

Marriage System in Minangkabau: Interpreting the Concept of Culture Promoted in the Quran

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Abstract

Based on the Minangkabau aphorism, the marriage system in society must refer to the guidance of the Quran and Sunnah, but there are some researchers who say that matrilineal culture, including the marriage system practiced in Minangkabau, is not in line with the values contained in the Quran and Sunnah. The aim of this research is to prove the relationship between the concept of culture in the Quran and the culture of marriage in Minangkabau by asking two questions. First, is the marriage system and culture in Minangkabau in line with the values of marriage in the Quran? Second, what is the relevance of marriage in Minangkabau to the cultural values carried by the Quran? This research is library research using a qualitative approach in the field of interpretation studies, while data analysis uses a comparative method. The results of the study show that there is no fundamental difference between the marriage system adhered to in the Quran and the marriage system practiced by the Minangkabau people and the values promoted by the Quran have been well-cultivated in the marriage process in Minangkabau which has a pivotal to monotheism, in line with human nature, and, produce Islam rahmatan lil alamin

Keywords: Marriage System, Minangkabau, Culture, the Quran

Abstrak

Berdasarkan aporisme Minangkabau, sistem pernikahan pada masyarakatnya harus mengacu kepada petunjuk al-Qur'an dan Sunnah, namun ada sebagian peneliti yang mengatakan bahwa budaya matrilineal termasuk sistem pernikahan yang dijalankan di Minangkabau tidak sejalan dengan nilai-nilai yang ada dalam al-Qur'an dan Sunnah. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah ingin membuktikan hubungan antara konsep budaya dalam al-Qur'an dengan budaya pernikahan di Minangkabau dengan mengemukakan dua pertanyaan. Pertama, apakah sistem dan budaya pernikahan di Minangkabau sudah sejalan dengan nilai-nilai pernikahan dalam al-Qur'an? Kedua, bagaimana relevansi antara pernikahan di Minangkabau dengan nilai-nilai budaya yang dibawa al-Qur'an. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian library research dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dalam bidang kajian tafsir, sedangkan analisis data menggunakan metode komparatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa bahwa tidak terdapat perbedaan mendasar antara sistem perkawinan yang dianut dalam al-Qur'an dengan sistem pernikahan yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Minangkabau dan nilai-nilai yang diusung al-Qur'an telah terbudayakan dengan baik dalam proses pernikahan di Minangkabau yang berporos kepada taubid, sejalan dengan fitrah manusia, dan menghasilkan Islam rahmatan lil alamin.

Kata Kunci: Sistem Pernikahan, Minangkabau, Budaya, Al-Quran

Background

Marriage in Minangkabau is very unique and fascinating because it integrates adat and Islam. This is a form of marriage patterned by indigenous peoples in general, so that the marriage bond is very difficult to dissolve, especially with the customary system that is followed collectively. Of the 2,332 indigenous communities in Indonesia that have a distinctive social

identity based on tradition and form the basis of the word view and way of life of the community, forming the values, religiosity and culture of indigenous peoples,¹ for example;

¹ Barkatullah Amin, "Ulama-Difabel: Menarasikan Ekspresi Kultural Masyarakat Banjar Dalam Lensa Studi Disabilitas," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 17, no. 2 (2019): 209–26, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v17i2.3215>.

Baralek (a term for marriage) in Minangkabau has certain specifications.² Especially if the marriage system in Minangkabau is linked with the aphorism of the *Basandi Syarak Adat, the Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK) marriage system in Minangkabau is in line with the Qur'an. Even gave birth to a thesis that "Minangkabau is Islam".³ This means that everything in Minangkabau must be in line with the Qur'an and if it conflicts with Islam, it means that it is not Minangkabau culture.⁴

Existing writings on the theme raised can be grouped into two parts, namely, there are those who reject the matrilineal system and its derivatives including marriage, such as Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabaukabawiy and Hazairin who view the matrilineal system and its derivatives as inconsistent with the Qur'an. This opinion certainly does not accept that the provisions of marriage in Minangkabau are in line with the Qur'an because there are several sides that are not in line with Islamic provisions. On the other hand, there are also groups that accept and even state that the Minangkabau are Muslims. For example, Sheikh Sulaiman Arrasuli,⁵ Hamka, A.A Navis,⁶ Yaswirman,⁷ Hamka,⁸ A.A Navis,⁷ Yaswirman,⁸ dan Alexan-

der Stark⁹ who generally argue that Islam does not determine the model of kinship system including matrilineal and the implications of this kinship system also do not conflict with the Qur'an. The author will be in a position in the middle of the opinion.

As a sociological puzzle, as Bosquet's comment put forward by Hadler, Minangkabau cannot be separated from three domains, namely the Minangkabau people who are devout Muslims, users of the largest matrilineal kinship system in the world, and have a tradition of migrating.¹⁰ For the point of adherents of the devout Islamic religion, in the marriage system, it is believed that the Minangkabau people will adopt the marriage system that is in the Qur'an and at the same time carry it out consistently and consequently.

The purpose of this study is to prove whether the marriage system adopted by the Minangkabau people is in line with the values of marriage in the Qur'an, and to find the relevance between marriage in Minangkabau and the cultural values carried by the Qur'an. To achieve the above objectives, the research question is whether the system and culture of marriage in Minangkabau are in line with the values of marriage in the Qur'an and what is the relevance of marriage in Minangkabau to the cultural values carried by the Qur'an?

