghazali explained that abandoning effort on the grounds of *tawakal* is actually a form of ignorance of the true nature of *tawakal* itself, because *tawakal* must be preceded by effort. However, Al-Ghazali also warns that placing one's heart's dependence on anything other than Allah SWT in the process of striving can corrupt the purity of *tauhid* (Al-Ghazali, 1995). Therefore, practices such as rain dancing can only be understood theologically when viewed as an effort accompanied by prayer and trust in God, without belief in any power other than Allah SWT.

Based on a review of previous studies, it can be concluded that studies on rain shamans generally focus on aspects of community beliefs, the social function of rituals, and normative assessments from an Islamic perspective. Roli Hendra's (2017) study, for example, discusses the concept of destiny in the context of community poverty and does not associate it with specific traditional practices or rituals (Hendra, 2017). Thus, although both discuss destiny, the objects and contexts of their studies differ from this study. Furthermore, the study (Nurfitriyanti, 2012), Kurniadi Adha (Adha, 2018), Eneng Purwanti (Purwanti, 2013) and Sapitri Yuliani, generally places rain shamans as objects of study from the perspective of community beliefs or religious assessments, whether by emphasizing elements of polytheism, ritual functions, or the social facts that underlie them (Yuliani, 2020). The focus of these studies is more directed at the practice of *Manangka Hujan* itself and the community's response to it.

Unlike these studies, this study does not place the practice of *Manangka Hujan* as the main object of assessment, but rather uses it as a context for examining the theological concept of destiny. This study specifically focuses its analysis on the views of religious leaders in Nagari Sikucua regarding the relationship between human effort

and the will of Allah SWT in the tradition of *Manangka Hujan*, with a distinction between *mubram* destiny and *mu'allaq* destiny. Thus, the fundamental difference in this study lies in the subject of study (religious leaders) and the focus of analysis (the concept of destiny within the framework of Islamic theology), not in the effectiveness of the ritual, the level of public belief, or the normative assessment of *Manangka Hujan* practices. This is what substantially distinguishes this study from previous studies on rainmakers.

Based on this background, this study aims to determine the views of local religious leaders regarding destiny in the tradition of *Manangka Hujan*, with the hope of contributing to religious and scientific understanding. This research is field research. To obtain accurate results, the method used is interviews with religious leaders using snowball sampling techniques to obtain in-depth information about their views on destiny and the *Manangka Hujan* tradition.

THE TRADITION OF MANANGKA HUJAN

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, "tradition" is a custom that has been passed down and is still practiced by a community (E., 2017). However, in the Anthropology Dictionary, the term "tradition" refers to "customs," namely the religious practices of indigenous peoples. Customs consist of interrelated norms, values, laws, and cultural rules that form a system or set of rules. Traditions also include all concepts about a culture's cultural system that govern how people interact with others (Ariyono & Sinegar, 1985)

Koentjaraningrat said that tradition and custom are the same. Custom is an ideal type of culture that regulates behaviour (Koentjaraningrat, 2002). Customs are societal norms that govern how people interact with one another. According to the Islamic encyclopedia, customs are societal norms or habits that are passed down from generation to generation. In this case, the term "custom" is usually used without distinguishing between actions that have consequences, such as customary law, and actions that have no consequences, such as "custom alone (Redaksi, 1991).

The *Manangka Hujan* tradition is a local culture that is still preserved by communities in several regions in Indonesia, including in Nagari Sikucua, Padang Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra. The community there often performs this tradition at weddings and other festive events such as village organ performances, *baralek datuak*, and other festive occasions. The purpose is to stop the rain or move it from one place to another so that the event can run smoothly and not be rained on (Azwin, 2024). Each region has a different name for this tradition, but the most commonly known term is "rain shaman." The term "rain shaman" comes from the words '*pawang*' and "*hujan*." According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, "*pawang*" means a person who has special skills in the occult (Indonesia, 2009). Meanwhile, rain refers to water droplets that fall from the air as a result of the condensation process (Indonesia, 2009).

When understood thoroughly, a person who is skilled at holding back rain is called a rain shaman. He is tasked with warding off or moving rain so that it does not fall when a ceremony is taking place. In other words, a rain shaman moves or stops rain that should fall at a certain time and place, but with the presence of a rain shaman played by a shaman, the rain will not fall (Nurfitriyanti, 2012).

Based on interviews conducted with informants, there are several requirements that must be met before performing the *Manangka Hujan* tradition, including (Azwin, 2024),

First, worn or tattered cloth. The use of this cloth shows that the petitioner approaches the forces of nature or spirits with humility and sincerity. Worn cloth also symbolizes a difficult life or long drought, so it is hoped that it will attract the attention of spirits or forces of nature to bring rain. Second, lime or lemon, symbolizing purity and a request to refresh the earth with rain. Lime is also believed to ward off negative energy or evil spirits that may prevent rain from falling. Third, salt, which is a symbol of purity and protection. Salt is used to cleanse and protect against evil spirits or negative energy. Salt is also believed to pave the way for rain to fall. Fourth, incense or fragrance. The smoke from incense is considered to carry human prayers and requests to the spiritual world. Incense is used to attract the attention of spirits or gods who control the weather. Fifth, the petitioner also pays a fee of approximately 200,000 rupiah and is given cigarettes, sugar, and coffee.

Once all these requirements have been met, the rain shaman continues the *Manangka Hujan* procession in accordance with the procedures that have been believed in and passed down from generation to generation. The procession is usually carried out at a specific time that is considered appropriate, either before or during the event. The rain shaman then performs the ritual using prepared equipment, such as old cloth, lime, salt, and incense, each of which is used according to its symbolic function in local tradition.

In the practice of the *Manangka Hujan* tradition, there are a number of stages that are open and known to the community, while others are understood to be the secrets of the rainmaker and are not disclosed in detail. After all the ritual requirements have been fulfilled, the *Manangka Hujan* procession is carried out in accordance with the procedures that have been believed in and passed down from generation to generation. According to informants, when the weather starts to cloud over, the rainmaker waves an old cloth in several directions, namely towards the sea, west, east, and the location where the event is being held. Next, the old cloth is roasted by placing it in a fire pit, then sprinkled with salt and lime juice. This stage is carried out as part of the symbolism of praying for rain not to fall in the intended location.

The next step is to observe the direction of the wind. The direction of the wind is taken into consideration when requesting that rain be diverted or held back from the event location. At this stage, the rain shaman recites certain prayers or mantras that are verbal and not written down. The informant emphasized that the content of these prayers or mantras cannot be disclosed because they are considered part of the rain shaman's special knowledge (Azwin, 2024). However, the local community understands that the success of the *Manangka Hujan* tradition is not solely determined by the series of rituals or incantations used, but rather depends heavily on intention, belief, and the will of Allah SWT. Therefore, this practice is better understood as a symbolic form of traditional effort, rather than an attempt by humans to control nature absolutely.

RAIN IN THE EYES OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The tradition of *Manangka Hujan* is an ancient ritual performed by the people of Nagari Sikucua to ask for no rain in a desired location (Azwin, 2024). To this day, the ritual is still widely practiced by the people of the village. This ritual is often considered difficult to explain through a rational approach alone, because rain shamans perform it using a metaphysical approach. The practice of rain shamanism is considered sacred by some people, mainly because of the successful experiences believed by its practitioners. This then forms a collective consciousness among the community that this ritual is

considered to help the smooth running of events, so that they can take place successfully and without obstacles (Deman, 2024).

The tradition of *Manangka Hujan* is closely related to the will of Allah SWT. In relation to destiny, there are various views among local religious leaders on this matter. As expressed by Bila Darmawi, who stated his disbelief in the abilities of rainmakers, on the grounds that rain is the will of Allah SWT and no human being is capable of controlling it (Darmawi, 2024), in accordance with the principles of belief in *qadha* and *qadar*. In Islam, according to the belief in *qadha* and *qadar*, Allah is the only one who determines everything that happens (Thalib, 2015, p. 28). Destiny is God's plan for what happens in this world, like rain that was planned long before God created it. This belief affirms that everything, including natural phenomena, is a manifestation of God's will and power (Arnesih, 2016, p. 118).