Philosophically, based on the customary adage which is rooted in *syarak* (religion), Minangkabau culture should be in line with the Qur'an. Everything that becomes the culture of the Minangkabau people, including customs, must not conflict with the values

² Nur Islami and Muhammad Hidayat, "Makna Tradisi Mombasuoh Kaki Pada Masyarakat Minangkabau Dalam Upacara Perkawinan," *Culture & Society: Journal of Anthropological Research* 4, no. 2 (2022): 103–12, <https://doi.org/10.24036/csjar.v4i2.114>.

³ Kori Lilie Muslim, "Nilai-Nilai Islam Dalam Budaya Dan Kearifan Lokal (Konteks Budaya Minangkabau)," *Fuaduna: Jurnal Kajian Kegamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 1, no. 1 (2017): 48–57; Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1985), 134; Amir M.S., *Tanya Jawab Adat Minangkabau: Hubungan Mamak Dengan Sumando* (Jakarta: Mutiara Sumber Widya, 2002), 47–66.

⁴ Safwan Rozi, "Negosiasi Islam Kultur Dalam Gerakan Paderi Rao Di Sumatera Tengah (1820-1833)," *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 6, no. 1 (2012): 85–104.

⁵ Syekh Sulaiman Arrasuli, *Saripati Sumpah Satie Bukit Marapalam* (Canduang, 1964).

⁶ Hamka, *Islam Dan Adat Minangkabau*.

⁷ A.A. Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru* (Jakarta: Gratifiti Pers, 1984).

⁸ Yaswirman, *Hukum Keluarga: Karakteristik Dan Prospek Doktrin Islam Dan Adat Dalam Masyarakat Matrilineal Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo, 2013).

⁹ Alexander Stark, "The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective," *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 13, no. January 2013 (2013): 1–13.

¹⁰ Jeffrey Hadler, *Sengketa Tiada Putus; Matriarkat, Reformisme Islam, Dan Kolonialisme Di Minangkabau*, Terj. Samsudin Berlian (Jakarta: Freedom Institute, 2008), xxxiii.

contained in the Qur'an. Isn't the basis of its culture the *sharak* (*shari'at*) which originates from the Qur'an. Conversely, if there are provisions of Minangkabau customs and culture that conflict with the Qur'an, then that culture is not Minangkabau culture in the true sense.¹¹ Cultures that are in line with the Qur'an and do not find values that conflict with the Qur'an are termed Qur'anic culture. Conversely, cultures that are not in line with the Qur'an are termed jahiliyah culture. The culture of ignorance is a culture that is contrary to the values of Islamic teachings, both major violations that result in disbelief or minor violations that do not result in disbelief. Culture like this was inherited from society before Islam and continued after the arrival of Islam. According to Karen Armstrong, jahiliyah means the barbarism of the pre-Islamic era which has always been an enemy of faith.¹²

This research is descriptive qualitative research using literature research. There are two data sources in this study, primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data obtained directly from books about Minangkabau which have a direct relationship with the object of research. While secondary data was obtained from other parties, such as cultural books, journals in order to complete the data needed in this study. After the data is collected, the writer analyzes it using an analytical descriptive method, namely research that aims to find the values of the marriage symbol in Minangkabau and its relationship with the Qur'anic culture.

The Marriage System: Between the Qur'an and Minangkabau Culture

As creatures equipped by God with sexual tendencies (libido sexuality), humans are

¹¹ Mochtar Naim, "Dengan ABS-SBK Kembali Ke Jati Diri", Dalam CH. N. Latief Dt. Bandaro (Ed.), *Minangkabau Yang Gelisah* (Bandung: Lubuk Agung, 2004), 49.

¹² Karen Armstrong, *Sejarah Islam: Telaah Ringkas Komprehensif Perkembangan Islam Sepanjang Zaman*, Terj. Yuliani Liputo (Bandung: Mizan, 2014), 237–38.

permitted to have sexual relations after going through the process of legalizing marriage. It can be said that marriage is not only to satisfy biological desires or bring together men and women to fulfill their lust needs.¹³ However, more than that, marriage has multiple aspects, including in the context of *hablum min Allah* and *hablum min an-nas*. As a religion that is in line with human nature, the Qur'an does not adhere to same-sex marriage so that Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) are seen as contrary to Qur'anic values.

In simple terms, according to Abu Zahrah marriage is a contract that justifies association between men and women who help each other, and determines each of them according to their respective rights and obligations.¹⁴ Marriage in Islam will be considered valid when the marriage contract has been pronounced and at the same time as a process of legalizing the relationship between two people of different sexes. Even though the word marriage is not long, complicated, and wordy, it has very complex religious consequences that give rise to many rights and obligations between the two parties. In this context marriage is a strong relationship that can change a person's status from a girl to a man's wife, and vice versa as a woman's husband. The marriage contract is so strong that not everyone can reopen it except with the permission of the husband and wife. In the Qur'an, the contract is seen as a very strong and sturdy agreement and contract which is termed *mitsaqan ghalizha*.¹⁵

The word *mitsaqan ghalizha* in the Qur'an is repeated 3 (three) times, namely in sura an-Nisâ'/4: 21, sura an-Nisâ'/4: 154, and sura al-

¹³ Busyro, "Menyoal Hukum Nikah Misyâr Dalam Potensinya Mewujudkan Maqâshid Al-Ashliyah Dan Tab'iyah Dalam Pekawinan Umat Islam," *Al-Manâhij Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 11, no. 2 (2017): 215–32, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v11i2.1297>.

¹⁴ Muhammad Abu Zahrah, *Al-Ahwal Al-Syakhsiyah* (Mesir: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 19.

¹⁵ Khabib Musthofa and Subiono, "Spirits Mitsaqan Ghalidza Dalam Pernikahan Sebagai Penguat Keluarga Di Kalimantan Tengah," *Ussratuna* 4, no. 1 (2020): 74–91.

Ahzâb/33: 7. The three verses in on speaking in different contexts and issues. If in the letter an-Nisa 154, it is illustrated the robustness of God's contract with His lovers regarding the glorious "mission in the sky". Only Allah can cancel the contract. The same thing also with the letter al-Ahzab verse 7 (seven) talks about the sturdiness of the prophets in keeping their promises to convey God's teachings to their people. Only the prophets can cancel the promise. The same thing with marriage is so strong and sturdy the agreement between two human beings in the marriage contract is as strong as the promise of Allah and His messengers in holding fast to their commitment to that promise. This is a marriage in Islam that is very strong and sturdy. For the Minangkabau people, marriage is seen as a very strong and sturdy agreement so that the community's traditions only build up when there is strife in the family.¹⁶ Understanding marriage as a marriage contract with *mitsâqan ghalîza* which according to Islamic law creates a strong bond by every Muslim so that each party in the contract realizes that the marriage contains *ubudiyah* values.¹⁷

The Quran reveals many things about marriage. This can be seen from the many verses that explain the issue of marriage and its revelation in the Qur'an. In *Mu'jam al-Mufabras li alfâzih al-Qur'ân*, as quoted by Arifin, the word an-marriage with all its derivations 23 times, and in the holy texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah, the word *al-zanj* with all its derivations apparently used to explain the act of mar-

riage.¹⁸ Even in the context of fiqh, the word *al-zanj* is used more to explain marriage problems than the word *al-nikah*. In the Qur'an, the word *al-zanj* and its derivations are found 81 times,¹⁹ and there is one word which according to some scholars also reveals about marriage, namely the word *wahabat* as in sura al-Ahzab/33: 50. This word is related to a woman who donated (gave) herself to the Prophet SAW to be married.²⁰

Although there are differences between al-marriage and *al-zanj* in the Qur'an, the substance of the two is the same, namely the existence of a strong relationship between men and women due to the existence of a contract or social contract between the two. The contract will give birth to many consequences and fall so marriage is one of the central themes revealed by Allah in the Qur'an. In this context, it is natural for Quraish Shihab to state that Islam adheres to the principle of pair law, known as the law of sex, which is in line with QS. adz-Dzariyat/51:49, where Allah created everything in pairs, then the annulment of marriage is only for the purpose of remarrying and Islam adheres to the principle of the stability of the household, Islam is called the religion of marriage.²¹

In order to maintain the longevity of marriage, Islam regulates people who are allowed and prohibited to marry. In the letter an-Nisa verse 23 it is stated that there are thirteen (13) people who are forbidden to marry.

¹⁸ Muhamad Ramdan Arifin, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Implikasi Fenomena Kawin Kontrak Dalam Kehidupan Sosial, Ekonomi Masyarakat Desa," *Kbazanah Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2019): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v1i1.7129>.

¹⁹ Marjiatun Hujaz, Nur Huda, and Syihabudin Qalyubi, "Analisis Semantik Kata Zawj Dalam Al-Qur'an," *Al-Itqan: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an* 4, no. 2 (2018): 55–80, <https://doi.org/10.47454/itqan.v4i2.684>.

²⁰ Maurizka Khoerunnisa, Nasichah, and Siti Nia Sa'bania, "Analisis Psikologi Komunikasi Pada Tokoh Hanna Di Sinetron Catatan Hati Seorang Istri," *Academia.Edu* 5, no. 3 (2020): 248–53.

²¹ Muhammad Abdul Halim, *Memahami Al-Qur'an Pendekatan Gaya Dan Tema*, Terj. Rafiq Syubud (Bandung: Marja', 2002), 66.

¹⁶ Nofardi, "Perkawinan Dan Baganyi: Analisis Sosiologis Kultural Dalam Penyelesaian Perselisihan Di Kecamatan Banuhampu Kabupaten Agam," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 1 (2018): 49–72, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1613>.

¹⁷ Santoso, "Hakekat Perkawinan Menurut Undang-Undang Perkawinan, Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Adat," *Jurnal Yudisia* 7, no. 2 (2016): 412–34; Saidus Sahar, *Undang-Undang Perkawinan Dan Masalah Pelaksanaan Ditinjau Dari Hukum Islam* (Bandung: Alumni, 2009), 11.

This verse is a continuation of the previous verse which reveals about *mubarramah al-nisa'* (women who are forbidden to marry). They are mother all the way up, daughters, granddaughters all the way down, biological sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, daughters of brothers and daughters of sisters, nursing mothers, siblings single-breastfeeding women, parents-in-law, step-daughters, sons-in-law, and wife's sister from both the lineage and the line of milk. People who are forbidden to marry as mentioned above, are *qat'iy* and Muslims are obliged to accept this stipulation.²² Interpreting the verse above is only limited to explaining and detailing the general provisions in the verse. In this context, Islam does not accept the provision of incestuous marriages²³ and lactation marriages. Islam regulates this in order to maintain the integrity of the family so that not everyone can be married.