Furthermore, according to Tuangku Budi, who believes that using the services of a rain shaman can be considered an attempt to change or manipulate the will of Allah SWT, which should not be done. Therefore, the best way to deal with rain shamans is to pray and trust in Allah SWT for all matters, including weather and rain (Walid, 2024). God's decree, which is closely related to human will, is interpreted as destiny. People are given a choice between two paths: the good path and the bad path. In other words, a person is given the power to support all desires to do good deeds that lead to heaven. In addition, they are given the power that drives them to do evil deeds and sins that lead them to hell (Kosasih, 2020, p. 5).

From an Islamic perspective, the concepts of *tawakal* and trust in Allah SWT are understood as an important part of the relationship between humans and God's will (Abubakar & Arsyad, 2024). Some religious leaders believe that human efforts in dealing with certain situations must be placed within the framework of true faith, so as not to cause dependence on anything other than Allah SWT. In the context of *Manangka Hujan* practices, there is a view that excessive dependence on certain rituals or intermediaries has the potential to cause theological problems. Therefore, they emphasize that prayers and hopes should remain directed toward Allah SWT, with the belief that every event that occurs, whether perceived as beneficial or detrimental, is within His decree and wisdom (Walid, 2024).

Unlike Tuanku Budi, who emphasized his belief that everything that happens in this world is the will of Allah SWT, which cannot be changed by humans. According to him, the role of rain shamans in attempting to influence the weather is merely a form of human effort, with no guarantee that the results will be in line with their wishes. This is in line with the concept of effort in seeking medical treatment, where humans make an effort to recover, but recovery itself remains in the hands of Allah SWT. He also emphasizes that Allah SWT has complete power over everything and only He can determine what happens. This view emphasizes the importance of *tawakal*, which is surrendering all matters to Allah SWT after making an effort. This illustrates the balance between human effort and complete submission to Allah SWT's decree (Budi, 2024). According to him, comparing rainmakers to people seeking medical treatment implies that although humans must make an effort, they must realize that the final outcome always depends on God's will. Thus, Muslims are taught to always try and pray, while accepting all outcomes with an open heart as part of Allah's destiny (Admizal, 2021).

In addition, Tuangku Rauf provided a more inclusive perspective on *Manangka Hujan* practices in a religious context. He acknowledged that *Manangka Hujan* is part of ancestral tradition that does not necessarily conflict with religious teachings as long

as the intentions and practices are based on faith in God (Rauf, 2024). This shows that he sees rainmakers as a legitimate and meaningful form of effort in humanity's struggle against the uncertainties of nature. Effort is anything that is done of one's own free will, free from external pressure. You can achieve your goals and aspirations if you do the necessary work (Rosmanindar, 2019, p. 2).

He emphasized that as long as this process is accompanied by prayer and the belief that all power remains in the hands of Allah SWT, then this effort can be viewed positively. His approach reflects the basic principle in Islam that humans are commanded to try their best and then surrender to Allah SWT. This shows a balance between human effort and submission to God's destiny. The concept of causality, or the law of cause and effect, is the basis of *tawakal*. After doing their best and supported by prayer, they ultimately surrender everything to Allah SWT. Muslims must have faith in Allah's help (Admizal, 2021).

By emphasizing that destiny is determined by Allah SWT but that humans are also given the freedom to make efforts, he demonstrates a dynamic understanding of the role of humans in facing life. Efforts to ward off rain through rain shamans are considered one form of these efforts. His belief that all decisions are in the hands of Allah SWT underscores the importance of *tawakal* and acceptance of God's will.

Meanwhile, Buya Ali Umar offers a firm and skeptical perspective on the practice of *Manangka Hujan*, in contrast to several other religious figures who are more accepting or neutral towards the tradition. He emphasizes that belief in *Manangka Hujan* is contrary to logic and Islamic teachings, because only Allah SWT has complete power over nature, including the weather and rain (Amiruddin, 2021, p. 8).