In Minangkabau culture there are several marriage laws that need to be considered, such as forbidden marriages, incestuous marriages, and taboo marriages. Prohibited marriages are seen as marriages carried out with prohibited persons as stated in the Qur'an. The discordant marriage is a marriage that will damage social harmony even though in Islamic law there is no prohibition. This marriage is measured from *raso jo pareso* (feelings) and *tenggang raso* (tolerant). Forms of incestuous marriages include: marrying a person whose relatives, friends and close neighbors have divorced; polygamy of women of the same ethnic group, social friends, and neighbors; marrying an en-

gaged person; and married a sibling's stepson. Discordant marriage is seen as an act of immoral and uncivilized people. Meanwhile, abstinence marriage is same-sex marriage.²⁴ The above provisions are in line with the conditions for marriage in Minangkabau custom, namely: first, both bride and groom must be Muslim, second, the prospective bride and groom are not of the same blood or not from the same tribe, unless the ethnicity comes from another *nagari* or *lubak* (region). third, the prospective bride and groom can mutually respect and respect the parents and families of both parties, and fourth, the prospective husband (*marapulai*) must already have a source of income to be able to guarantee the livelihood of his family.²⁵

In line with that, there are several conditions for a valid marriage in Minangkabau, namely if all the provisions of *syarak* (religion) and all the provisions of Minangkabau custom are fulfilled. These two provisions are usually used as a measure in getting married. There will not be a customary marriage if the conditions for a legal marriage have not been met. *Syarak* is the basis for Minangkabau custom (*adat basandi syarak*). Normatively, it is impossible for Minangkabau people to hold a wedding ceremony, especially since the husband lives in the house of a woman or wife before the marriage contract is pronounced.

The provisions for *sasuku* (one clan) marriage in Minangkabau are seen as a cultural peculiarity that does not exist in other regions. If the clan (English), *stam* (Dutch) or *marga* in Tanah Batak or in South Sumatra, is seen as a unitary human group relationship, but in Minangkabau the tribe is related to blood fami-

²² Arisman, "Mahram Dan Kawin Sesuku dalam Konteks Hukum Islam (Kajian Tematik Ayat-Ayat Hukum Keluarga)," *Juris (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 17, no. 1 (2018): 47–61; Busyro Busyro et al., "Mahram for Women Hajj Pilgrims: Analysis of 'illat and Development of Mahram Meaning," *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 24, no. 2 (2020): 155–70, <https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v24i2.2926>.

²³ Wiene Surya Putra et al., "Pernikahan Sedarah (Incest) Dari Perspektif Islam Dan Hukum Nasional," *Landraad: Jurnal Syariah & Hukum Bisnis* 1, no. 2 (2022): 165–76, <https://jurnal.islahiyah.ac.id/index.php/jl>.

²⁴ Zula Malindo and Busyro, "The Prohibition Sustainability on Marrying a Woman of The Same Ethnic Group As An Ex-Wife In Minangkabau's Tradition," *Innovatio: Journal for Religious-Innovation Studies* 22, no. 2 (2022): 171–84.

²⁵ Fiony Sukmasari, *Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal dan Kepaniteraan Mahkamah Agung, 2007), 13.

ly members whether distant relations or close relations which are termed *sajari* (a finger), *saampok* (stack), *sajangka* (an inch), *saeto* (one cubit) and *sadapo* (one fathom).²⁶ If the same tribe used to be interpreted as people who live in certain areas and still have blood relations, then the prohibition on same-ethnic marriage is identical to the prohibition on marrying *al-muharramat*. This provision was stipulated by the predecessors of the Minangkabau people within the framework of preventing blood-mixing which in the study of *ushul fiqh* is known as *sad al-zari'ah*, namely a legal provision that prohibits an action which according to its origin is permissible to anticipate the occurrence of an act prohibited by the *Shari'a*.²⁷

In contrast to the tribes in Minangkabau today, where the existing tribes have spread to various areas in West Sumatra (Minangkabau) so that between one tribe and another, no more lineages can be found. In this context, many areas allow *sasuku* marriage as long as they don't come from the same lineage, or the same patriarch and *nagari*. One example is *Nagari Ampang* in Padang, it is permissible to marry someone as long as they don't come from the same *datuak*. The reasons for this prohibition are due to the increasing population, the influence of Islamic law and also because the people of this *nagari* have *raso*, *pare-so* (feeling), ashamed and polite if they marry people who have the same *datuak* which they consider to be *dunsanak* (relative) himself. Even if a person marries one *mamak* as long as it is not included in *al-muharramat* (which is forbidden) based on the texts, marriage is still permissible on condition that he pays a fine where the man's tribe is transferred to another tribe and pays for a goat which he calls *saagam*

sagaram.²⁸ This provision shows that what is used as the main reference by the Minangkabau people is the Qur'an and not *babuhua sintak* (pulsing jerk) customary provisions.

The Qur'an also discloses the dowry provisions as a system in marriage according to the Qur'an as in *an-Nisa` [4]: 4*, where dowry is an obligatory gift from a man to a woman and the stipulation is *qat'iy*. From a philosophical point of view, dowry in Islam is a form of respect and glorification of women. In the historical record of humanity, women have experienced a dark period, where women are seen as despicable creatures and a father feels "a loss and humiliation" if the child his wife is carrying turns out to be a woman. More than that, during the *Jahiliyah* era, women were equated with goods or assets that could be inherited and inherited.²⁹ Islam elevates the status of women by giving them special rights in the form of a dowry.

The Islamic stipulation regarding dowry reminds all husbands and guardians who often take dowry from women under their guardianship to give the dowry to women as a voluntary gift. *Mabar* in this verse is called *shaduqât*, the plural form of *shaduqa* which means truth. This is because the dowry is preceded by a promise, so the gift is a proof of truth and a promise. Endri Yenti at.al., said that dowry is not only a symbol that proves the truth and sincerity of a husband to marry and provide for the needs of his wife's life, but more than that, it is a symbol of a promise not to reveal the secrets of domestic life, especially the deepest secrets that not opened by a woman

²⁶ Dt. B Nurdin Yakub, *Hukum Kekeabatan Minangkabau* (Bukittinggi: Pustaka Indonesia, 1995), 25.

²⁷ Nur Azizah, "Tinjauan Sadd Dzari'ah Terhadap Problematika Hukum Menikahi Wanita Ahli Kitab Dalam Hukum Positif," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 16, no. 1 (2018): 11–34.

²⁸ Nola Putriyah, "Perkawinan Eksogami: Larangan Perkawinan Satu Datuak Di Nagari Ampang Kuranji, Sumatera Barat," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 8, no. 2 (2015): 175–88, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2015.08205>.

²⁹ Eko Zulfikar, "Tipologi Hak-Hak Anak Perempuan Dalam Islam: Studi Tematik Hadis-Hadis Keperempuanan," *Humanisma: Journal of Gender Studies* 4, no. 2 (2020): 192–207.

except her husband.³⁰ The dowry also contains the meaning of being honest and white-hearted, meaning that a treasure is given with a pure heart and a clear face to the bride when she is about to get married. The deep meaning of the meaning of the dowry is like a stamp or stamp, that the marriage has been sealed, as Hamka commented.³¹

In the provisions of marriage in Minangkabau also pay attention to the dowry provisions as marriage provisions. Minangkabau custom does not discuss the terms of dowry that have been determined by syrak and in this context the Minangkabau custom only carries out all these provisions as an integral part of one marriage. Minangkabau custom is only *maanjuang tinggi, maamba gadang*, which means that Minangkabau custom is in a position to carry out all the dowry provisions in Islam. In contrast to the custom of *Uang Japuik* and *Uang Hilang* (money to pick up the groom with some money) for the people of Padang Pariaman, the provisions are different from the dowry provisions in Islam. Even though there is a connection with the propriety of marriage for the people of Padang Pariaman, *japuik* money and lost money do not replace the position of dowry.³² From the perspective of 'urf theory, this provision does not violate the rules of the Qur'an but adds rules that do not conflict with the provisions of the Qur'an. From this point of view it can also be said that the provisions of the marriage contract are found in the Qur'an and also in the provisions of marriage in Minangkabau.

³⁰ Endri Yenti et al., "A Set of Prayer Outfits as a Mahar? Discrimination against Women in the 'Urf Reality of the Archipelago's Fiqh," *Al-Risalah* 20, no. 1 (2020): 17–29, <https://doi.org/10.30631/al-risalah.v20i1.567>.

³¹ Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar IV* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1999), 294.

³² Zike Martha, "Perception and Mean of Bajapuik Wedding Tradition on Garingging Riverside Society in Padang Pariaman Districts," *Jurnal Biokultur* 9, no. 1 (2020): 20–40, <https://doi.org/10.20473/bk.v9i1.21725>.

From the point of view of the wedding procession in the Qur'an, several provisions were found such as *khitbah* and provisions for settling down after marriage. In the Qur'an there are verses that discuss Minangkabau. However, there is no clear order or prohibition to do Minangkabau. Among the verses of the Al-Quran that tell about the *khitbah* (proposal) as in al-Baqarah [2]: 235. The verse above explains that *khitbah* is an important part of marriage, moreover *khitbah* can be said as *muqaddimah zivaj* (preliminary marriage). Islam provides signs to pay attention to the person being proposed is the right person because applying can anticipate divorce. In Minangkabau custom, the wedding procession is detailed in several activities. Although not all regions have the same processions, there are several processions carried out by various regions in West Sumatra, both those who are domiciled in West Sumatra and overseas. In one study it was stated that the marriage process in Minangkabau began with *maressek* (monitoring the candidate), *maminang* (proposal), *batuka tando* (exchanging signs), *babao* (visiting the father's family), *malam bainai* (using inai, the traditional tattoo), *manjapuik marapulai* (picking up the groom's candidate), *manyambuik at anak daro's house* (welcoming the man's family at the woman's house), marriage contract, *sasarab* (presentation of gifts from the man), recitation, and *baralek* (wedding party).³³ In simple terms, the above process begins with getting to know the candidate, proposes marriage (*khitbah*), and *walimatul 'urs* (wedding party). In general, the Minangkabau people still carry out these three processes, but on the other hand there are those who no longer practice them fully. Moreover, the development of today's civilization makes people want to be more practical in

³³ Erni Astuti and T Oswari, "Budaya Pernikahan Masyarakat Minangkabau Rantau Di Jakarta," *UG Jurnal* 10, no. 8 (2016): 1–11; Annisa Syintia Trimilanda and Desriyeni, "Purwarupa Ensiklopedi Adat Perkawinan Minangkabau," *Jurnal Ilmu Informasi Perpustakaan Dan Kearsifa* 7, no. 1 (2018): 205–12.

carrying out weddings so that in certain areas the above wedding processions are starting to disappear and are no longer used as part of a sacred wedding procession. The wedding procession above is a translation of the marriage described by Islam, but in principle the details of the wedding procession are a form of delicacy in the Minangkabau people and mutual respect between the two parties who will carry out the marriage.