Through his experience of trying the rain shaman ritual, he emphasized that the results of the ritual were not proof of man's ability to control the rain, but were entirely by the permission of Allah SWT. This opinion is supported by a quote from Q.S Al-Mulk verse 30: "Say: 'Tell me, if your water source dries up, who will bring you flowing water?'"

The above verse emphasizes that only Allah SWT can bring water. It also warns that believing in the abilities of rainmakers can lead to misguidance and polytheism.

Another alternative form of effort towards nature, according to him, which is more in line with Islamic teachings, is to perform the *hajat* prayer and ask directly to Allah SWT. This shows that in his view, every human effort must remain within the framework of true faith and total surrender to God's will. He emphasizes the importance of *tawakal* and the belief that everything happens only with the permission of Allah SWT (Kosasih, 2020), and criticizing people who, in his opinion, are too easily influenced by the tradition of rain shamans without considering the basis of their faith.

He firmly held to the principle that all human endeavors must always be accompanied by prayer and submission to God, without giving excessive power or trust to humans or traditions that may deviate from Islamic teachings. Humans have the opportunity to choose between good and evil based on God's absolute will. However, God always protects and helps humans. Prayer, supplication, and other forms of worship are ways for humans to communicate and ask of Allah. Allah has a unique method of responding to the conversations and requests of His servants, in accordance with His promises (Wirman, 2020, p. 21).

ANALYSIS OF DESTINY IN THE *MANANGKA HUJAN* TRADITION

Every tradition has its own unique beliefs and perspectives, and so does the *Manangka Hujan* tradition. There are certainly pros and cons related to religion and tradition. Religion and customs should not be mixed, but due to the process of cultural acculturation, over time traditions have blended with religion (Arifin, 2024). In a religious context, the *Manangka Hujan* tradition reflects how communities interpret the relationship between religious beliefs and divine power in regulating natural phenomena. In Islamic teachings, rain is generally understood as a gift from Allah SWT that plays an important role in sustaining life. This interpretation shapes the community's religious awareness of nature as part of God's will, while also influencing the way they respond to natural phenomena spiritually and culturally (Andini, Azzahra, & Rohayati, 2024).

The continuation of the *Manangka Hujan* tradition as an ancestral heritage to this day has elicited various responses among religious leaders, particularly regarding the issues of destiny, human effort, and God's will. Based on interviews with religious leaders in Nagari Sikucua, differences in opinion were found that can be classified into two main groups: those who reject and those who accept the practice of *Manangka Hujan* within certain limits (Andini et al., 2024).

Manangka Hujan itself is a legacy of ancestors that is still preserved to this day. This has led to many debates and opinions about how to respond to God's will, human reason, and human abilities. Based on the results of research conducted on religious leaders in Nagari Sikucua regarding destiny in the *Manangka Hujan* tradition, a variety of opinions were found. The author divided them into two groups: those who oppose and those who accept.

The first group showed rejection of the practice of *Manangka Hujan*. This view was reflected in Bila Darmawi's statement that humans do not have the ability to ward off rain, because rain is entirely the will of Allah SWT. This view was reinforced by reference to Q.S. An – Nur verse 43 Q.S An – Nur verse 43:

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يُزْجِي سَحَابًا ثُمَّ يُؤَلِّفُ بَيْنَهُ ثُمَّ يَجْعَلُهُ رُكَّامًا فَتَرَى الْوَدْقَ يَخْرُجُ مِنْ خِلَالِهِ وَيُنَزِّلُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ جِبَالٍ فِيهَا مِنْ بَرَدٍ فَيُصِيبُ بِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَصْرِفُهُ عَنِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ يَكَادُ سَنَا بَرْقُهُ يَذْهَبُ بِالْأَبْصَارِ

Meaning: "Do you not see that Allah drives the clouds, then gathers them together, then makes them into layers, so that you see the rain coming out from between them? And Allah sends down hail from the sky, (that is) from (clouds like) mountains, then He sends down the hailstones upon whom He wills and turns them away from whom He wills. The flashes of lightning from the clouds nearly take away the sight."