Culture in the Qur'an

Islam is not a product of culture and the Qur'an is not a culture either. Culture and religion (Islam) for its adherents are two things that cannot be ignored. There is no life without culture and life will be wrong if you don't practice religion. In this context, it is believed that the Qur'an does not reject the culture of one thing that grows from society as long as it does not conflict with the values of truth and humanity promoted by the Qur'an.

The term qur'anic culture is a combination of two words qur'anic and culture which in simple terms means all opinions, ideas and human artifacts created, created, born by humans as long as they carry universal values of truth. In another discussion, qur'anic culture is interpreted by the understanding, interpretation, application of the Qur'an by a community that is internalized in real everyday life.³⁴ The Qur'anic culture is a representation of a human-centered civilisation that does not contradict the Quran.

From a historical perspective, there has been a dialogue between the Qur'an and the traditions of Arab society before the Qur'an was revealed. One of the normative evidences from the Qur'an that supports this attitude is the verse which emphasizes that the people of

the Prophet Muhammad follow the *Shari'at* of the Abrahamic religion, namely follow the hanif Ibrahim millah. In the later tradition of Islamic thought, this statement of the Qur'an, in addition to other verses that are similar to it, in the studies of ushul experts is known as syar'u man qablana (shari'a before the prophet Muhammad).³⁵ These pre-Quranic traditions, which are popularly known as israiliyat stories, were then adopted and traditionalized by commentators as a means of interpreting the Qur'an. Against the various rite traditions of the pre-al-Quran Arab society, the Qur'an accepted and gave it a new content, namely Islamization so that it could be released from polytheism which was a tradition of some Arab society at that time.

Seeing the dialogical phenomenon of the Qur'an and pre-Quranic Arabic local culture as the initial formation phase (*al-marhalah takwiniyyah*), Nasr Hamid said that the phenomenon of revelation was an actual phenomenon that was inseparable from the Arabic culture that was developing at that time.³⁶ The Qur'an will lose its magic power and relevance if in the face of such a culture it comes with another face that aims to judge this reality with the assumption that their culture is the culture of ignorance.

As the core text of Islamic civilization, the Qur'an came down with teachings in which the Arab community became the first recipient of the kitab (commandments).³⁷ Hence, it is not surprising that there are several dialectical differences between the Qur'an and the culture of Arab civilisation later on in the texts of the

³⁵ Imam Yazid, "Analisis Teori Syar'u Man Qablana," *Al-Mashlahah Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 5, no. 1 (2017): 369–80, <http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/alusrah/article/view/1343>.

³⁶ Nasr hamid Abu Zaid, *Mafhûm Al-Nash, Dirâsah Fî Ulûm Al-Qur'ân* (Beirut: al-Markaz Tsaqafi al-Arobi, 2000), 34.

³⁷ M. Faisol Fatawi, *Tafsir Sosiolinguistik: Memahami Huruf Muqata'ab Dalam Al-Qur'an* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2009), 3.

³⁴ Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, "The Living Al-Qur'an: Beberapa Perspektif Antropologi," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 20, no. 1 (2012): 235–60, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.198>; Neal Robinson, *Discovering the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach to A Veiled Text* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1996), 9–24.

Qur'an, both in terms of language and content.³⁸ An example that is often carried out is the prohibition of khamr, where khamr is part of the consumption culture and basic needs of Arab society at that time. In this context, the Qur'an does not automatically provide justification for its prohibition, but this prohibition goes through a number of verses, so that the culture of drinking khamr can end.³⁹

The attachment of the Qur'an to socio-cultural aspects in the history of human life is a very unique phenomenon. As a revelation, in essence it is certain that the Qur'an is sacred and transcendental, untouched by any form of historical influence. However, it is factually proven in history how the Qur'an during its revelation process has carried out dialogue and dialectics with human culture.⁴⁰ The concept of *naskh* (annulment of law), *makkî-madani* (Makkiyah and Madaniyah verses), *asbâb al-nuzûl* (causes of descending verses), and so on have articulated this form of dialectics. Besides rejecting and providing alternatives, the Qur'an has also demonstrated its dynamics in absorbing, internalizing, and reconstructing so many cultural concepts that were known at that time.

Basically, the dialectic of the Qur'an with culture is proportional, in the technical sense that there are parts that support or cover each other's limitations. The Al-Quran has an aspect that is open to phenomena and the movement of human cultural reality, and always conditions itself with it, as shown by the process of its revelation which took the Arab socio-cultural setting of the 7th century AD. In a

³⁸ Fahrudin Faiz, *Hermeneutika Al-Qur'an: Tema-Tema Kontroversial* (Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2005), 99–100.

³⁹ Chairunnisa and Andi Prastowo, "Sejarah Pengharaman Hukum Khamr Dalam Islam Melalui Pendekatan Historis," *Maddika: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 2, no. 2 (2022): 1–12, <http://ejournal.iainpalopo.ac.id/index.php/maddika/article/view/->.

⁴⁰ Ali Ridho, "Al-Quran Dan Budaya: Al-Quran Dalam Siklus Kehidupan Muslim," *Maghza: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 4, no. 1 (2019): 53–73, <https://doi.org/10.24090/maghza.v4i1.2441>.

more specific language, the verses of al- The Quran was revealed not in a historical vacuum, but rather has a background that describes the revelation of a verse, such as a certain event that the Prophet SAW faced.⁴¹ Therefore, it was as if the verses of the Qur'an helped solve casuistic problems at that time or at least provided guidelines and provisions that could be followed.

The Qur'anic culture can be distinguished from other cultures in society by a number of factors, starting with its monotheistic foundation. As a monotheistic religion, Islam has a responsibility to advance belief in the existence of God Almighty. The goal of every prophet and apostle's sermons is to bring Allah together (QS. 16: 36). Prophet Muhammad SAW was sent by God to a people that rejected the principles of monotheism as a complement to the teachings of the earlier prophets.⁴² The Prophet Muhammad succeeded in changing the materialistic paradigm of Arab society to become theocentric. The ignorant society that cultivated the worship of statues and made nature a glorified part turned into a society that united Allah and shunned all forms of worship other than Allah.

According to the Qur'an, human creations in the form of culture that go against moral principles would undoubtedly perish or be destroyed by Allah. The tale of the 'Ad people, who created spectacular structures that had never before been built by humans as part of their culture of artefacts.⁴³ Likewise, the Thamud, who made cultural artifacts in the form of skyscrapers and made bas-reliefs and

⁴¹ Aramdhan Kodrat Permana, "The Theology of Liberation Perspective of the Qur'an: The Concept of Poverty Liberation through Interpretation of Makkiyah Nuzuli Verses)," *Jurnal At-Tadbir: Media Hukum Dan Pendidikan* 33, no. 1 (2023): 1–18.

⁴² Muh. Fathoni Hasyim, "Rekonstruksi Tematik Atas Konsep Nabi Dan Misi Kenabian Dalam AlQuran," *Mutawatir: Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadits* 9, no. 2 (2019): 256–77.

⁴³ Sutrisno Sutrisno, "Kisah Dan Materi Dakwah Nabi Hud," *Al-Misbab* 13, no. 1 (2017): 183–200.

other ornaments, did not last long either. The story of a Pharaoh who had a high civilization who was able to build pyramids which were the wonders of the world. The people described above were destroyed by Allah along with their works because they were far from the values of monotheism⁴⁴

As a form of human creativity, culture is an identity that only humans have, it should make them closer to the Khaliq. According to Audah Adnan, the concept of life in Islamic teachings is a theocentric concept, namely that all life is centered on God (Allah SWT). The doctrine of monotheism has a backflow to humans. In the Qur'an it can be found that faith as a religious belief that is rooted in a theocentric view, is always associated with charity.⁴⁵ According to Kuntowijoyo, Islamic culture has two characters; authentic and open. The authentic character explains that Islamic culture under any circumstances and at any time will always function to display the values of monotheism, while the open character explains that Islam continues to adopt local (local) culture as long as it does not conflict with the texts of the Qur'an and Hadith.⁴⁶ This is what the author means by monotheism as the basis of Qur'anic culture.

Second, support human nature. Fitrah is interpreted as a system that is manifested by Allah in every creature. Fitrah that is specific to humans is anything that was created by Allah and is related to the body and mind (spirit).⁴⁷ The definition of fitrah includes the totality of what exists in nature and humans. Nature that

⁴⁴ Effendi Effendi, "Historisitas Kisah Fir'aun Dalam Perspektif Islam," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 13, no. 1 (2018): 71–96, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v13i1.2944>.

⁴⁵ Audah Adnan, "Transformasi Nilai-Nilai Tauhid Dalam Perkembangan Sains Dan Teknologi," *Aqidab-Ta: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidab* 4, no. 2 (2018): 252–68.

⁴⁶ Hamzah Junaid, "Kajian Kritis Akulturasi Islam Dengan Budaya Lokal," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 1, no. 1 (2013): 56–73.

⁴⁷ M. Quraish Shihab, *Wawasan Al-Quran, Tafsir Maudlui Atas Pelbagai Persoalan Ummat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), 285.

exists in humans is a substance that has a constitutional organization that is controlled by a certain system. The system in question is structured from the body and spirit. Each of these components has its own basis, nature, character and way of working. All of these components are potential created by God since the beginning of his creation.

Third, carrying out the mission of *rahmatan lil 'ala-min*. The term *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is often used for certain purposes according to the wishes of the wearer. Simply put, *rahmatan lil 'ala-min*, which comes from the two words *rahmah* and *'ala-min*. Between the two words is tucked in the word *li* (for). *Rahmat* means *al-riqqatu wa al-ta'attufi* (gentleness combined with compassion), as in al-Anbiya'[21]: 107 which explains the function of the Prophet Muhammad. who was sent to bring mercy to all nature.⁴⁸

Islam is present in the context of constructing human life in a civilized and peaceful direction, bringing prosperity and full submission to God's commands. This mission is actually Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. On the other hand, Islam is not a destructive religion that destroys the order of human life so that life feels uncomfortable and presents a "ghost" atmosphere in life. Qur'anic culture considers human values in living life. Hijab culture is part of the Qur'anic culture because it considers human values and differentiates it from other creatures. This culture is seen as being able to maintain the human values of *rahmatan lil alamin* and being able to reconstruct the values of a better life as well as being different from animals. The headscarf represents a slightly different motif, because the Qur'an not only retains the cultural item of the headscarf in question, but within certain limits also maintains its symbolic articulation.

⁴⁸ M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian Al-Quran 10* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2006), 621–22.

Relevance of the Minangkabau Traditional Marriage System with Qur'anic Culture

Minangkabau people's life is very ceremonial and symbolic. They always want to formalize a situation through this symbolic ceremony. The ceremony carried out by the Minangkabau people is related to the human life cycle. The ceremony is sacred both in terms of form, procedure, purpose and implementation.