The interpretation of this verse shows how religious leaders view rain as a natural phenomenon that is beyond human control and entirely within the domain of divine will (Ramadhan, 2023). A similar view was also expressed by Ustad Walid, who viewed the practice of *Manangka Hujan* as an activity that potentially involved non – human elements, such as jinn. In his perspective, dependence on rain shamans risked violating the principle of *tawhid* because it was considered to associate powers other than Allah SWT in natural affairs. This interpretation is in line with the findings of Sapitri Yuliani's

research, which shows theological concerns about the practice of *Manangka Hujan* if it is believed to have the independent ability to control rain (Yuliani, 2020).

Regarding God's will in the context of rain prevention, the informants' views emphasize that absolute will belongs only to Allah SWT. This understanding is rooted in the principle of *tawhid*, which in Islamic theology is understood as the concept of the oneness of God in terms of power and authority. Within this framework, all natural phenomena, including rain, are considered part of the divine will, which cannot be equated with human capabilities or intervention (Mulyono & Bashori, 2020).

Buya Ali Umar also expressed a view that was in line with the rejectionist group. According to him, the success or failure of rain shamans cannot be used as a basis for the belief that humans are capable of controlling rain. He interprets this success as the possibility of Allah's permission or as a natural coincidence. The belief that rain does not fall because of the power of rain shamans is seen as a form of heresy. This view reinforces the understanding that God's will is absolute and cannot be equated with human will.

In contrast, the second group showed a more accommodating view of the *Manangka Hujan* practice. Tuangku Budi interpreted the practice as a form of human endeavor, analogous to seeking medical treatment when sick. In his view, endeavor is a legitimate human effort, while the final outcome remains in the hands of Allah SWT. This understanding places the relationship between humans and God in a framework of endeavor, where humans are required to actively strive without claiming the outcome as their absolute power.

A similar view was also expressed by Tuangku Rauf, who saw rainmakers as part of human efforts to deal with the uncertainties of nature. In this context, rain shamans are not positioned as controllers of rain, but rather as intermediaries whose efforts remain dependent on the will of Allah SWT. This interpretation emphasizes that the practice is not considered contrary to Islamic teachings as long as it is not accompanied by the belief that rain shamans have independent power over natural phenomena.

From a theological perspective, these differing views can be analyzed through the concept of destiny in Islam. The rejectionist group tends to understand the phenomenon of rain as part of *mubram* destiny, which is Allah's absolute decree that cannot be changed by human effort. Meanwhile, the group that is more accepting of the practice of *Manangka Hujan* understands it in the framework of *mu'allaq* destiny, which is a provision related to human effort and endeavor, without denying the absolute will of Allah SWT. Thus, the findings of this study show that the tradition of *Manangka Hujan* is not understood in a singular way by religious leaders in Nagari Sikucua. These differences in perspective reflect the diversity of theological interpretations of the relationship between God's will and human effort. This tradition has become a space for dialectics between normative Islamic teachings and local cultural practices, which continue to be negotiated in the religious life of the community.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the tradition of *Manangka Hujan* in Nagari Sikucua from the perspective of local religious leaders, focusing on the meaning of the concept of destiny. The findings show that the relationship between local traditions and Islamic theological teachings is not singular or uniform, but rather characterized by diversity of views and interpretations. On the positive side, the *Manangka Hujan* tradition serves as

a form of social effort and local wisdom in ensuring the success of traditional and religious activities, while also strengthening community solidarity. However, on the negative side, this practice has the potential to cause theological problems if it is accompanied by beliefs in powers other than Allah SWT or the attribution of independent abilities to rain shamans. Therefore, religious leaders distinguish between *mubram* and *mu'allaq* destiny, placing *Manangka Hujan* as an effort in the realm of *mu'allaq* destiny as long as its implementation remains oriented towards prayer and *tawakal*.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the study of contextual Islamic theology by showing how the concept of destiny is practiced and interpreted in the reality of local culture. This research expands the discourse that Islamic theology is not only present in normative texts, but also lives in social practices and community traditions. Practically, these findings can be a reference for religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the community in formulating a more dialogical attitude towards local traditions, so that cultural preservation can go hand in hand with the strengthening of religious values without causing social or theological tensions.

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