Marriage is the oldest human ritual that is universal and the most unique in the history of human institutions. There is no society that does not recognize the marriage system as an important key in the structure of social and community life. In this context, the ideal marriage is one that can provide intimacy, fulfillment of sexual needs, emotional development and togetherness. It is this kind of marriage that is expected to form a happy family which is referred to as a *sakinah, mawaddah and rahmah* family (QS. [30]: 22).

Normatively, the Minangkabau people are synonymous with Islam, so they are not recognized as Minangkabau people unless they are Muslim.⁴⁹ This is illustrated by the customary adage ABS-SBK. Its derivatives are traditional ceremonies that tend to be Islamic, such as death ceremonies, birth ceremonies, marriage ceremonies and other ceremonies. The wedding ceremony is seen as the most complicated and complex ceremony. Besides involving many other people, *walimah*, and other preparations, the wedding ceremony also brings together two people who come from different families. Thus, it can be concluded that marriages in Minangkabau are carried out according to traditional Minangkabau customary procedures with Islamic law as the main basis.

In the study of local culture, inculturation presupposes a process of internalizing a new teaching into the context of local culture

⁴⁹ Muslim, "Nilai-Nilai Islam Dalam Budaya Dan Kearifan Lokal (Konteks Budaya Minangkabau)."

in the form of accommodation, adaptation and rejection.⁵⁰ In this context, the inculturation of Islam in Minangkabau in the marriage tradition can be interpreted by coloring Minangkabau culture with the spirit of Islam. Islam does not conflict with the culture of marriage in Minangkabau and if there is a conflict between the marriage system and Islamic provisions, then Islam will fill that culture.

The interaction of the cultural system of marriage in Minangkabau and the series of traditional wedding processions show a strong relationship between Islam (the Qur'an) and Minangkabau culture. This makes a tendency for cultural adaptation between Islamic teachings and local Minangkabau values. Adaptation, as described by Giddens, is a process in which an organism or group of organisms, through responsive changes in their state, structure and composition are able to maintain homeostasis within and between themselves to deal with short-term environmental fluctuations and long-term changes in the composition or structure of their environment.⁵¹ Minangkabau culture that is not in line with the Qur'an will adapt to the universal values of the Qur'an such as the obligation to provide full support to the father who also has the function of *mamak* (mother's brother) in Minangkabau. In fact, sometimes a *mamak* plays a more important role than a father in terms of being responsible for his nephew. This shows that the marriage system in Minangkabau is moving in a better direction which has been in the process of leaving the "jahiliyyah" culture towards the Qur'anic culture.

Minangkabau culture that is not in line with the Qur'an will adapt to the universal values of the Qur'an such as the obligation to

⁵⁰ Peter L Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Book, 1990), 4.

⁵¹ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Teori Strukturasi Untuk Analisis Sosial* (Pasuruan: Pedati, 2003), 283.

provide full support to the father who also has the function of *mamak* (mother's brother) in Minangkabau. In fact, sometimes a *mamak* plays a more important role than a father in terms of being responsible for his nephew. This shows that the marriage system in Minangkabau is moving in a better direction which has been in the process of leaving the "jahiliyyah" culture towards the Qur'anic culture.⁵² The system and patterns of marriage in Minangkabau are increasingly shifting systems that are not in line with the progress of the times and adjustments to the principles of universal values in the Qur'an. In accordance with its character, custom will adapt to change and if the change has been followed by many people, it will become a new culture. It is not surprising that in practice, walimah in Minangkabau have adopted western wedding patterns such as French-style dishes, wedding dresses are modified with western models and so the eating pattern is no longer found with petatah petitih as a form of respect for guests who are increasingly lost and abandoned. Marriage in Minangkabau finds new patterns by adapting to global demands that are inevitable.

Islamic accommodation with the local cultural system in the form of interaction with the prevailing system in Minangkabau society is a necessity because Islam is deeply rooted in society. For example, Islam is very accommodating in local culture such as expressions "*Hukum ngon adat hantom cre lagee z'at ngon sijent*"⁵³ for Aceh people. This means that Islam and adat go hand in hand, such as the phrase "Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah" for the Minangkabau people and the phrase "Adat is made in the

mosque" for the Ambonese people, indicating that there has been a strong relationship between Islam and culture in the archipelago, especially in Minangkabau. The marriage system in Minangkabau has a strong relevance to Qur'anic culture, so it is difficult to separate the marriage system in Minangkabau from the universal cultural values contained in the Qur'an.

Conclusion

Based on the previous explanation, it can be concluded that the customary marriage system in Minangkabau is in line with the explanation of the marriage system in the Qur'an. No fundamental contradictions were found between the two marriage systems. Even the marriage system in Minangkabau culture is an explanation of the existing provisions in the Qur'an. Minangkabau culture does not add new provisions in the field of marriage, but the marriage system in Minangkabau details the general provisions contained in the Qur'an.

The Qur'an does not reject the culture that develops in society, including the culture of marriage in Minangkabau as long as it does not conflict with the universal values that the Qur'an carries. In general, the culture of marriage in Minangkabau is in line with the spirit carried by the Qur'an and has strong relevance to Qur'anic culture with the characteristics of carrying the spirit of monotheism, in line with human nature, and carrying the mission of rahmatan lil alamin.

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⁵² Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London: Sage Publications, 2000); Fredrick Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

⁵³ Rahmad Alamsyah, Imadah Thoyyibah, and Tri Noviati, "The Influence of Receptie Theory in The Politics of The Dutch Colony Law on Islamic Law and Customary Law in The History of Indonesian Law," *Petita* 3 (2021): 343–62.

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